

**MAPPING MEMORIES, CREATING HISTORY:
THE TANGIER AMERICAN LEGATION**

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Dartmouth College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

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May 2016

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ABSTRACT

The Tangier American Legation hosted the U.S. Legation and Consulate for 140 years, and was the formal conduit for diplomatic and consular relations between the United States and Morocco. After the diplomatic move to Rabat after Morocco's independence in 1956, the building operated as a Foreign Service Institute and, later, as a Peace Corps training center. In 1976, the Legation became home to a museum and cultural center managed by the non-profit Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies (TALIM). This thesis is a comprehensive cultural history of TALIM using interviews and archives – i.e., the first historiography of TALIM. It also adds to the study of cultural memory and agency through a demonstration of how memories are transmitted across generations, and what memory's role is within oral history. Furthermore, this thesis illustrates the impetus behind maintaining TALIM as an institution. Ultimately, this cultural history of TALIM shows how memory affects oral history through its provision of both documented and perceived ideas of “what happened in history” – both of which are necessary in constructing a comprehensive account of any subject.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Dale F. Eickelman. He is more than my thesis and major advisor; since I first took “Political Anthropology” with him in the fall of 2012, I have been fortunate to count him as a mentor and a friend. He has challenged me to push beyond what I once thought were my limits (time and time again). He has guided me through my studies at Dartmouth and in Morocco, and I am sure he will continue to do so in the years to come. Without Professor Eickelman, my Dartmouth education and my life would have been radically different than it is today. I am glad I do not have to wonder where I would be now without him.

I would also like to thank the rest of the Anthropology Department, particularly Dr. Laura Ogden, Dr. Chelsey Kivland, and Mr. Joseph Cadoret. They have provided me with knowledge, support, assistance, and friendship – and taught me much about anthropology and the world, as well.

I am blessed to have a strong and supportive network of friends and family who have been with me every step of the way through this endeavor. Though I could fill the entirety of this thesis with their names alone, I would like to specifically thank the following friends and loved ones for their endless patience, encouragement, and comfort: Priyanka Nadar, William Peisch, Jamie Heiberg, Victoria Nevel, Thomas Rover, Lizzy Rogers, Madeline Cooper, Danica Rodriguez and Hilary Albrecht. I would also like to thank my incredible parents, Cecil and Diana Albrecht, for providing me with emotional, financial, and intellectual support and unconditional love throughout my entire life, without which I would likely not have been able to attend Dartmouth.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the fifteen incredible people whose interview transcripts are appended to this thesis, nor would it be possible without the Legation and its staff. I would like to give a special thanks to John Davison and Yhtimad Bouziane, whose hospitality in April 2016 made my stay at the Tangier American Legation a week I will never forget.

INTRODUCTION

Almost anywhere you go in the world, people work to improve social life outside of governmentally-based channels. No matter where you are, from the biggest cities to the smallest towns, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are everywhere. In the spring of 2014, I studied abroad in Morocco with seven other Dartmouth College students. During the ten weeks we spent there, our Dartmouth and Moroccan professors took us to many NGOs in the country. One NGO in particular stood out in my mind – the Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies (TALIM), which focuses on developing the Moroccan-American cultural relationships through academic and civic means and preserving the Tangier American Legation as the only building on the US National Register of Historical Buildings outside the US and its territories. Experiencing NGOs abroad firsthand – touring them, speaking with both employees and visitors, seeing the many different forms in which they exist – sparked my interest in the anthropology of NGOs, and more particularly in the cultural history of TALIM. Yet, although many NGOs and voluntary associations have a fair amount of archival documentation from which one can construct a history, they miss a crucial component – personal narratives, found through oral history. Without looking into the social mechanisms underlying institutional action and change, the workings of an organization are left in the dark.

My goal in this thesis is to present and analyze the personal narratives of TALIM through interviews with subjects who have been involved with the Legation over the past 60 years, combining their narratives with the available archival documentation – the minutes of Board meetings, Director’s reports, brochures, incorporation documents,

memoranda, and more. As part of this goal, I have focused on the role that memory plays in conducting interviews and constructing history. What is memory, both personal and collective, and how do we define it? How does it impact the truth-value of oral histories and their place in historiography? What is the place of oral history in historiography?

My interviews and archival research have led me to answer those questions as it pertains to my project: memory can obscure documented truths but reveal “perceptive” truths. While individuals tend to forget dates and figures, they remember feelings and understandings. Even if those feelings do not align with historical documents or facts, they divulge valuable information about interpersonal relationships within an institution. Moreover, collective memory indicates which events have made a lasting impact on the workings of an organization, thus continuing to shape its members’ perceptions of the organization to this day. The relationships, perceptions, and rationales for action undergirding any association fundamentally transform how it is organized, what decisions are made, and why the association operates in any given way.

Using TALIM as a case study to explore these questions contributes to the anthropology of memory and historiography. Culture influences the conception, perception, and recollection of memory and truth, which then shapes what becomes history and what history means. As philosopher and academic Maurice Mandelbaum (1908 - 1987) writes in his seminal work, *The Problem of Historical Knowledge* (1938), “whatever ‘truth’ a historical work contains is relative to the conditioning processes under which it arose and can only be understood with reference to those processes”

(Mandelbaum 1938:19). Moreover “the historian...unwittingly and necessarily constructs his account under the dominance of the particular values which are his” (Mandelbaum 1938:19, 31). Each generation rewrites the history of the past. There is no ‘objective’ history; it is always influenced by memory, by sociocultural norms of significance, and by the idiosyncrasies (e.g. which people are chosen for interviews, what archival information is available, and who wrote the archival information) of resources used for historiography. Going in-depth with a single case study, as I have with TALIM, allows us to explore these theories while adding to the anthropology of nongovernmental organizations and voluntary associations.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. The first chapter is an overview of what TALIM is, and what TALIM can tell us about oral history, memory, and American society. The second chapter is a history of the Legation from 1821 (when it was given to the U.S.) to 1976 – the founding of TALIM – in order to demonstrate why this particular diplomatic post, and the organization that has sprung up around it, is significant and worth studying. The third chapter is the core of my project, depicting the evolution of TALIM over the past forty years and looking into its future. This is where I have synthesized my archival research with my oral histories, creating a history of TALIM as an organization. The fourth chapter is an event ethnography of the 40th anniversary conference of TALIM hosted in April 2016, of which I was a part, in order to demonstrate how the classic anthropological theme of ritual manifests in the cultural history of TALIM. The fifth chapter reviews oral history’s role in modern

historiography, and the sixth does the same for modern studies of cultural memory. I conclude with reflections on my experience with this projects.

Any organization such as TALIM is fundamentally an endeavor shaped by individual and collective agency and unanticipated circumstances. The body of this thesis contains excerpts from the many interviews I have conducted over the past six months with members of TALIM, Peace Corps Volunteers from the 1980s, and other figures who are a part of the Legation's varied history. The full text of all interviews I have conducted are appended after my bibliography, so that this thesis can double as a basic documentation of TALIM's creation and functioning to date. Looking past the theoretical importance of this work described throughout this chapter, their stories show us what life at the Legation has been like over the past 40 years.

CHAPTER ONE

WHAT IS TALIM?

The Tangier American Legation Institute of Moroccan Studies (TALIM) is a U.S. non-governmental organization operating out of the American Legation building in Tangier, Morocco – the U.S.’s only National Historic Landmark outside of the U.S. and its possessions. Technically, TALIM rents the Legation for the sum of U.S. \$12, which must be paid annually to the U.S. Embassy in Rabat in Moroccan dirhams. Originally incorporated as the Tangier American Legation Museum Society (TALMS) in 1976, this association now operates the Legation as a museum, research library, conference and cultural center, and local community space centered on Moroccan-American friendship. The creators of TALMS, a group of diplomats and Foreign Service Officers with experience in Morocco, founded the association as a way to both save and honor the historic Legation, which at the time was at risk of being sold and possibly destroyed. Though its original focus concerned both reconstruction and museum operations, the activities of the Legation association have evolved over its 40-year history to include literacy classes, youth development programs, and international academic conferences.

There are two main aspects of TALIM operations: the American and the Moroccan sides. The American side of the operation is organized like a standard non-profit, and is filed as a 501(c)(3) with the Internal Revenue Service (Portney 1976). There is a Board of Directors, including four officer positions: President, Vice President, Treasurer, and Secretary. Other than the President, who has the power to “appoint the members of committees and delegates not otherwise provided for” and who is

responsible for leading each meeting, there is no formalized hierarchy of power on the Board (TALMS by-laws 1976; 1995; 2008; TALIM by-laws 2014). From 1995 to 2014, a maximum of 12 people could be on the Board; starting with the 2014 revisions, the number of seats was raised to 18 (TALMS by-laws 1995; 2008; TALIM by-laws 2014). Once elected by the association's Fellows, members serve a three-year term and must be re-elected to serve a second term. After two consecutive terms, a Board member is ineligible for re-election for one year. The Board of Directors meets twice a year, usually in Washington, D.C. and the conduct of the meeting is formally under the classic Robert's Rule of Order (Robert 1971). The Board is responsible for the operations and management of TALIM, handling its finances and activities within the scope of the by-laws. The Board of Directors also elects TALIM Fellows, who "provide counsel to the Board of Directors and receive periodical reports of TALIM activities" (TALIM by-laws 2014). Fellows are elected in accordance with non-discrimination laws, and "on the basis of scholarship related to Morocco, contributions related to Moroccan-American cultural and artistic endeavors, business, economic, and diplomatic activities, and significant contributions and service to TALIM" (TALIM by-laws 2014). TALIM Fellows also elect Board members, either in-person, by mail, or by electronic ballot. The original 1976 TALMS by-laws state that members had to pay dues, but later versions moved to encouraged-yet-voluntary contributions (TALMS by-laws 1976). Both Board members and Fellows, however, have access to kinship ties and social networks that enable them to know when funds are available from the government and/or private sources. Moreover, these networks can help the Legation access and acquire said funds. As such,

Fellows can assist with fundraising for the Legation society without necessarily donating money from their personal resources.

While the American side of TALIM operates more as a voluntary association (none of the Board receives compensation for their work), the Moroccan side operates more like a traditional non-profit business. The Board is responsible for hiring a Resident Director for the Legation, who lives at the building and oversees a myriad of activities – renovations, programming, tours, and managing the Legation staff. John Davison, a former Peace Corps Volunteer with a long history in diplomacy, became the current Resident Director of TALIM in 2014. The Legation staff consists of: an Associate Director (currently Yhtimad Bouziane), a museum curator (currently Mohammed Jadidi), an administrative assistant (currently Latifa Samadi), security personnel (paid out of U.S. Embassy funds since the building is an American government property), a literacy teacher (currently Fatima Ben Guerch), and three brothers (Abdellah, Ahmed, and Mustapha Temili) who work as general repairmen (<http://www.legation.org/>). They are all paid and given benefits as stipulated by Moroccan labor law. Their work at the Legation is salaried. While the Resident Director oversees and pays the TALIM staff, their salaries are decided by the Board of Directors, with significant advice from the Resident Director. These salaries come from multiple funding sources: TALIM, the U.S. Embassy, privately raised donations (particularly from Morocco, the U.S., and the U.K.), and federal and private foundation grants (communication with Eickelman, May 14 2016).

One final source of funding comes from various institutional relationships fostered by the Legation society over the past three decades. TALIM works in conjunction with the American Institute for Maghreb Studies (AIMS) and the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC), of which AIMS is a part. TALIM represents AIMS in Morocco and works in tandem with its two regional centers – the Centre d'Études Maghrébines à Tunis (CEMAT) and the Centre d'Études Maghrébines en Algérie (CEMA). The two AIMS affiliates, the independent TALIM, and CAORC work together to raise money for their institutes and collaborate on academic conferences and other events. TALIM's connection with AIMS and CAORC gives the association access to wider networks and the resources – financial, human, and otherwise – which they provide.

TALIM engages in a wide variety of activities with the goal of fostering positive Moroccan-American relations and increasing the sharing of knowledge between each country. The Legation has a museum filled with artifacts and artwork related to both Moroccan-American history and American history in Morocco, including but certainly not limited to: sketches by internationally-renowned Scottish artist James McBey, noted American writer, composer, and expatriate Paul Bowles's recordings of Moroccan music, paintings by the Moroccan artist Mohammed ben Ali R'bati, a large collection of various artifacts donated by Donald Angus, and documents regarding Morocco's recognition of the United States in 1776 (Wylie 2010:3-9). Visitors from around the world explore the Legation museum, which charges a small fee of 20 MAD (roughly 2.07 USD) – 50 MAD (or 5.18 USD), for guided tours (<http://www.legation.org/>).

School groups, however, are not charged an entrance fee, in order to encourage both education and local youth's participation in the Legation's mission.

In addition to the museum, TALIM hosts academic conferences and activities at the Legation. Every three years, TALIM hosts the annual AIMS conference – in fact, the Legation hosted the May 2016 conference, entitled “Mediterranean Crossroads: Spanish-Maghribi Relations in Past and Present” (Minutes, Apr. 7 2016; <http://aimsnorthafrica.org/>). Of special note is the annual “April Seminar,” which commemorates King Mohammed V's historic April 9, 1947 in which, defying French censorship of his speech, he announced Morocco's intent to gain independence from France and Spain. The Legation hosts scholars from around the world in April for a multi-day conference on the year's subject, such as a 2007 discussion surrounding the Millennium Challenge for Morocco (MCC) and the 2003 and 2004 themes regarding the Free Trade Agreement between Morocco and the U.S. (Kuniholm 2003; 2004; 2007). The April seminars are generally well-attended and foster productive discussion, though they can sometimes spur dissent. For example, the 2002 seminar – which aimed to analyze the roots of the ongoing crisis in the Middle East – was cancelled at the last minute due to fear of community protest (Kuniholm 2002).

Under Resident Director Thor Kuniholm, the Legation began to sponsor community development programs. TALIM works with the Fondation Al Tanger Medina (FATM) to host literacy classes for local women, focusing on Arabic (although there are also English, Spanish, and French courses). TALIM and FATM also sponsor cooking and sewing classes, all of which have created a space and home for

disadvantaged women in the medina of Tangier. Likewise, TALIM brings children into the Legation every Saturday for group activities led by Moroccan youth volunteers – adolescents who, more often than not, have had incredibly difficult experiences growing up (personal communication with Dale Eickelman, May 2 2016). There are week-long summer camps for children in the medina as well, filled with these kind of educational and community-building activities, such as planting flowers, playing games, and painting old wooden crates to hang up as decorations along the Rue d'Amérique (the street in the Beni Ider section of the medina on which the Legation is found).

Furthermore, in April of 2016, the Legation announced the launch of a “Legation Scholars” program. Roughly 60 high school students – a group of 12 to 15 each year – from the Beni Ider neighborhood will be given a scholarship to study science, technology, engineering, and math subjects in English (Board minutes, April 7 2016). As part of this program, Legation Scholars will be able to use the laboratory resources of the American School of Tangier on Saturdays, and will be part of a mentorship program wherein scholars will work with medina children one Saturday each month (Minutes, April 7, 2016). TALIM’s vision to focus on Moroccan youth and to encourage English education and community development is consistent with goals of the Moroccan government, American NGOs, the Peace Corps, and other initiatives.

The museum, the academic conferences, and the community development programs all come together in regards to one central part of TALIM’s legacy: its extensive research library. The library holds about 8,000 works on Moroccan-American

history, and is home to the only known original copies of the *Tangier Gazette* from 1884 to 1960 (<http://www.legation.org/>). Notably, the *Tangier Gazette* was the only English-language Tangier newspaper until its forced end in 1960 (WorldCat; personal communication with Eickelman). Library volunteers and staff are working on putting online a significant collection of glass-plate negatives, which focus on images from Tangier's time as an international zone (interview with Michael Toler, Feb. 16, 2016). Once they have completed this project, scholars from around the world will have access to them through the Legation's membership with JSTOR, a global academic database widely used by academics and students alike. The Legation library also cooperates with ARCHNET, an open-access database dedicated to documenting the built heritage of Muslim societies. The library brings together all of TALIM's various goals, acting as both a globally unique historic resource and a locally rich space for education and growth.

TALIM and Secrecy

The above description of TALIM and the Legation summarizes its structure and routine activities; however, there is of course more to TALIM than meets the eye. There is always a behind-the-scenes aspect to how NGOs work – private human motivations and interactions underpin every public institution. As sociologist Georg Simmel defines it, secrecy is “the hiding of realities by negative or positive means” (Simmel 1950:330). For example, as is the case with most organizations, TALIM's Board of Directors cannot operate with total transparency – essentially, “human collective life requires a certain

measure of secrecy” (Simmel 1950:334). Certain subjects, be they financial, structural or interpersonal, are deemed sensitive and are withheld from both the TALIM Fellows and the public.

For example, once Resident Director Gerald Loftus (2010 – 2014) created an online blog for TALIM, the Board decided that “the President or his designee should review these [posts] before they are made public to ensure that no inadvertently sensitive subjects are raised” (Minutes, April 5, 2011). Likewise, when interviewing subjects on TALIM, the author found that many were hesitant or unwilling to be “on the record” out of a fear of publicizing something hidden. Also at play is an understanding of the sensibilities of different audiences. As President Emeritus I. William Zartman said in an interview with the author, “You better check all this with Dale [Eickelman], to see how much you want me to let my hair down” (interview, August 26, 2015). Another interviewee told the author to redact a name from the interview transcript, and explicitly said that their comment regarding the personality of a person involved with TALIM was “off-the-record.” The unwillingness of interviewees to be completely transparent, combined with their clear desire to spread some ‘hidden’ knowledge, demonstrates the problematic of collective secrecy as elaborated by philosopher Sissela Bok; essentially, the very means of protecting shared secrecy can add to the already considerable drawbacks of secrecy linked with power – that is, the chances of corruption and of impaired rationality (Bok 1989).

There is significant transparency between the Board and the Tangier side of the operation. The President communicates almost weekly with the Resident Director either

through telephone, video-calling services, or e-mail (communication with Eickelman, May 14, 2016). TALIM organizational documents (e.g. meetings minutes, reports, assessments) are not available to the public, but are freely dispersed among the Board and the Resident Director of the Legation. These documents have been made available to me as part of this research project, and I have not encountered any censorship or restriction in what I can or cannot pull from these documents. Notably, however, in the two Board meetings of which I have taken part, my transcriptions of the official minutes (i.e., the final version kept in the archives) have been edited for various confidentiality-keeping reasons.

While a stated aversion toward secrecy is natural, it is necessary for the smooth and effective functioning of any private organization. Yet, because deception in organizations is seen as corruptive and thus immoral, clients, members, and the public implicitly negotiate the moral rules-in-use for the degree of transparency in any given institution. Simmel encapsulates the tension between secrecy, transparency, and publicity in organizations well, and is worth quoting at length:

Every democracy holds publicity to be an intrinsically desirable situation on the fundamental premise that everybody should know the events and circumstances that concern him... If, above all individualistic interests, there has grown an objective governing structure which embodies certain aspects of these interests, the formal autonomy of this structure may very well entitle it to function secretly, without thereby belying its 'publicity' in

the sense of a material consideration of the interests of all. (Simmel 1950:337)

TALIM's limited employment of secrecy allows the association to plan events while still raising funds for them, work through difficult situations regarding the Legation and the Board without panic and confusion, and ensures that personal information shared during Board meetings is confidential – a promise without which free and unfettered communication, necessary for innovation and progress, could not occur.

TALIM and Voluntary Associations

I have already discussed how TALIM illustrates the relationship among memory, truth, and oral history, and how they each interact with the process of historiography. In addition to these purposes, studying the operations of non-governmental organizations is important because it elucidates how a fundamental part of modern society – voluntary associations – manifests and survives. Yet, the question remains: why TALIM? What can TALIM and the Legation in particular tell us about voluntary associations?

TALIM's varied blend of functions offers insight into how many different kinds of NGOs work. It is a research library and educational center, a conference space, a locus of community and youth development, a history and art museum, and the heart of Moroccan-American informal diplomacy. No other association can lay claim to all of these functions simultaneously – the Legation is truly unique, and is worth studying for that fact alone. However, the methods used within this style of research –

incorporating qualitative data through oral testimonies, rather than strictly quantitative – reveal significant and important trends regarding several subjects: the interpretation of history, the complexities and nuances within interpersonal relationships, and the shifting content of memories and recollections.

Moreover, the Americans involved with TALIM all come from a certain echelon of society – regardless of socioeconomic status, they are in some sense “elite,” privileged by varied mixed of education, diplomatic experience, wealth, and international experience. Studying TALIM offers a lens into the world of the “power elite,” as C. Wright Mills (1956) would say. Through TALIM, we can see how elites interact and work together toward a common goal, and how that background impacts their attitudes, values, and actions. From my interviews, I found that these American elites have a strong sense of intellectualism and civic duty – they feel obligated to help communities grow and find security, while educating the public and restoring historic buildings, artifacts, artwork, and other material culture. This project does not delve into echelons outside of “the power elite,” and thus cannot provide a full comparative analysis of different societal strata; however, it is safe to theorize that the aforementioned privileges enable those Americans involved with TALIM to devote significant time, energy, and/or money to these goals.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to give a thorough overview of what TALIM is and what it can illustrate about modern voluntary associations. The question remains, however: why

the Tangier American Legation? What makes this particular historic diplomatic post significant enough that a group of dedicated individuals have spent 40 years saving and maintaining it? The following chapter will answer these questions through an in-depth look at the history of the Tangier American Legation, from American acquisition, to the end of its use as a diplomatic post, up until the creation of the Legation society in 1976.

CHAPTER TWO

1821 TO 1976: BEGINNINGS OF THE TANGIER AMERICAN LEGATION

In 1777, Morocco became the first country to recognize the U.S. as an independent nation. The Sultan of Morocco, Mohammed III (1757 - 1790), wanted to increase his regional power, and was shifting the *makhzan*'s^[1] financial base away from domestic taxation in favor of foreign, taxed trade. He sent out dozens of letters to various European countries that had not yet been technically recognized, negotiating trade agreements with them. The American colonies were added to the end of a list of Italian and German city-states, and thus offered de facto recognition to the U.S. by acknowledging it as a sovereign political entity (interview with author, Dec. 12, 2015; Vaidon 1977:34-5). ^[2] The two countries signed a 50-year friendship treaty in 1786. In 1821, Morocco's Sultan Moulay Suleiman presented the American Consul, John Mallowny, with a small, two-story house in the Tangier medina as a measure of goodwill, exemplifying the cordial relations sustained by the treaty. Mallowny sent a dispatch concerning this gift to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams in 1822, marking the first known documentation of this building. The 1786 treaty was renewed indefinitely in 1836. The 1836 treaty, however, added the benefit of promising 'most favored nation status' to the U.S. in commercial affairs (OECD 2004; Young, 1951).

¹ i.e., the collective native Moroccan government and privileged groups from which state officials are recruited.

² Further information regarding the early relationship between the U.S. and Morocco can be found at the U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Morocco's website, found here: <http://morocco.usembassy.gov/early.html>

The building was given to the American government, although the land on which it was built, considered as *waqf* (pious endowment) property, was not formally transferred to the Americans until 1891. At this time, Consul-General Felix Matthews extracted the *mulkiya* (title deed) from the Moroccan authorities, thus securing full U.S. ownership of the Legation (Miller 2010:150).

This house became known as the Legation, and hosted all American ministerial and consular activities in Morocco for over 140 years. Over time, additional parcels of land were purchased in areas adjacent to it. Despite the long-standing political and economic ties between the two countries, the U.S. only established regular diplomatic relations with Morocco in 1905. The move toward regular diplomatic relations increased the Legation's presence in bilateral and international relations. Yet even before 1905, the Legation oversaw consular courts that dealt with legal issues regarding U.S. citizens and functioned under the jurisprudence of Washington, D.C. (Loftus 2014; Chapman 1998). These consular courts operated in conjunction with the Sherifian Empire, which was the formal name of the pre-protectorate Moroccan government. Heads of legations were given the title of "Minister" or "Chargé d'Affaires" instead of Ambassador. Although the designation is no longer in use, a legation is an official diplomatic office outranked by an embassy. Before the 20th century, only major monarchies established embassies, in part because the ambassador was then seen as the personal representative of the monarch (Allen 2012:84). A third category is a consulate, headed by a consul or Consul-General. What distinguishes a consulate from an embassy or legation is that consuls are representative of an entire state, rather than of a head of

state specifically. At various points throughout the early 20th century, the U.S. appointed consuls, consul-generals, and ministers to Morocco. The U.S. did not establish a full embassy until Moroccan independence in 1956.

The next period of significant architectural change to the Legation was during the early 20th century. Maxwell Blake became the chargé d'affaires in Tangier from 1917 to 1922 and the Consul-General in Tangier from 1917 to 1940 (except for a three-year period from 1922-1925) (U.S. Department of State). During this time, Blake lived at the Legation and invested heavily in its expansion and renovation, particularly in the years 1931 and 1932. As quoted in an October 1932 Foreign Service Journal article written by Honor M. Bigelow, “the metamorphosis of the old building is quite complete and none of its original features are recognizable” (in Slocum 1975:3). The Blake period at the Legation was marked by routine diplomatic activities, such as the aforementioned consular courts.

Another distinctive facet of Blake’s tenure was Tangier’s status as an International Zone. As an International Zone, Tangier was under the joint administration of France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal and Spain from 1923 to 1956. Not all of these countries came on at the same time, however; France, Spain, and Britain signed an international convention in Paris on December 18, 1923, an agreement that was then formally ratified on May 14, 1924. After an amending of the convention in 1928, Italy, Portugal, and Belgium joined the ranks of the International Zone administration, with the Netherlands following suit in 1929. Although Blake certainly dealt with interesting political situations due to the

complications of Tangier's International Zone status, Blake's time at the Legation is significant regarding this project for his refurbishing of the building itself and such additions as wrought-iron railings and grills, carved wooden doors, and marble fireplaces.

During the Second World War, when J. Rives Child was chargé d'affaires, an 'information gathering group' from the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) used a secret room in the building to gather information via radio transmissions and to find the best way to support troops destined for Europe and the North African front. This group of men, labeled "The Twelve Apostles," included Carleton Coon, Sr., whose son later went on to help found the Tangier American Legation Museum Society (TALMS) and whose kin Elena Prentice was later deeply involved with the Legation. ^[3] Child knew nothing of the OSS operations; after being besieged with questions from his wife about a funny noise she heard at night, probably involving use of a telegraph key, Child agreed to have the place searched. Child found the code room and realized that certain vice-consuls at the Legation were in fact OSS agents; he then threw them out because he didn't think that their activities were appropriate for a diplomatic site. They continued their work from houses located in the mountains outside of Tangier, and assisted the Allied effort. Tales of this adventure can be found in Coon's posthumously published *A North Africa Story* (1980) detailing the involvement of "The Twelve

³ Through marriage, Carleton S. Coon, Jr. became the cousin of Elena Prentice, who was the Resident Director at the Legation from 1989 to 1990 and currently serves on TALIM's Board of Directors.

Apostles” before, during, and after Operation Torch, the successful Allied invasion of North Africa in November of 1942.

After the Second World War, the Istiqlal party publicly demanded independence from colonial powers, efforts which culminated in a successful and relatively non-violent revolution from 1952 to 1955. While there was political violence during this period – particularly from 1953 to 1955, after the French exiled King Mohammed V on August 20, and the Moroccan guerilla Army of Liberation increased its activities (Joffé 1985) – the Moroccan struggle for independence was significantly less bloody than what was seen in Algeria at the time. This is due in part to the fact that France felt Algeria was more strategically important and negotiated independence with Morocco on favorable terms so that more energy could be spent on retaining Algeria as an “integral part of France,” as Algeria was technically considered until independence in 1962.

The American government established its first embassy in Rabat after independence in 1956. Consular use of the Legation ceased in 1961 (Loftus 2011), when a new Consulate building was constructed elsewhere in Tangier. The American government intended to sell the Legation but found that the deed of ownership for the original 1821 house was nowhere to be found (interview with Harland Eastman, August 3, 2015). Unable to sell the property without the deed, the State Department repurposed the Legation. From 1961 to 1970, it was a Foreign Service Institute Arabic language school, where foreign service officers learned Arabic (interview with Harland Eastman, Aug. 3, 2015). In 1970, the Legation became a Peace Corps training center.

Although the Office of Foreign Building Operations (FBO) noted that there was extensive rebuilding of the Legation in 1970 in preparation for the Peace Corps, by the end of their occupancy in 1975 the building had again fallen into disrepair (interview with Harland Eastman, August 3, 2015). Later directors and figures involved with the Legation blamed this on the Peace Corps cadre, according to interviews conducted by the author and archival TALMS material; however, given that funds for repairs were not forthcoming, the PCVs were not entirely responsible for the building's ultimate condition.

Without FSI or Peace Corps use, the Legation was left to deteriorate. A retired Foreign Service Officer, John J. Slocum, took interest in the building, likely due to his involvement in a contemporary Presidential Cultural Property Advisory Committee (Saxon 1997). After meeting with James N. Tull in June 1975, then Counselor for Public Affairs at the American Embassy in Rabat, Slocum brainstormed ideas regarding the former Legation. Eventually, Slocum settled on the idea of using the building as a museum of Moroccan-American friendship. On October 1, 1975, he sent a preliminary report of the feasibility of this project to Tull, which contained notes on the "preliminary consideration of the building as a museum, of its possible contest, of its potential visitors and of some possible sources of funds" (Slocum 1975:1).

Slocum's primary objective was to renovate the Legation building. The related goal was to acquire and assemble artifacts to exhibit and raise funds to accomplish the overall operation and maintenance of the building. Fundraising efforts were initially targeted at expatriate Americans residing in Morocco, private businesses, the Moroccan

government, and salient Moroccan citizens. Should either a study or tangible experience demonstrate that the Legation Museum would increase tourism to Morocco, Slocum suggested that the aviation industry – specifically, Air Morocco (as Royal Air Maroc was then known) – be called upon to advertise and fund the Legation (Slocum 1975:2). In a postscript to the preliminary report, written after its contents had been finalized, Slocum noted that the Ford Foundation had offered the possibility of providing a grant for the original museum survey, although such a request would have to go through their North African Regional Representative in Tunis (Slocum 1975:2).

One of the first institutions from which the museum considered acquiring resources was the Royal Archives in Rabat (Slocum 1975:1). As Leon Borden Blair (University of Texas, Arlington) noted, the Royal Archives held such significant artifacts as Thomas Jefferson's coach and the Washington-Jefferson letters – both of which regarded the First Barbary War in 1801, a war which involved both the U.S. and Morocco. The goal was to gain these items and others on an indefinite loan basis in order to establish attractive exhibits. The primary source Royal Archives material would be supplemented by “highly sophisticated reproductions of documentary material in the National Archives, Library of Congress, Massachusetts Historical Library and elsewhere covering the original Bicentennial period in Moroccan-American relations” (Slocum 1975:2). Other sources from which the original museum exhibits drew were files from the United States Information Agency and the State Department. Additionally, the American consulate had a significant collection related to the 17th-

century English occupation of Tangier, belonging to an American collector named Donald Angus (Slocum 1975:7).

After discussing various logistics regarding fundraising and naming, the “Tangier American Legation Museum Society” was officially incorporated in the District of Columbia on January 23, 1976 (Ridley 1976). Ben F. Dixon, Christian A. Chapman, Daniel Oliver Newberry, the Honorable Stuart W. Rockwell, Jr., and Winifred S. Weislogel signed TALMS’s articles of incorporation. These six individuals also comprised TALMS’s first board of directors (Dixon 1976: 2-3). Each had a special role to play in TALMS, and demonstrate the kind of people interested in keeping the Legation alive.

Ben F. Dixon was a long-time Foreign Service Officer with experience in Morocco. He was chief of the political section at the Embassy in Rabat from 1956 to 1958, and the Consul-General of Tangier from 1965 to 1968 (Dixon 1998). Christian A. Chapman and Daniel Oliver Newberry were also Foreign Service Officers, but spent significantly less time in Morocco than Dixon; Chapman was a consular officer in Casablanca from 1951 to 1953, while Newberry was the Consul-General of Tangier from 1971 to 1972 (Chapman 1998; Oliver 2000). The Stuart W. Rockwell, Jr. was the U.S. Ambassador to Morocco from 1970 to 1974, but Foreign Service Officer Winifred S. Weislogel spent the longest time in Morocco (Rockwell 1998). Weislogel first lived in Tangier while learning Arabic at the Legation (then a Foreign Service Institute) from 1963 to 1965, and then worked as a consular officer in Rabat from 1965 to 1970 (Weislogel 1998). The involvement of these individuals with TALMS after its incorporation waxed and waned,

but Dixon and Weislogel in particular were active in the organization up until their death. Weislogel passed away last year and left a significant legacy to the Legation, signifying its lasting importance to her (email communications with Dale F. Eickelman, June 25 2014 and April 19, 2015).

From 1821 to 1976, the American Legation in Tangier underwent significant changes in both its architecture and purpose. What started out as a gesture of goodwill in the form of a modest two-story building became a large center of American diplomacy in Morocco, before then becoming a semi-forgotten vestige of an earlier time. Finally, after the Peace Corps ceased its training operations there in 1975, the Legation was recognized as a historic building that people fought to keep alive. After the creation of TALMS in 1976, the Legation once again had an enduring purpose – one that has continuously evolved and transformed, but one that fundamentally honors the history of U.S.-Moroccan relations.

CHAPTER THREE

1976 TO 2016: TALIM'S MANY FACES

This chapter looks at the development of the TALMS/TALIM after its inception to the present. Although creating a non-governmental voluntary association is difficult, ensuring its survival and growth was even more complicated and demanding. Its goals and purpose have evolved, as has its structure and influence in both Moroccan and American communities. Using extensive archival research and the oral histories, plus attendance at two board meetings, this chapter shows the main contours of this development.

Getting Off the Ground: 1976 to 1980

After the formal creation of TALMS in January 1976 and the election of Ben F. Dixon as its President on March 12, the group's primary focus preparing for the historic Bicentennial celebration in July (Minutes, March 12 1976). Starting from his arrival in April 1975, Harland Eastman (the Consul General in Tangier from 1975 to 1979) continuously oversaw the physical restoration of the Legation. The goal, obviously, was to get it looking presentable by July. Although Eastman was never an official Legation Resident Director, he took an active interest in TALMS until his retirement in 1979. After his retirement, he joined the TALMS Board of Directors and served on it from 1980 to 2000, and 2002 to 2008 (Minutes, October 24, 1980; Minutes, April 6, 1998; Minutes, April 17, 2000; Minutes, December 2, 2005; Minutes, November 24, 2008). After serving his time on the Board, Eastman became a TALMS Fellow, a position in

which he remains (Minutes, April 6, 1998; Minutes, November 25, 2002; Fellows, July 2015).

During our interview, Eastman recalled preparing for the Bicentennial. His comments demonstrate a strong sense of pride in what he and others were doing – saving an historic building which had been the heart of American diplomacy in Morocco for over a century. It is reasonable to expect that Eastman would forget the details of events from 40 years ago. Yet, when interviewed in August 2015, his sharp memories of the Bicentennial signaled their historic and narrative value in his mind.

EASTMAN: On July 4th, 1976, there was a historic moment coming up, and so [the founders of TALMS] wanted me to restore as much of the building as I possibly could in just over one year. There was absolutely no money available to me to do any of this. Over the next 14 months, with volunteer labor, contributions of paint from the Kénitra Naval Air Station, and some private donations, we managed to get 25 of the 45 rooms looking very respectable. The worst crisis I faced was just about 4 weeks before the bicentennial event. About 12 feet of [crown molding] had collapsed to the floor. Now that was something that you could not just have volunteers go up there and replace – you had to have people who knew how to do the stucco work and create this molding, which was about a foot big. It was going to cost one thousand dollars. How was I was going to get one thousand dollars? Suddenly, I remembered that the Peace Corps had left some [materials] behind that we were going take to the

dump. It was some small, high-end stoves, some cast-off iron pots, and things of that nature. The admin assistant and I went down and set up a stall in the bazaar on the Grand Socco. And we sold [these materials] and got our thousand dollars, in order to pay for the replacement of the damaged ceiling. [T]he repairs were finished] just days before the event. There were not just donations of materials – we had personnel from the Kénitra Naval Air Base come up on occasion to help us out for a day, the Marine Guards at the Embassy came up several times to help, and we had ship visits quite often in Tangier. Quite often I was able to persuade [the ship crews] to go down and scrape loose paint, repaint, and all of that. It was a wonderful adventure, it really was. (interview, August 3, 2015)

As Eastman describes, the months leading up to the Bicentennial were problematic. There was little money available for refurbishing the Legation; TALMS was not yet able to quickly raise significant funds, and Eastman recalls that he “had not one cent from the U.S. government to help [him]... The Consulate had a maintenance staff, so [he] would put them down there to work as much as they could be spared, but that was really the only U.S. government contribution to the project” (interview, August 3, 2015). The majority of materials came from American donations, such as the collection of maps, paintings, pictures, and “hundreds and hundreds” of items Angus bestowed upon the Legation. The Angus collection was used to furnish and decorate the bare rooms of the Legation, in addition to their use in the Legation’s incipient exhibitions (Eastman interview, August 3, 2015). Without these early donations, the Legation would not have

been able to function. However, Eastman and the original TALMS Board of Directors brought everything together in time for an event that symbolized the repurposing and reopening of the Legation.

After the Bicentennial, Eastman and the TALMS Board of Directors shifted their focus to the Legation's long-term health. One of the first steps undertaken was to expand the Board of Directors so that TALMS could have more personnel on which to draw in regards to finances and networking. President Ben F. Dixon nominated the following candidates in a memorandum to the rest of the TALMS Board on January 5, 1977:

1) John J. Slocum, who helped to establish the society; 2) Robert G. Newman, former ambassador to Morocco; 3) Carlton [sic] Coon, former DCM at Rabat; and 4) James Tull, former Public Affairs Officer at Rabat. All four of these people have played an important part in the establishment of the Society and would be willing to be members of the Board. In addition, I suggest; 5) Dr. Leon B. Blair of the University of Texas and author on Morocco and who has played a prominent role in Moroccan-American affairs for a number of years, also, be put on this Board. (Dixon 1977:2)

These suggestions reflect the future diversification of people involved with the Legation. Newman, Coon, and Tull were all drawn from the same pool of diplomats and FSOs which first created TALMS, Blair was a former Lieutenant Commander of the Navy who, after serving six years in Morocco, became a noted scholar with over 50 published

articles and books (Vaughn 2011). Although this founding core of TALMS all shared backgrounds with the U.S. State Department or the U.S. military, Blair was primarily an academic at the time of his nomination to the Board. Moreover, Dixon's suggestion that there should be elected officers of TALMS signals TALMS's future effectiveness as a voluntary association. Most aspects of modern American society are characterized by a "hierarchical authority structure that is the lynchpin of bureaucracy," and non-governmental organizations are no exception (Jackall 123:17). In order to be taken seriously by other associations and prove that the organization could function both smoothly, TALMS needed to institute formalized hierarchal structures. Without officer positions, TALMS would run the risk of looking disorganized and unprofessional. Moreover, a lack of such positions could foreshadow trouble when institutional turnover inevitably occurred. With all of this in mind, these suggestions were approved and all five men came on as TALMS Directors at the Board of Directors meeting on June 20, 1977 (Minutes, June 20, 1977).

During this time, Eastman continued to oversee the Legation with help from a part-time employee who was compensated through free lodging. These two alone kept the museum operating until the appointment of a Resident Director in late 1977. Unfortunately, the appointment of a Resident Director was rife with complications.

Given that TALMS was an American non-profit, classified as a 501(c)(3) with the Internal Revenue Service (Portney 1976), the Board and involved diplomats – particularly Robert Anderson, the U.S. ambassador to Morocco from 1976 to 1978 – decided that there should be a Moroccan-based 'sister society' to handle on-the-ground

operations and finances. This organization, separate from TALMS but working in tandem with it, was the “Association for the Study of Moroccan-American Relations” (ASMAR). Following a meeting between King Hassan II and President Jimmy Carter in 1977, ASMAR was founded on May 6, 1977 with the King as its honorary director (Scanlon 1977). ASMAR held its first meeting at the Legation that June under the co-presidency of Robert Anderson and Mehdi Elmandjara, a well-connected and prominent Moroccan economist and sociologist who passed away in 2014 (email from Zartman, April 22, 2016). At this meeting, ASMAR suggested the hiring of Phillip diTommaso, a retired Foreign Service Institute officer, as the first Resident Director of the Legation (then entitled the Cultural Affairs Coordinator). His job was to live at the Legation and oversee its maintenance, and direct its daily operations – a position he commenced on September 7, 1977 (Unclassified 1977). The idea was that TALMS would fundraise for ASMAR in the U.S. and help direct its activities, such as a short-lived student visitor program instituted by DiTommaso, while ASMAR would pay the Resident Director’s salary and handle the Moroccan side of the Legation’s finances (email from Zartman, April 22, 2016; Minutes, November 13, 1979).

The relationship between TALMS and ASMAR was overrun by complications which ultimately led to the latter’s demise. The Legation was American federal property, which the American government (through the Department of State) leased to TALMS on an annual basis. Thus, TALMS was the primary operator of the Legation. With this in mind, ASMAR often requested TALMS for money instead of undergoing independent fundraising efforts. The IRS rules regarding tax-exempt groups made

transfers between the two organizations difficult-to-impossible, however, making TALMS reticent to acquiesce to these requests (Dixon 1977). TALMS as a U.S. charitable entity was able to “make direct payments for expenses incurred by Legation museum activities, properties and operations” but unable to “disburse funds to [a] foreign entity, ASMAR, to conduct financial transactions in respect of property or projects which are possessions and undertakings of TALMS” (Dixon 1977). ASMAR began to complain of what they perceived as disinterest on the side of the Americans, and broke its formal partnership with TALMS in 1979 (email from Zartman, April 22, 2016). In doing so, ASMAR lost the Legation as a conference and meeting space, and the responsibility for choosing and compensating the Resident Director. The association finally withered away in 1981 (Minutes, September 17, 1981; email from Zartman, April 22, 2016).

Even the memory of ASMAR soon faded. In interviews with later Resident Directors and members of the Board, none brought up ASMAR. When prompted by the author in follow-up e-mails, both Eastman and Zartman recalled only the most basic facts about ASMAR’s existence (email exchanges with author, April 2015). ASMAR became a mere blip in the history of the Legation, one that illustrated how a good idea – complementary associations incorporated in two different countries – was difficult to translate into practice.

DiTommaso took a temporary leave of absence in late 1978 and officially retired from the Legation in December of 1978 (Whitcomb 1979). Dr. Thomas Whitcomb, a historian teaching at the American School of Tangier, assisted the Legation during DiTommaso’s leave of absence, and formally became the Resident Director on

December 16 (Whitcomb 1979). Whitcomb focused on three activities during his tenure: organizing the Legation's library and bringing its card catalogue up to date, directing tours of the Legation for American students and tourists, and maintaining and refurbishing the Legation's infrastructure (Whitcomb 1979). Despite these goals, Whitcomb's time at the Legation was short and he left the position by November of 1979 (Minutes, November 13, 1979). By the time Whitcomb left his position, Dr. Robert S. Shea had been appointed as a live-in "consultant" at the Legation. Although his managerial work started in 1979, Shea was not formally appointed Resident Director until 1983 (Minutes, March 11, 1983). He remained in this position until 1989 (Minutes, December 11, 1989).

Robert Shea and the Legation: 1983 - 1989

STAATS: As often happens with institutions, the key people at the institutions shape how the institution is perceived. I don't have to tell you that Dr. Shea was a great part of that, for those of us that were at the Legation in the 1970s and 1980s. (interview, December 9, 2015)

A retired U.S. Air Force Officer and diplomat, Shea had also previously worked at Columbia University as an academic dean. After leaving the Legation in 1989, Shea moved to Gibraltar to join a Jesuit order and become a priest. He was ordained after a year-long retreat and moved back to New York City, where he had lived for decades before moving to Tangier. He became the priest at a Catholic workers' house and

hospital, dying on February 15, 2001 at the age of 78. (NYT; Staats interview December 9, 2015).

During Shea's tenure at the Legation, the main goal was just 'to keep the place alive.' There were no community development programs, and groups would only occasionally come on tours to see the building and its collections. He managed to maintain the physical structure of the Legation with little funding for years, refurbishing the building and curating the museum's collection of artifacts.

Referring back to the aforementioned Peace Corps volunteers Staats and Abuhamad sheds light on Legation operations during this time. Though Abuhamad never worked in Tangier, Staats worked at the Legation with Dr. Shea during the summer of 1984 – notably, alongside fellow Peace Corps volunteer Christopher Stevens (1960-2012), the future ambassador to Libya who was killed in the line of duty in 2012. Stevens and Staats spent most of their time shadowing Dr. Shea, learning how to give tours and researching the Legation's resources. Both women recall this time in their lives fondly, although Staats was understandably able to recollect more about the Legation because she actually worked there (Abuhamad only visited it with Staats in 1984).

Through these interviews, one can recover what daily life at the Legation was like in the 1980s beyond what is described in archival documents such as meetings, minutes, and memoranda. For example, both Staats and Abuhamad spoke of a time when Dr. Shea introduced them to the writer Paul Bowles, with whom they then spent a lovely evening chatting. On Shea, Staats recalled:

STAATS: He knew literally everybody in Tangier. He was a very savvy diplomat [and] was really sweet. For me, the best, most special, magical memories are those times when I was going to lunch with Dr. Shea, or sitting in his living room, or sitting in the courtyard with him, maybe having a coffee, the fountains bubbling beside us, and we were just talking.
(interview, December 9, 2015)

In their interviews, both Abuhamad and Staats noted how Shea defined the Legation. His presence and connections opened the place to a wider nexus of relations in Tangier, as did his role as Resident Director. As Abuhamad emphatically notes, “[Dr. Shea] was the Legation” (interview, February 19, 2016). Shea gave the Legation, and by extension TALMS, a sense of stability and identity that had hitherto been unable to grow.

Institutional Changes at TALMS

The continuity of Dr. Shea’s directorship allowed the institutional structure of TALMS to develop more efficiently on the American side of the operation, as well. From 1980 to 1996, the TALMS Board of Directors created a non-Board membership program called the “TALMS Fellows” (Minutes, May 3, 1996), created more officer positions, set formalized tenures for Board members, and changed the process by which both Board members and officers were elected.

The Fellows program gives membership to notable people – including scholars, ex-Peace Corps volunteers, and other interested individuals associated with the society – without bestowing the obligations of its daily operation. Furthermore, Fellows often

give financial contributions to TALMS and attend events hosted by the association; according to the association's 2014 by-laws, Fellows "are persons who have made significant contributions to TALIM, and those who have distinguished themselves in the field of American-Moroccan studies and relations." Several TALMS Fellows, such as Michael Toler, Susan G. Miller, and Dale Eickelman, eventually become Board members. Likewise, former Board members such as Harland Eastman often have the opportunity to become Fellows after their tenure on the Board has ended. The Board is elected by TALMS Fellows, and the TALMS Board elects the Fellows (Zartman interview, August 26, 2015).

From 1980 to 1989, three officer positions were added to the TALMS Board of Directors: Vice President (Minutes, June 20, 1980), Treasurer (Minutes, Oct. 5, 1987) and Secretary (Minutes, December 11, 1989). Starting in 1980, each Board member could serve a three-year term, with eligibility of re-election for subsequent terms (Minutes, July 21, 1980). The by-laws of TALMS were modified at the Board meeting on December 8, 1995, however – subsequently, after two successive three-year terms, a Board member now had to step down for at least one year before being eligible for re-election (Minutes, December 8, 1995; personal communication with Eickelman, April 30, 2016).

After Dixon stepped down as President in 1980 and became Vice President, former Ambassador Robert Anderson served as President from 1980 to 1983 (Minutes, June 20, 1980; Minutes, March 11, 1983). Wynant D. Vanderpool then occupied the position of President until his death in October 1986, when Dixon returned as acting President until a permanent replacement was found (Minutes, April 27, 1987). I.

William Zartman, a TALMS Board member from the mid-1980s, became that replacement on April 27, 1987 (Minutes, April 27, 1987; interview, August 26, 2015).

Zartman's period as President of TALMS was characterized by growth and innovation, both in terms of the Legation's membership base and in regards to the Board's various roles in the association. To start, one of Zartman's first proposals as President was to write a new set of by-laws, a task accomplished shortly thereafter by a committee headed by Christopher Chapman (interview with author, Aug. 26, 2015). Although many Board members felt that new by-laws were needed, a more deeply innovative change that Zartman made as President was connecting TALMS to a larger network of voluntary associations and research centers (interview with author, Aug. 26, 2015).

Zartman founded the American Institute for Maghreb Studies (AIMS) in 1984 – a non-profit educational organization that focuses on exchanges between the U.S. and North Africa – and was instrumental in developing the relationship between it and TALMS (AIMS; TALIM). AIMS is a member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC), a non-profit voluntary association founded in 1981 that arranges research and conservation efforts regarding cross-national cultural heritage and is funded in part by the Department of State (CAORC website).

AIMS currently operates two overseas research centers: Centre d'Études Maghrébines à Tunis (CEMAT) and the Centre d'Études Maghrébines en Algérie (CEMA). While the Legation society is and always has been independent from AIMS, the two organizations are closely affiliated. As President of AIMS, Zartman set up

CEMAT in 1985 (interview with author, Aug. 26, 2015; Digital Library of International Research). CEMA was not formed until much later, in 2006. Zartman's roles across AIMS and TALMS linked together this complicated web of institutions – he became President of the CAORC-affiliated AIMS in 1984, created CEMAT in 1985, became President of TALMS in 1987, and within the next few years formalized TALMS as the AIMS (and thus CAORC) representative in Morocco. In doing so, Zartman opened TALMS up to the resources and capabilities of AIMS and other CAORCs, a relationship that remains to this day. Notably, the Legation society remains unique in the fact that it is still its own organization, with its own Board of Directors – the other two AIMS centers are not independent in this way (Gottreich and Zartman 2012).

Zartman also spearheaded the movement to open TALMS up to members of the academic and business communities, instead of primarily focusing on the diplomatic community (Minutes, Nov. 14 1988). In conjunction with that effort, Zartman strengthened the role of the President on the Board and increased the amount of interaction between the Board and the Legation's on-the-ground activities. Zartman's predecessors had very little involvement with programming and facilitating the connection of TALIM with other organizations, while Zartman made such activities a significant part of his presidential role.

The evolution of the role of President under Zartman's tenure proved beneficial to the health of the association. Connecting TALMS with AIMS and the Tunisia and Algeria-based ORCs, in addition to the expansion of its membership base, increased the diversity of sources from which the Legation could receive funding – a crucial part of

any NGO's survival. What was a solitary, insular project in the late 1970s – a handful of people restoring the old Legation in Tangier – had by the 1990s become an institutionalized voluntary association that was part of a complex, interrelated network of research institutions.

Community Development: Elena Prentice (Resident Director 1989-1991) and Thor Kuniholm (Resident Director 1991-2010)

After Shea left, Elena Prentice and later Thor Kuniholm became Resident Directors. Prentice, who is among other things an artist and a former teacher at The National Academy of Design in New York (1992 – 1997), was the Resident Director from 1989 to 1990 (Fellows, July 2015). She directly succeeded Shea, while Kuniholm came on as Resident Director in 1991 and remained in that position until 2010. Kuniholm is a retired Foreign Service Officer who had served in Morocco before becoming the State Department's Moroccan Desk Officer in Washington, a position he held from 1980 to 1982. He lived and worked at the Legation from August of 1991 to July of 2010 with his wife, Elizabeth. Mrs. Kuniholm formally became the Associate Director in 1995, a position created due to her high level of involvement but which has remained even past her retirement (Minutes, December 8, 1995).

Over those 21 years, the Legation society was transformed into the multifaceted cultural and research hub that it is today. Both Prentice and Kuniholm opened the Legation to the Moroccan community, developing programs and conferences that were hosted at the historic building. The purpose and goals of TALMS evolved more rapidly

during this time, mirroring the increased diversity of TALMS's Board members and Fellows. Prentice, for example, was the first Resident Director who was neither a professional academic or diplomat (although, as mentioned earlier, she is the cousin of founding TALMS member and former Ambassador Carleton S. Coon, Jr). Instead of focusing primarily on museum-related activities (curating, maintenance of artifacts, and exhibitions), TALMS started focusing more heavily on sponsoring scholars and academic conferences, encouraging the utilization of Legation resources for research purposes, organizing and cataloging the library, and reaching out to the local Moroccan community. In a 2015 interview, Prentice spoke of the Legation's purpose fondly, stating that:

PRENTICE: It is a remarkable research center. It is a place where somebody can walk in off the street into an old diplomatic residence. There are very few places where you can do that in the world, where major people in history were in that place physically. It has a really interesting collection. There is the Marguerite [McBey] collection, which is important, there are maps, and there is a great conference center. It is a place where young people can step in off the street and see something they could not possibly see anyplace else. (interview, September 20, 2015)

Prentice had known the Legation to some degree since her youth; in addition to her aforementioned relationship to Coon, her grandfather worked closely with the former Consul-General of Morocco, Maxwell Blake (interview, September 20, 2014). In

Prentice's own view, the most pivotal change during her tenure was involving more of the Moroccan community with the Legation.

PRENTICE: I took up my post in 1988. I was there in 1989, and I left in the beginning of 1990. I just opened the place up [...] I think what I was credited for doing [was] inviting the Moroccans in. I asked them to come in and take a look at the place, which had not been at all on anyone's normal circuit. And the budget was tiny when I was there – I do not think it is huge now, but it certainly was a lot more limited then. I would give cocktail parties and get donations. I did not have money to repaint, so I put on dimmers so I could change the lighting.
(interview, September 20, 2015)

Even after her tenure ended as Resident Director in the autumn of 1990, Prentice remained highly involved with the Legation. She served on the Board of Directors from 2002 to 2005, returning for a three-year term in 2013 (Fellows, July 2015). As part of her current activities as a Board member, Prentice recommends scholars and artists to the association as both Fellows and guests.

There was a short interim period between Prentice's departure in the autumn of 1990 and the Kuniholms' arrival on August 4, 1991 (Whitcomb 1991). During this time, former Resident Director Dr. Thomas Whitcomb came back as interim Resident Director until a suitable replacement could be found (email communication with author, Apr. 9 2016). In 1990, Whitcomb began significant renovations on the Angus (now referred to as the Moorish) Pavilion, repaired various damaged walls and roofs, organized objects stored improperly in the rooms and hallways, and updated the Legation's

infrastructure (heating, plumbing, electricity, and walls) (Whitcomb 1991a). These changes improved both the aesthetics and functionality of the Legation, building the foundation for future groups to utilize its space. Intensive repairs were Whitcomb's foremost priority the first month or so of his tenure; however, by mid-December of 1990, enough repairs had been completed so that security became his top concern (Whitcomb 1991a). Despite his dedication to these renovations, Whitcomb had agreed to be an interim director, staying on only until the Board hired a suitable long-term replacement for Prentice. In the summer of 1991, such a person was found in Thor Kuniholm.

The Kuniholms' arrival to Tangier in August of 1991 was the start of the longest tenure any Resident Director has had at the Legation (thus far). Following the work that his predecessors had begun, Kuniholm oversaw notable structural changes to the Legation over his and Elizabeth's 19 years in Tangier. Most, if not all, of these changes were noted monthly Director's Reports. Although priorities shift, repairs and renovations are a constant concern at the Legation, as the Kuniholms' discovered when they moved to Tangier in August of 1991. Rooms were constantly being refurbished, and the infrastructure never stopped needing repairs and/or renovation. These repairs were funded by TALMS and interested donors, such as Marguerite McBey (Whitcomb 1991b). One crucial source of funding was the Bureau of Overseas Building Operations (OBO) of the U.S. State Department, as the OBO acts on behalf of the U.S. government and retains some degree of responsibility for its upkeep. Despite each Director's best efforts, however, it is clear that the structural renovation of the Legation is a task of Sisyphean effort.

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on Moroccan-American relations and tourism. His monthly Director's Report from September of that year notes how "the Moroccan government strongly condemned the September 11 attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon," and how in Tangier, he "received many expressions of condolence, written and verbal, from my Moroccan friends and associates" (Kuniholm 2001). It was clear to the Kuniholms that the hospitality of Morocco had not shifted negatively in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks; unfortunately, the rest of the world was not as sure. Though the attacks go unmentioned in his last 2001 reports, in January of 2002 Kuniholm mentioned how tourism had fallen off since September 11 (Kuniholm 2002a). The situation became even more dire in the following months – Kuniholm noted in his April of 2002 report that "Museum-generated income has fallen off 85% with a corresponding drop in the number of visitors" (Kuniholm 2002b). Although there were some signs of renewed activity, the attacks had clearly shaken the hitherto strong ties between Morocco and the United States. This tension may have been one of the reasons why Kuniholm gave an even stronger focus to developing ties with the local Tangier community during the 2000s, although it had been a goal on which he had already been working. Strengthening the bonds between the Legation and the medina, the old walled city in which the Legation is located, would hopefully encourage goodwill between the American and Moroccan communities throughout all of Tangier. Although Kuniholm did not link the terrorist attacks to his paradigm shift regarding the goals and purposes of the Legation, the correlation of those trends is unlikely to be an accident. Instead, it is reasonable to suggest that Kuniholm wanted to sustain and

encourage connections between the two communities during a time in which warmth and understanding was at risk of becoming distrust and paranoia.

These kinds of behind-the-scenes calculations are crucial to understanding how and why voluntary associations work and behave. It suggests the why and the how, not just the what and the when. For example, Kuniholm emphasized the importance of the Moroccan employees to the Legation's success, noting that the enhancement of the roles of Moroccan employees was one of his most cherished memories from his nineteen-year tenure (interview, October 8, 2015). The 'why' – the impact of geopolitical trends on Kuniholm's reasoning regarding logistical decisions – better elucidates the 'what' – his elevation of the Legation's Moroccan staff. He stressed the importance of building relationships with these employees, such as with the current Associate Director Yhtimad Bouziane, whom he hired. Furthermore, Kuniholm's memories illustrate how those relationships fostered the development of TALMS's purpose into a larger bridge between the U.S. and Moroccan communities in Tangier. On that note, he said:

KUNIHOLM: [Yhtimad] came to me one day and said, 'You know, they have these women in the neighborhood who are illiterate, and they would really like to learn Arabic, in order to help their children in school.' And it seemed to me like a fantastic idea. As we got going with this group of women, they then got lessons in sewing and doing other things, and it became a social group for them. We even invited them to our concerts and things like that, at the Legation. Up until that point, these women didn't know anything about the Legation. All they knew was "It's this building

that used to be the American Embassy.” They didn’t have any sense that they could belong to it, or could do anything. So we opened that all up. Over the years, they saw the Legation as something that was helping them, and helping their families. It is the thing that I’m proudest of, I think, that we were able to reach out to the Moroccans and be useful to them, and establish a really genuine relationship. (interview, October 8, 2015)

One of the primary ways that Kuniholm developed these relationships and brought the Moroccan and American community together after the September 11 attacks was through the creation of various community development programs. The first of these was the literacy program suggested above by Yhtimad Bouziane. With this program, women from the Beni Ider quarter of the medina (where the Legation is located) would come to the Legation several times a week to take classes in Arabic literacy (Yunis 2015). Once the program was launched in 1999, these classes were sponsored by the Fondation Tanger Al Medina (FATM), a local NGO founded in 1997 and headquartered at the Legation which aimed to develop the medina of Tangier (Kuniholm 2001:2, 2002). FATM received funding from the Lions Club of Tangier, and secured teachers for the program; meanwhile, the Legation provided a physical space, material resources, and general support (Kuniholm 2002). Soon, this developed into a multilingual program, where women could learn to speak, read, and write Arabic, English, French, and Spanish. As Kuniholm also noted above – and as was described in an extensive and prominent AramcoWorld essay – sewing and cooking classes grew in tandem with the language classes (Yunis 2015). According to Kuniholm and other

directors, having a sense of ownership over this space increased social bonds among women of the medina and encouraged more favorable attitudes toward the West and the U.S. in particular. Michael Toler, a former Peace Corps Volunteer and current Legation society Board member, recounts Thor's involvement in the evolution of the Legation with awe.

TOLER: Before Thor, at least, [the Legation] was sort of this precious little hideaway in the medina that did not really have much to do with the community. It has gone on to become essential to the Medina Foundation of Tangier. They have gone on to do these literature classes. That is probably its biggest change, its involvement in the Moroccan community. [...] When Thor took over, he had a huge amount of refurbishing to do – the place was a mess! An absolute mess! And that never stops. Tangier is a seismically unstable area, built on what is essentially rubble, so the repairs and rebuilding never stop. But Thor got the worst of it, so that was really his big effort. He got most of the furniture and all of that when he was there. And then towards the end, when he had done all of that, he began to make it much more accountable to the community. That is the biggest change that has been useful and important. (interview, February 16, 2016)

The Legation's focus on community development continues to this day, adding childcare and youth development measures to the demonstrably successful women's programs. Ultimately, during his tenure as Director, Thor Kuniholm and his wife renovated many Legation facilities and increased fundraising efforts through cruise

ship tours and other means. In his own words, they “developed the Legation and its resources,” such as its globally-unique research library (interview with the author, Oct. 8, 2015). Moreover, the Kuniholms hired all but one of the Moroccan employees who work at the Legation to this day. They also improved the relationship of the Legation and the U.S. Embassy in Rabat, and solidified the ties between the local Tangier community and the Legation. Mr. Kuniholm retired in 2010, after which time he and Elizabeth moved back to Philadelphia.

Despite external struggles – including the impact of 9/11 on American-Muslim relations, tensions with Algeria over the Western Sahara conflict, and a global rise in terrorism – TALMS continued to evolve throughout the 2000’s on both the Moroccan and American sides of the operation. The Board changed to biannual meetings instead of bimonthly meetings, and increased both the number of Board positions and number of TALMS Fellows. In 1995, the Board drafted new by-laws conforming to TALMS’s original Articles of Incorporation (Minutes, December 8, 1995). Although there was minor dissent over the changes made, the new by-laws were instituted later that year. As part of these revisions, the composition of TALMS’s officers evolved: Zartman remained as President, Coon became the Vice-President, Stephen Eastman (son of Harland Eastman) became the Treasurer, Dixon was given the title of Agent, and Winifred Weislogel remained as Secretary. Zartman’s role shifted from President to President Emeritus beginning January 2014, and Dr. Dale F. Eickelman, a board member, was elected to the position (personal communication with Eickelman, April

2014). Weislogel retired from her position in 2005, and TALMS Fellow and former Peace Corps Volunteer Dr. Diane Ponasik took over in her stead.

These changes indicate both the structural and the interpersonal stability supporting the TALMS nexus – each transition was smooth and without debilitating conflict, and competent successors were able to take the place of those leaving. The Board of Directors meeting minutes reflect this steady evolution and growth of both the Board and the purpose of TALMS. The stability of the Legation society enabled Prentice and Kuniholm to expand the Legation in various ways – particularly, in TALMS’ membership base, which grew to include both Board members and Fellows, in the amount of funds accessible for the building and TALMS, and with the relationship between the Legation and the Tangier community. They built on the foundation laid out in the years before them by figures such as Eastman and Shea, and conducted the on-the-ground efforts envisioned by Dixon, Weislogel, Zartman, and other members of the TALMS Board of Directors. Their work shifted the focus of the Legation into a new paradigm.

2008 to 2016: TALMS to TALIM’s Present

Over the last few years of Kuniholm’s tenure as Resident Director, members of TALMS reflected on how the society’s mission and purpose had evolved since its creation in 1976. In interviews, many of those who had been involved with the Legation during the 1970s and 1980s highlighted how the goal of TALMS was to highlight and preserve the Legation building, as well as display its various artifacts in curated exhibits. As

mentioned before, Staats noted how “the Legation’s goal is to spread awareness of the actual place and its collections, but also of course, be a catalyst for increasing knowledge” (interview, December 9, 2015). Jerome Bookin-Weiner, a current TALIM Board member and former Peace Corps Volunteer, clearly outlines the rationale behind this museum-oriented focus on the early years: the original founders of TALMS wanted to keep the Legation from falling into non-governmental hands.

BOOKIN-WEINER: I do think it has changed. I think initially, it was sort-of a last-ditch attempt to keep the Legation and the museum viable. That was really what was going on in the late 1980s and early 1990s, because the foundation was so weak. The finances were so weak. (interview, December 12, 2015)

Bookin-Weiner was not around during the formation of TALMS – he trained with the Peace Corps at the Legation in late 1971, and did not join the Board until the 1986 (interview, December 11, 2015). The original by-laws of TALMS corroborate Bookin-Weiner’s account, however, demonstrating how archival history can validate oral history despite the subjectivity inherent to memory. As expressed in its original charter, the TALMS by-laws state:

The ‘Tangier American Legation Museum Society’ is organized exclusively for educational purposes, and for establishing and maintaining a museum in the former American Legation Building in Tangier. This museum would collect and exhibit documents and memorabilia pertaining to relations between the two countries since the founding of the United States of America. (TALMS by-laws, 1976)

Harland Eastman provides even more evidence toward the reality of that perspective. Upon being asked about the goal and purpose of the Legation society, he answered that “the building could not survive without an organization like TALIM to support it. [...] Without TALIM or a comparable organization, the doors would close” (interview, August 3, 2015). Thus, the museum was made to save the Legation – its very existence likely would not have come into being had the Legation not been in danger.

Yet, what began as a museum has become a center for academic research, conferences, and community development. Toler detailed the multifaceted importance of the Legation and its evolution of purpose toward education in particular.

TOLER: [TALIM] has become, increasingly, a research center, and a center for learning. We have an excellent – small, but very specialized – research library there [...] We have a collection that has grown considerably from its original origins from Donald Angus in 1976 of photographs, artwork, various antique items, and things like that. [...] Its most important function goes back to what I said earlier. It is a National Historic Landmark of the United States and it is in Morocco, so it is this monument to the possibility of peaceful relations – like I said, it really undermines the whole narrative of East versus West[...] It is also important architecturally [...] It is important, I think, as a monument to the power of diplomacy, the power of peaceful relations, and the power of good contacts – George Washington writing a humble letter back in the 18th century. (interview, February 16, 2016)

In an interview with the author, Kuniholm stated that he feels there are two main goals of the Legation society: the production and dissemination of academic knowledge through a research library and scholarly conferences, and its service as a cultural center for America and for Moroccans in Tangier (interview, October 8, 2015). Toler and others, particularly Zartman, also focus on the community development programs spearheaded by Kuniholm and developed even further by the last two Resident Directors: Gerald Loftus (2010 – 2014) and John Davison (2014 – present), both of whom are former Foreign Service Officers.

ZARTMAN: One more thing about Thor Kuniholm: he was a Rotarian, and so he made very good use of his connections there. He really inserted himself in the Tangier community. [...] [Gerald Loftus] did a good job in dealing with the local programs, the things like that. I think he built on what Thor had done. (interview, August 26, 2015)

While Zartman focused on the work that Kuniholm and Loftus had done, Toler emphasized the recent developments that current Resident Director Davison has accomplished.

TOLER: [The Legation] has gone on to become essential to the Medina Foundation of Tangier. They have gone on to do these literature classes. John [Davison] has really opened things up in terms of cultural events to the wider community. I think that is so important [...] That is probably its biggest change, its involvement in the Moroccan community. (interview, February 16, 2016)

Whether referring specifically to Kuniholm, Loftus, or Davison, all interview subjects remarked on the transformation of the Legation society in the 1990s and 2000s. At the initiative of Thor Kuniholm, and with these multifaceted evolutions of purpose in mind, the association voted and decided to rename itself TALIM in April of 2008 – what was once TALMS officially became the Tangier American Legation Institute of Moroccan Studies (Director’s Report 2008; Minutes 2008; email communication with Kuniholm, April 30, 2016). Many Board members and Fellows felt that name better indicated the full spectrum of work in which the association engaged. The new name also has the bonus of being a homophone for the Arabic word *ta’lim*, which means education. This double meaning is beneficial by demonstrating TALIM’s dedication to Morocco and the medina, and through its direct implication of the learning which the Legation provides for all.

The decision to transition from TALMS to TALIM, however, was not unanimous. Many of the old guard, such as Harland Eastman and Dixon, did not necessarily appreciate the shift in focus of the association according to several interview subjects; they felt that taking “museum” out of the name would lead to the end of the perseveration of historical artifacts at the Legation (email communications with sources who asked for anonymity, October 7, 2015; November 19, 2015; February 9, 2016). Coon specifically spoke at length regarding the change in the society’s name, a change of which he was not supportive.

COON: I felt a little disappointed when they changed the name from TALMS to TALIM. [...] I liked the old name – it was a museum. The

name TALIM detracts somewhat from the museum and the historical concept, and puts a little more into this other business context. And that is a change in emphasis that I did not really participate in or support. But that does not mean that I opposed it. On the contrary, it has had some pretty good successes as a business center and a conference center. It did help develop sources of revenue that the institution badly needed during several periods. (interview, November 19, 2015)

His and others' dissent over this decision is a prime example of how institutional change has the potential to be contentious. Yet, although unsupportive of the name change and of the overall shift of the association's purpose, Coon's calm acceptance demonstrates how natural it is for a group's goals to change and evolve. It does not happen overnight, nor does it happen without notice. Moreover, having bureaucratic frameworks such as by-laws, a directorate, and legislative precedent regarding structural changes of this nature helps facilitate these kinds of smooth and effective institutional transitions.

As demonstrated through the details within each Resident Director's tenure at the Legation, over the past few decades TALIM has moved increasingly toward being both a research and community outreach center. This is a change that by all apparent indications will be lasting, if not necessarily permanent. As Evelyn Early – a former Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Morocco and current TALIM Board member – notes in an interview with the author, “there may be things that are more emphasized one month than the next” or even over years due to the interests of

particular donors, Directors, and Board members (interview with author, Dec. 11). For example, various Board members of TALIM (particularly former TALIM Secretary Diane Ponasik) noted that the emphasis on academia is likely going to increase, with more conferences and scholarly visits planned for the future. Though TALIM's public focus on development of community programs and integration into the local neighborhood is apparent via traditional and social media (e.g. press releases, Facebook event pages, blog posts) these two goals are not necessarily at odds with each other, and could in fact prove to have a mutualistic relationship (interview with author, Feb. 9 2016). Early sums up what TALIM has become, and will continue to be in the future, in the following way.

EARLY: I would say that overall, the main goals of serving as the museum, educational, research resource center for bi-cultural, bi-national, multicultural relations and programs sort of sums it all up. I know there have been suggestions [...] to try and have things like American culture corner type events, and those will happen depending upon the resources. You know, there has also been the suggestion that more Moroccans should have programming at the center, and I think John Davison is really doing both of the last two things. I see all of that as the product of what is going on and what is available that month or that year. I do not really see that the overall major goals of the Legation will change permanently. I think that the five are a pretty good core off which to judge TALIM activities in the future. (interview, December 11, 2015)

The content-based changes regarding TALIM's development can in part be attributed to the continuation of institutional turnover within the Board's hierarchical structure, mirroring Early's hypothesis of why institutional emphases change over time. Since the beginning of the 21st century, numerous people have joined the Board – notable Moroccanist Susan Schaefer-Davis and former Ambassador (to five countries!) Thomas R. Pickering, for example – and just as many, if not more, have left (TALMS Board 2008). The changes in leadership (i.e. the officers) are particularly important to note, as the officers direct the purpose and tone of TALIM.

First, former Ambassador Edward M. Gabriel replaced Coon as the Vice President in 2007 and was replaced by Jean AbiNader in 2014 (TALMS Board 2008; 2006; TALIM Fellows 2015; personal communication with Eickelman, May 2 2016). Kerry Adams succeeded Stephen Eastman as Treasurer in April of 2010, and was then succeeded by former Peace Corps Volunteer Tim Resch in 2011 (Minutes 2010; Fellows 2015). As mentioned earlier, Zartman stepped down as President in 2014 to become President Emeritus, but had indicated his desire for a replacement as early as 2011 (Minutes 2011). That replacement was Dale F. Eickelman, who joined the Board in 2007 and has since advocated increased involvement in community and youth development (TALMS Board 2008), also a major priority for John Davison, the resident director. For example, during the 40th anniversary conference in April of 2016, President Eickelman announced the “Legation Scholars” program, which aims to promote the STEM ^[4] education of 50 to 60 high school students from the Legation's neighborhood in the

⁴ STEM stands for “science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.”

medina (Minutes 2016). His efforts have been compounded by those of the two post-Kuniholm Resident Directors – the aforementioned Loftus and Davison.

Both of them continued the goals set out by their predecessors on each side of the TALIM operation, particularly building on the community development programs which evolved throughout Kuniholm's tenure. Both men expressed admiration of those goals, and worked to maintain the spirit of them while fostering their evolution (interview, October 23, 2015; interview, April 4, 2016). Loftus focused on integrating the three disparate parts of TALIM – the research library, the museum, and the community development programs – into a more cohesive and comprehensive system. Loftus also focused on the renovation and design of the Legation building itself, as all Resident Directors must. Loftus transitioned into Davison in July of 2014, who remains the Resident Director at the time of this writing (Loftus 2014). During his time at the Legation, Davison has overseen numerous academic conferences and popular exhibits, and has encouraged Moroccan women and youth to participate in the Legation through weekly programs and summer camps in the hopes of strengthening the health of the medina community. He also hopes to incorporate modern Tanjawi art and literature into the Legation's resources, further emphasizing the role of the Legation in contributing to the local community (interview, April 4, 2016).

A significant way in which Davison is emphasizing the Legation's obligation to the local community is through the work of librarian Grecia Álvarez. Álvarez came to the Legation in February of 2016 to assist with both cataloguing the library and planning the 40th anniversary celebration. As the librarian, she has taught various

Moroccan youth (such as Juan Huertas, a senior at the American School of Tangier) how to organize and index library books and archival documents. Álvarez is also in the process of designing lesson plans utilizing the various resources of the Legation, which will be translated into Arabic by the American Language Center in Tangier. Her first lesson plan is about how students can navigate and learn how to effectively visit museums, a skill that is neither intuitive nor taught in Moroccan schools. Furthermore, these lesson plans will be made available for all schools who wish to use them when visiting the Legation. Álvarez's work reflects Davison's focus on TALIM as a both a global and community-based research institution, one dedicated to education and learning for all who enter its doors.

Conclusion: Looking to the Future

Over the course of four decades, the Legation has undeniably become a major player in American and Moroccan associational communities. One example of the Legation's influence as an American symbol in Morocco came in 2013, when the U.S. proposed a policy shift regarding the Western Saharan conflict (Charbonneau and Yaakoubi 2013). Word of these efforts reached the Moroccan government, and in response the government cancelled its participation in a U.S.-Moroccan joint military exercise called "African Lion" and boycotted an annual event at the Legation, the "April Seminar" (Charbonneau and Yaakoubi 2013; personal communication with Eickelman, Apr. 30, 2015).

Given the Legation's increasing importance in both Morocco and the U.S., the board and staff of TALIM must keep the following goals in mind: continue to grow as a center for education and research, expand the reach of its involvement in community development, and maintain the standing of both the Legation building and its unique museum. However, as the Board of Directors and staff look to the future, they must skillfully navigate the changing trends and emphases of the Legation – how it has developed since its curatorial beginnings, the increasing involvement of different communities, and encouraging staff members to be more engaged with the Legation's variety of activities. The most important and difficult question, however, is this: how do you effectively reach out to a community? TALIM and FATM are unique in the landscape of the Tangier medina – the only other significant, lasting community organizations involved in the Tangier community are Rotary International and Lions Club, both of which originate in global networks and do not focus specifically on the medina or even necessarily Tangier. Likewise, there are effectively no widely-read or seen local newspapers, magazines, or other such mediums in which TALIM can confidently reach out to the broadest base of medina residents possible.

One solution to this situation is outreach to informal networks, spreading word-of-mouth publicity through contacting eminent community figures – imams, popular entrepreneurs, and local schoolteachers. Davison's ability to speak *darija* (the Moroccan dialect of Arabic) is key here, as he can reach audiences hitherto obscured by language barriers for other Resident Directors. In addition to taking advantage of Davison's language skills, TALIM and FATM also can and do use social media (e.g. Facebook,

Twitter) to conduct community outreach and spread the word of various events and activities at the Legation.

This chapter has aimed to give a thorough description of the Legation society over the past 40 years, beginning after its foundation in 1976. From the early days of TALMS and ASMAR to the Dr. Shea and Kuniholm eras, the Legation and the networks involved with it have expanded to include more and more Americans from different backgrounds and local Moroccan community members. As its membership base has evolved, so too has the Legation's overall direction and purpose. While the solutions described above cannot overcome the difficulties of Tangier's lack of locally-focused civic culture, they are concrete and constructive steps forward for the Legation. As Resident Directors and Boards have demonstrated over the past 40 years of the Legation society, ultimately, the Legation must use local tools and resources to respond to local needs and continue integrating itself fully into the Tangier medina community. In doing so, TALIM will be able to effectively address the wants, needs, and desires of anybody who seeks out its resources.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF TALIM AS ETHNOGRAPHY

This chapter will describe the fieldwork I conducted in Morocco from April 1 to April 10, 2016, during which I studied TALIM's 40th anniversary celebration and presented an early account of my work to an American and Moroccan audience present for anniversary. I detail the activities of each day, illustrating how anthropological theories of ritual and pilgrimage – particularly drawing off the work of Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner – helps one interpret the celebration's significance.

The 40th Anniversary Celebration as Ritual

The study of ritual is a classic theme in anthropology, primarily due to the seminal theories it has fostered from notable social scientists such as Victor Turner, Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Clifford Geertz. Furthermore, ritual is central to understanding “diverse social phenomena” (Westman 2011:211). As Geertz defines it, ritual is a symbolic act, wherein “the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world” (Geertz 1993: 112). Using Geertz's definition, ritual can be divorced from layman understandings of it as being inseparable from religion or other formalized systems of belief.

The 40th anniversary celebration is ritualistic in that it commemorates a space and the symbolic narrative which has sustained it – the Tangier American Legation and its oft-cited, fawned-over history. Every TALIM member who went to the celebration

(consciously or unconsciously) paid tribute to the Legation, honoring its place in the imagined worlds of the past, present, and future. In this sense, for many, it was a sort of pilgrimage – Board members, Fellows, and “Friends of TALIM” traveled from all around the world to converge on this sacred space, illustrating its symbolic and collective importance in their lives. Victor Turner (1920 – 1983), a leading British cultural anthropologist, illustrates how less formalized ritualistic activities – such as the 40th celebration – can still be interpreted as a type of pilgrimage. Instead of being inextricably linked with religion or other complex and more formalized systems, pilgrimage is envisioned as:

... The social process involving a particular group of pilgrims during their preparations for departure, their collective experiences on the journey, their arrival at the pilgrim center, their behavior and impressions at the center, and their return journey... [it is] a sequence of social dramas and social enterprises. (Turner 1973:192)

At its core, the 40th anniversary celebration was a social and communal event enacted by the participants of the conference. Furthermore, for many participants, the 40th anniversary celebration was likely their last chance to visit the Legation and be in that space, thus intensifying the pilgrimage aspect of their attendance. Going to the celebration as associates of TALIM and taking part in its activities was “a ritual to be enacted” (Geertz 1993:116).

Because TALIM is a voluntary association which imparts a sense of identity upon its members, the 40th celebration also contained “ritualized interactions,” as described

by sociologist Randall Collins. Collins uses Erving Goffman's (1970) concept of micro-sociology to "demonstrate the ritual and social character of private life and thoughts," emphasizing that ritualized interactions are a critical components in identity formation (Westman 2011:212). During the 40th anniversary celebration, participants engaged in ritualized interactions by positioning themselves within the multifaceted hierarchies of TALIM as an organization. Dr. Dale F. Eickelman spoke not merely as himself, but as the President; likewise, when speaking with him, Resident Director John Davison acted and spoke as the Resident Director. I, too, took part in these hierarchical and contextual interactions; when speaking with Eickelman at the Legation, I saw him and interacted with him as the President of TALIM, as opposed to my thesis advisor and long-time university professor. The formality of these positions, and the context in which they arise, create implicit and explicit expectations of speech and behavior, lending to the ritualization of interactions during the celebration.

The 40th anniversary celebration was thus ritualized in several classic ways: through the commemoration of space, the transposition of an imagined world onto the lived world, the symbolic act of pilgrimage and finally, through the ritualization of contextualized and hierarchical interactions. For all of these reasons, the 40th celebration is a significant example of how classic themes of anthropology have manifested (and will continue to manifest) in both the cultural history and present activities of the Legation.

The Celebration

The 40th anniversary celebration took place over four days, from April 6 to April 9, 2016. The purpose of the celebration was to reflect on the Legation society's achievements since the association's inception in 1976, and to illustrate both the work that it has done and what TALIM aims to do in the future.

The first day was attended by twenty people – primarily TALIM Board members, Fellows, and “Friends of TALIM” – and consisted of various visits to various places and institutions important to the region's past and present. Except for Yhtimad Bouziane (Moroccan), Grecia Álvarez (Spanish), and myself, all participants were Americans or Europeans. After breakfast at their hotels, the participants traveled to the new Tangier Med Port and were given a tour of its facilities. This port is the largest port in Africa and one of the largest in the Mediterranean. It has inspired countries around the world, such as Oman, to undergo similar large-scale port projects (email from Eickelman, May 14, 2016). It symbolizes the re-invigoration of Tangier – a trend that is, of course, relevant to the goals of TALIM. Those in attendance were amazed at how Tangier had changed over the past five decades, and demonstrated a deep interest in Tangier. Many – particularly the older Americans – expressed nostalgia for the “old days” of Tangier, which they perceived as more exciting and “exotic.” Afterwards, we all went to Ksar Sghir, a heritage site around twelve kilometers southwest of the Tangier Med Port. At Ksar es-Sghir, we visited a museum and archaeological field site that showed the ruins from its medieval status as a citadel and fort town. The Moroccan head of the site proudly showed us around, detailing its history from Phoenician times

to the Almoravid dynasty and Almohad caliphate, all the way until its rise and fall as a Portuguese trading port in the 16th century. Ksar Sghir's place as a modern national historical site is significant due to the fact that for most of the 20th century, it was primarily managed by the U.S. Its transformation symbolizes the increasingly global outlook and positionality of both the Moroccan government and populace.

We ate lunch, and proceeded to visit the region outside of Tangier. From out of our bus window we saw the new Renault factory, which has employed over 5,000 local workers, along with the Moghohga Free Zone, a special economic zone with tax laws designed to encourage economic activity. We also saw Perdicaris Park, named after the aforementioned Ion Perdicaris – star of the Perdicaris Affair, which indirectly led to President Theodore Roosevelt's nomination at the 1904 Republican Convention. The Moroccan government's interest in both preserving and encouraging such heritage illustrates the lasting connection between the U.S. and Morocco. We ended the tour at the Grottes d'Hercule, a (mostly) natural wonder believed to have been discovered by the Phoenicians. The backstory to the Grottes d'Hercule ties into Greek and Roman Mediterranean mythology; legend has it that Hercules rested in this cave before doing his 11th labor, which has contributed to its being a popular Moroccan tourist destination. We concluded the afternoon with a cocktail party at Elena Prentice's home. In addition to the twenty people who attended the day's events, roughly a dozen people affiliated with the Legation and/or with Prentice were at the cocktail party

The first day was thus filled with camaraderie and nostalgia. Participants spent much time talking about their past experiences in Tangier, comparing both with one

another and with their perception of the current state of the city. All seemingly expressed pleasure to return to Tangier, and to be surrounded by associates of the Legation. For some, such as Michael Toler, this first day felt like “coming home” (personal conversation with Toler, April 7, 2016).

The second day, April 7, contained the core of the conference’s activities. This was the day of the annual April Seminar. This year, the purpose of the seminar was to reflect on the Legation’s first 40 years and its activities. There were 40 to 50 people in attendance for the majority of the seminar. The seminar lasted from 9:30 a.m. to roughly 1:00 p.m., and was broken into two panels. The first panel consisted of four speakers. Dale F. Eickelman, President of TALIM, gave opening remarks regarding the conference and the 40th anniversary celebration. Anna Reidy, a doctoral student in music at New York University, presented on “The First Daughter of the Legation,” the daughter of James MULLOWNY – the first American inhabitant of the Legation building. Jeremy Gunn of the Université Internationale de Rabat then spoke on “The Perdicaris Affair,” detailing the 1904 incident wherein a presumably American citizen was kidnapped in Tangier, leading President Theodore Roosevelt to demand that “this government wants Perdicaris alive or Raisuli [the kidnapper] dead” – a statement famously thought to have secured his nomination at the 1904 Republican National Convention. To conclude the first panel, former Resident Director of the Legation gave a talk on the “Twilight of the International Zone,” detailing the final years of Tangier’s unique status before Moroccan independence.

After a short coffee break, the second panel commenced. I started off the panel with a presentation on “Oral Histories of TALIM,” a prelude to this honors thesis. Adil Alaoui of Abdelmalek Essaâdi University and President of the Fondation Tanger Al-Madina (FATM) presented on “The Legation and FTAM,” detailing the two organization’s interconnected histories and community work. The panel ended with closing remarks by President Emeritus Zartman. After the seminar, James Wenzel of the State Department led interested seminar participants on a tour of the Arab Pavilion renovations. The April seminar officially concluded with lunch at Darna, a co-operative owned, managed, and staff by women from Tangier, and a walking tour of the medina.

Thursday thus contained the bulk of the celebration’s programming and activities. During each panel, the audience seemed engaged with what the speakers were saying. Many asked questions to clarify information. These questions suggested the Legation’s symbolic and lasting importance to the audience. That importance was made explicit in the TALIM Board meeting later that afternoon, wherein members expressed strong feelings regarding TALIM’s current and future activities.

The biannual meeting was held in the Legation Conference Room at 4:00 p.m. that evening, for which I wrote the official minutes. After brief introductions, the meeting opened with John Davison discussing recent Legation activities in his Resident Director’s report. Davison noted that he wants to continue opening up the Legation to new audiences, and cited how the Tangier governor summoned heads of NGOs to ask for grassroots mobilization to beautify all areas of Tangier. To this end, Davison mobilized support from the women’s literacy program. Together, they have started a

pilot program using a private donation – helped in part by TALIM Fellow James Lawrence – through a Getty Grant to get medina children involved in crafts projects. Davison would also like to increase the number of public cultural productions such as plays, poetry workshops, and concerts at the Legation. These events aim to be family-friendly, and will neither end late nor provide alcoholic refreshments.

In support of this overarching goal, Davison recounted an event at the Legation sponsored by the Embassy entitled “Global Media Makers.” On March 9, 2016, three independent U.S. filmmakers came to the Legation and spoke on “Diversity in Hollywood” at an event sponsored by the American Language Center. Both film students and translation students from King Fahd School of Translation were involved, and participated in an engaging two-hour conversation about diversity in Hollywood following filmmakers’ presentations. Similarly, Davison detailed a future event bringing Hicham Aidi – a Columbia University professor of Tanjawi origin – to the Legation to talk on a panel about contemporary Tanjawi writers, his first big public debut in Tangier as a writer; he is now an American citizen, and is not particularly known in Tangier. Finally, the Embassy arranged several notable visitors for the Legation: Regional Ambassador for Counterterrorism, Frank Urbancic, Deputy administrator for USAID Maria Longi, and the Head of State Department Liaison for Fulbright and AIMS Janet Arici. Davison mentioned that TALIM’s budget is not being exceeded, in part due to advance funding from the Council of American Overseas Research Centers and contributions from the American Embassy for selected programs.

Once Davison's Resident Director's report was finished, TALIM Treasurer Tim Resch gave the Treasurer's Report. President Eickelman then took the floor, announcing the "Legation Scholars" program. All board members present at TALIM or electronically unanimously voted to support the program. President Eickelman then made a motion to increase the salary of Moroccan staff members by five percent, which was also unanimously approved. The Board then discussed fundraising, led by Board member Madison Cox. Cox noted that, following the success of the benefit play hosted in August 2015, he and Rob Ashford, a Broadway producer, arranged for the performance of "After The Dance" in June 2016. Thus far, they have raised 25,000 USD through ticket sales, and noted that while seats are currently completely sold out, they are looking to increase seating to augment revenue. Cox specified that the beneficiaries of the June benefit are the American School of Tangier, St. Andrews Anglican Church, and the Legation. President Emeritus Zartman also noted that he has reached out to many prior Board members in search of donations, and confirmed that a former TALIM Vice President will both donate soon and "remember" the Legation in his will.

Toler then gave an update on the status of the Legation website, which has been undergoing significant renovations. Legation Librarian Grecia Álvarez provided a comprehensive report on the library's status, and emphasized focusing on increasing local participation (currently, most people who utilize the library are foreign). Álvarez also stated that the Legation would need a dedicated person on staff to take care of logistics of a larger user base, were that to happen. The meeting concluded with a confidential discussion on the relationship between TALIM, AIMS, and CAORC, as

well as with a brief discussion on the Fall 2016 benefit reception and the meetings of the Board and Fellows. The meeting adjourned at 5:08 p.m.

The day ended with an invitation-only “Benefit Cocktail Dîatoire” at the Villa Sidi Hosni, otherwise known as the Maxwell Blake and Barbara Hutton house. Many people attended the benefit, including but not limited to: American Ambassador Dwight L. Bush, Sr., Public Affairs Officer at the American Embassy Adrienne Nutzman, the Consul-General of Casablanca, university students from France, a senior at the American School of Tangier, the Head of School at the American School of Tangier, and TALIM Board members, Fellows, and their families.

Three core aspects of the benefit denote its status as an elite event: the entrance fee of 400 MAD (roughly 40 USD), the elegant dress attire of most attendees, and the political positions held by a significant amount of people in attendance (e.g., the Ambassador). Light food was served via waiters who circulated throughout the balconies, and three tables were set up to provide both alcoholic and non-alcoholic refreshments. At the benefit, TALIM President Dale F. Eickelman announced the “Legation Scholars” program, which has been described in detail in earlier sections of this thesis.

The third day of the celebration, Friday April 8, was had fewer activities, and this is the day of the weekly congregational prayers. There was a staff appreciation breakfast on the Legation museum terrace from roughly 9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m., at which the staff raises were announced, but no other events were scheduled for that day.

Saturday consisted of a brunch for the Moroccan-American Friendship Foundation (MAFF). In addition to brunch, there was a panel and discussion attended by about 40 people. Many participants were teachers and students at secondary schools and universities in the area, though one participant was from Fes and two came from Rabat. All expressed interest in the U.S. and in teaching and/or learning English, and many had been to the U.S. previously on grants and for research. Two attendees noted that they were Fulbright alumni and had studied in the U.S. as part of their scholarship. As with the April Seminar, four people took part in this panel. Resident Director John Davison delivered the opening remarks, which were followed up by a presentation on MAFF by the organization's president, Yasmine Hasnaoui. President Eickelman then presented a talk on "New Directions: The Tangier American Legation since 1976," and Toler concluded the panel with a discussion of "ARCHNET's Unique Role in Tangier's Historical Preservation." As with the panels earlier in the week, participants asked questions and commented on each presentation. Running concurrently with the panel was an urban gardening workshop for medina children in the Legation courtyard, one of the many community development undertaken by TALIM and FATM. After the panel, many participants (myself included) had refreshments on the Moorish Pavilion, watching the urban gardening workshop with interest.

Conclusion

I include an event ethnography of the 40th anniversary celebration within this thesis because of what it illustrates about TALIM as a living organization. The 40th brought

together disparate parts of TALIM under the roof of the building which connects them all – the Tangier American Legation. Moreover, this event was one of the final opportunities for those who were a part of the Legation society’s creation to celebrate with those who are a part of its future. Over the course of the celebration, I encountered the Americans who participate in TALIM from afar, the staff working on-the-ground at the Legation, “Friends of TALIM” who donate funds to TALIM’s cause, scholars who frequent the Legation library, and Moroccan women and youth benefitting from the Legation’s community development programs. The 40th showed the range of people within the Legation’s nexus of influence and impact. Essentially, it can be taken as a microcosm of what TALIM is, and what it wants to become.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORAL HISTORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND ANTHROPOLOGY

This chapter details the development of oral history over the 20th and 21st centuries. In doing so, it will also explore how anthropology relates to historiography, and assess how the use of anthropology and historiography are integral to understanding the Legation's present and past. In addition to the interviews I have conducted with various Legation associates, I have also used oral histories from the State Department Oral History Project. As my interviews progressed, significant questions arose: what value does one place on oral histories that have recounted events from up to four and five decades ago? How does one analyze and utilize oral history interviews in which you as an author did not participate? Many historians have struggled with these questions, particularly throughout the evolution of the academic discipline throughout the 20th century. Looking at both their scholarship and emergent debates on the subject provides an answer to what could otherwise seem an intractable question.

The Evolution of Oral History in the 20th Century

Although the definition of oral history might feel intuitive – say, the telling of the past through story and recollection – scholar Eva McMahan (1989: xiv, 5) explains it well as an academic tool. In her words, oral history is an interview “designed to record the memorable experiences of people,” particularly in regards to those whom, for whatever reason, are considered to have memorable and notable lived experiences. Crucial to this definition is the implication of oral history as “an interpretive communication event”

that involves multiple actors, negotiated realities, and contextual communication. McMahan also notes that oral history is a social event that “reflects the social relations of the moment... and those of the larger culture” (McMahan 1989:x). Ultimately, no matter in which discipline it is used, oral history is fundamentally a co-operative, creative, and cultural effort (McMahan 1989:2, 5, 12; Thompson 1998:26).

Of course, oral history was used as a methodological tool long before McMahan wrote about it in 1989. For example, one can look to the eminent historian and anthropologist Jan Vansina (1929 – present). He began his work in Central Africa during the 1960s, and became one of the foremost authorities on the cultural history of the region. Vansina’s first book, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (1965), emphasized the role that oral tradition played in constructing legitimated histories in Central African societies. His was the first prominent work to assert that oral tradition was sufficient to document history, which was a rather radical claim at the time; most historians did not consider the narratives expressed within oral tradition to ‘authentically’ depict the past. This mindset enabled anthropologists, in the words of leading sociologist Neil J. Smelser (1930 – present) and developmental psychologist Paul Baltes (1939 – 2006), to “disregard the existence of indigenous histories” (2001:2219).

The lack of oral tradition’s legitimacy as an empirical historical tool underpinned an argument made by many historians – namely, that African societies were without history because they were without written materials. They were considered to be what foundational sociologist Émile Durkheim called “the unlettered and forgotten peoples”

(Hamilton 1995:226). Vansina was one of the first prominent scholars to challenge this misconception. He later updated his concept of oral tradition as a valid tool in a 1985 book, *Oral Tradition As History*, adding that the oral transmission of memories must be tempered with applied historiographical rules (such as the linear succession of events and the evaluation of a statement's truth) in order to maintain the highest level of accuracy possible. Although not using the term 'oral history' himself, Vansina laid the groundwork for the field through his exploration of the histories of Central African societies.

As Vansina's work demonstrates and as historian Donald A. Ritchie (1945 – present) writes, "oral history is as old as the first recorded history and as new as the latest digital recorder" (2011:3). The term 'oral history' was not used in its current, academic sense until 1942, first appearing in a *New Yorker* article entitled "An Oral History of Our Time" by Joe Gould (Ritchie 2011:3). Although the article was later revealed to be a farce, the term remained attached to the process of interviewing people with the intent of reconstructing the past.

In 1948, Columbia University professor Allan Nevins established the Oral History Research Office, which was the first institution dedicated to archiving, conducting, and preserving interviews in the pursuit of disciplined history (Ritchie 2011:3). His goal was to scour manuscripts, newspapers, memoirs, letters, and any textual source he could find in order to "record the reminiscences of major players in important events" (Ritchie 2011:4). Although Nevins' academic interest in oral history was largely ignored by historians at the time, by the 1950s the mainstream media began

to lend credence to the practice. Over the next decade, other universities followed suit and established their own oral history archives, including the University of California campuses in Los Angeles and Berkeley (Ritchie 2011:4). These university offices have had a clear impact on modern college campuses; for example, Boston College currently has a similar project on the oral history of the Irish Republican Army (which incidentally, the British government attempted to seize in 2015 due to the recognition of the IRA as a terrorist organization) (Witteveen 2015).

There was a demonstrable increase in the validity of oral history as an empirical tool from the 1960s to the 1990s. A few significant examples, as noted by McMahan, Ritchie, and oral historian Ronald J. Grele are: author Studs Terkel's "memory books" concerning the Great Depression and the Second World War, David Halberstam's work on the political elite, Howell Raines's history of the civil rights movement, and T. Harry William's *Huey Long* (1969) – a critically-acclaimed biography of the 1930s politician who inspired Robert Penn Warren's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *All The King's Men* (1946) (McMahan 1989:xiii). These works popularized using oral history interviews as a scholarly tool, and demonstrated how oral history can be effectively used in the academic discipline of history. Following the example of anthropology, which had produced ethnographical works based on oral history such as Oscar Lewis's (1914 – 1970) *La Vida; A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty – San Juan and New York* (1966), historians began to focus on oral interviews in analyzing the "cultural realities and historical consciousness of people that can be expressed in the form of autobiography, biography, ethnotexts, and life history" (McMahan 1989: xiii).

Determining the Subjects of Oral History

During the first half of the 20th century, many American historians took a top-down approach to history, focusing on “political, economic, and cultural elites” (Ritchie 2011:4). Other disciplines, such as anthropology’s Lewis and Paul Radin (1883 – 1959), focused on a bottom-up approach in order to give a voice to communities who had been marginalized from national narratives. Western oral historians began to criticize “older historiography for narrating a history of events” which focused on an oligarchic elite in society, instead arguing that history should seek “to examine the social context in which events occurred” (Smelser and Baltes 2001:6771). In the 1960s and 1970s, this microhistorical bottom-up perspective became part of the mainstream school of oral history in the United States, “with American oral historians increasingly turning their attention to race, class, gender, and local communities” (Ritchie 2011:5). For example, Lewis’s aforementioned 1966 classic won the National Book Award in Science, Philosophy and Religion in 1967 (National Book Foundation).

A notable work illustrating the microhistorical approach is *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (1978) by the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. In *Montaillou*, Ladurie studies the titular French village during the early 14th century. He recreates the daily activity of Montaillou through documented inquiries by the Catholic church (particularly those by the Bishop of Pamiers, Jacques Fournier) to ascertain how villages worked and what villagers – many of whom were considered heretics by the Roman Catholic Church – believed (Ladurie 1978). Ladurie’s work is significant because he used 600-year-old records of oral testimony to provide a comprehensive and

critical ethnography of daily life in a small French village. Using similar methods and in a similar vein, Natalie Davis's work *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) explored gender relations in 16th century rural France through the study of judicial records from the time (Smelser and Baltes 2001:6774). Though both were using interviews and documents from long ago – whose subjects were likely unaware that their words would be part of an oral history – their work compares well to modern ethnographic fieldwork conducted in real time.

Eventually, scholars, government employees, and laymen alike came to realize that oral history interviews within both elite and non-elite circles were academically valuable (Henige 1982). Without accounts from individuals across the socioeconomic spectrum, it would be impossible to paint “a more comprehensive picture of the actions and counter actions, motives and results in human events” (Ritchie 2011:5). Over the 1980s and 1990s, the oral history method became a worldwide movement. It became a tool which historians used to depict accounts of events ranging from South African apartheid to the collapse of the U.S.S.R.. Historians even began to use oral history to depict and explore the shifting relationships between colonizers, their descendants, and indigenous peoples (Ritchie 2011:6). In recent years, the State Department has launched an extensive and advertised Oral History Program that aims to “document the history of U.S. foreign relations and bring a historical perspective to current policy making” (Cabrera 2011). This move by the State Department reflects the increasing importance and relevance of oral history techniques in serious historical scholarship; instead of being part of an anthropological project, an ethnological project, or some other similar

title, the State Department is acknowledging oral history as a valid tool specifically within the mainstream, scholarly discipline of history.

Oral History and Historiography

In broad terms, historiography is the study of historical writing and/or the writing of history itself. Thus, it is a confusing term, sometimes referring to a particular body of historical work and other times to the methods, techniques, and approaches used to study that historical work. Which definition is appropriate must be discerned through context. For example, when I speak of the historiography of TALIM, I am referring to both the literal writing of TALIM's history and of the self-reflexive perspective that must be taken when writing that history – particularly due to the subjectivity inherent in utilizing oral testimony.

Eminent British historian L. J. Jordanova argues that academic disciplines work within and are shaped by organizational frameworks that evolve as the discipline grows (Jordanova 2000:11). Further complicating the field of historiography, then, is the difference between regional schools of thought regarding its disciplinary frameworks; for example, Anglophone historiography emphasizes empirical data over theoretical dimensions, while mainstream French, German and Italian historiographical traditions tend to focus on the latter (Jordanova 2000:55). Some see the overly untheorized nature of Anglophone historiography as a positive quality, while others see it as damagingly negative. Essentially, because there is no foundational body of historical knowledge that spans across the entire field, and the term history “includes so much, and has such

fluid edges, that the idea of a delimited body of knowledge is not really appropriate," it is difficult to define what the organizational frameworks of historiography are (Jordanova 2000:27). While cultural anthropology has cultural relativism, structuralism, political economy and more, historiography is not so easily divided into different, yet interactive and relevant, schools of thought. As Smelser and Baltes (2001:6671) write, "there are no paradigms in the [Thomas] Kuhnian sense that determine historiographical practice... [instead,] there is a great plurality of outlooks."

One way to better understand historiography is by focusing on and analyzing the various tools and methods used within the discipline. Oral history is a specific methodological tool used in historiography, and is particularly notable due to the issues raised earlier in this chapter. Yet, it is not the only tool relevant to this project; as Jordanova notes, historians use diverse tools when constructing history, "and we need to be able to appreciate the richness and limitations of each type" (Jordanova 2000:33). The two main categories of historiographical tools are primary and secondary sources. These categories are not absolute, and shift when placed in various contexts. In general, however, "primary sources are taken to be original documents, raw materials, direct evidence of the era being studied, while secondary sources are those created by historians and other commentators upon the past" (Jordanova 2000:32). In this sense, oral history interviews and their transcripts are primary sources, while the analytical text surrounding them (should they be used in later research) would be secondary sources.

The writing of history is more than creating a timeline and a bland recounting of events; effective historiography requires a dynamic synthesis of primary and secondary materials while acknowledging the positionality of the historian, the subject(s), and what is being depicted. History is multifaceted, and has to be represented as such. What makes oral history a useful tool, then, is that it can effectively illustrate personal narratives of lived experience. Nevertheless, oral testimony must always be supported by other sources when concerned with the accuracy of what an interview subject is saying, or when dealing with external facts as opposed to internal interpretations. Ultimately, as both Jordanova and prominent oral historian and sociologist Paul Thompson note, oral history is a useful and democratizing tool in historiography but must be critically examined, for better and for worse (Thompson 1998:26; Jordanova 2000:53).

Oral History and Anthropology

Oral history is remarkably multidisciplinary, used by social scientists from across a wide variety of disciplines. There are notable differences, however, such as the anthropologist's predilection toward anonymity in participant observation and the historian's insistence on concrete and verifiable identities (Ritchie 2011:11). In spite of such differences, all oral history work is simultaneously anthropological and historical in nature. At its most basic level, anthropology is the study of culture, and all oral history interviews involve actors who have been shaped by the cultures from which they have come. Which questions are asked, the way they are asked, the way that

answers are given, and the subsequent interpretation of all of these moving parts are influenced by the cultural context in which they take place.

The methodological exchange between history and anthropology is especially significant because both explore social phenomena through a primarily human lens; moreover, historians often take words and terms from anthropology in order to reinterpret and further clarify “familiar historical pattern[s]” (Jordanova 2000:73). As Jordanova explicitly states, anthropological methods “and ways of imagining our own intellectual practices” are essential to a historical mindset, and thus the overall discipline (Jordanova 2000:74). This is especially true in comparative history, because the similarities and differences between cultures “is negotiated by scholars, according... to their own concerns and agendas,” making the analytical tools developed by anthropology crucial to writing an effective comparative history (Jordanova 2000:75).

Yet, the interdisciplinary exchange between anthropology and history was not always smooth. In *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), groundbreaking cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz argued “that any attempt to approach a historical subject matter with theoretically oriented questions distorts [the] subject and has to be replaced by ‘thick description’ which immerses itself untheoretically into an alien world” – a then-radical notion that effectually invalidated “traditional forms of historical inquiry” (Smelser and Baltes 2001:6775). Geertz’s work shifted the focus and frameworks of both anthropology and history, building a foundation for the fluid exchange of ideas seen between the two disciplines today.

Ultimately, any anthropological product will add to the body of historical work regarding the culture(s) and region(s) studied therein. For example, Dale F. Eickelman's *Knowledge and Power in Morocco* (1985) is a social biography of 'Abd al-Rahman al Mansouri, a 20th-century rural Moroccan judge. The work is primarily an anthropological undertaking; it is an ethnographic narrative that focuses on one man and his small community, analyzing contemporary Islamic attitudes and cultures through the reflections of his interview subjects. Yet, Eickelman's social biography is also an historical work, detailing the societal structure, notable events, and social behavior of a particular time in a particular place. Any ethnography – the bread and butter of social anthropology – will detail all of those subjects, regardless of whether or not historical illustration is its driving goal or purpose.

In order to write a cultural history of TALIM from an anthropological perspective, I have used a combination of oral histories of individuals related to the Legation (either conducted by myself or others) and archival sources including but not limited to the following: Board of Directors meetings minutes, Resident Director reports, government reports regarding the Legation, personal letters, memoranda, and photographs. The oral history component of this project is crucial, given the relatively recent founding of TALIM – it is a rare opportunity to understand the motivations and perspectives of individuals who dedicate themselves to TALIM's upkeep, thus offering a fuller understanding of the organization and its history as a whole.

As seen in the excerpt below, interviewing Harland Eastman gives a richer and more nuanced analysis of why TALIM was created. On a public level, the purpose of

TALIM is “a whole institution of Moroccan-American relations.” Eastman makes it clear on a more human level, however, that the original intent was primarily to keep the building itself alive. Without conducting an oral history interview, that original purpose would have remained unknown to all those uninvolved with the Legation.

ALBRECHT: The purpose that you just described, essentially acting as a liaison between the Moroccan and American communities — would you say that is the same purpose that the founders of TALIM intended in the late 1970s, or has its purpose has changed over the years?

EASTMAN: Well, I would say the original purpose of TALIM was simply to keep the project going — the restoration of the building, and the financing of the building with some personnel on the spot, was obviously necessary. [...] Early on, TALIM was thinking of lectures and conferences there, bringing American scholars in various fields together with North African scholars. I think there still is an annual meeting of some sort on various subjects that take place there. [...] You know, it has gone from “let us fix it up” to “let us support it financially” to a whole institution of Moroccan-American relations, and a facility for cultural exchanges as well as exchanges of ideas on a whole vast variety of subjects, both historical and current. So, obviously, the purposes of TALIM have grown as their horizons have expanded. (interview, August 3, 2015)

Beyond making explicit what were once implicit rationales for various actions, oral history interviews offer insight into the rationale behind the human actions which

create historical events. For example, using traditional historiographical methods (e.g., archival research) the Resident Director of TALIM from the mid-1980s to 1987, Dr. Robert Shea, would be but another name in a list of people maintaining the Legation. Interviews with former Morocco-based Peace Corps Volunteers, Valerie Staats and Lisa Abuhamad, however, demonstrate the deep and lasting influence Shea had on the lives of anyone who visited the Legation.

STAATS: Part of the charm of the Legation for us, back then, speaking for my Peace Corps cohort and the couple years before and after me, is that Dr. Shea was legendary to us – as a source of knowledge and history, of local culture. He spoke French, darija – the Moroccan Arabic. He had Moroccan friends, European friends, and American friends. He was part of the lore, the legend, of all that. [...] As often happens with institutions, the key people at the institutions shape how the institution is perceived. I don't have to tell you that Dr. Shea was a great part of that, for those of us that were at the Legation in the 1970s and 1980s. (interview, December 9, 2015)

His legacy is crucial to the development of the Legation's centrality to the Tangier medina, because he laid the foundation for its inclusion in diverse social networks around both the and the country. Abuhamad describes Shea's impact below, in an interview with the author:

ALBRECHT: It really seems like Dr. Shea had an impact on the lives of people who visited the Legation.

ABUHAMAD: I mean, he was the Legation, pretty much. It was hard to separate the two, at the time. (interview, February 19, 2016)

Conclusion

Oral history has been around since before the dawn of recorded history. Over the 20th century, however, oral history has truly emerged as a dominant empirical tool within the discipline of history – though, it must be noted that other disciplines in the social sciences (particularly anthropology) were using it as a methodological tool by the early-to-mid 20th century. By the 1980s and 1990s, “historians coming from a social science orientation recognized the significant role of the cultural dimension in society” – a dimension which is best illustrated and explored through the use of oral history interviews (Smelser and Baltes 2001:6775).

I began this chapter by asking two questions. What value does one place on oral histories recalling long-ago events, and how does one incorporate outside scholarship utilizing oral history documents? These questions are significant, and do not have one simple or clear-cut answer. Overall, the work of eminent scholars across various fields – particularly Vansina, Lewis, Terkel, Nevins, and Ladurie – demonstrates that the purpose of an oral history is multifaceted. Both the content of recollections and the act of recollection itself are valuable when constructing a history from oral narratives. Different people may tell different versions of the same story, but ultimately, both versions have a place in history – it is up to the historian to determine which parts are critically useful, and which can be put aside. The length of time between an event and

its recollection influences the content of any given memory; however, no length of time is sufficient to disregard a remembrance, as the act of remembering itself and what is recalled contains valuable and critically useful information. Understanding these nuances improved my interviews with TALIM associates, and has allowed me to pull more useful information and analysis from my interview subjects.

Despite academic debates regarding oral history and one's personal opinion of its validity, it is inarguable that the oral history interview method has shaped the intellectual environment of many disciplines over the past century – and as Smelser and Baltes (2001:6772) note, “it is language that creates reality.” Oral history and the language which underpins it are crucial to anthropological endeavors, and a critical component of constructing a full, comprehensive and accurate cultural history of TALIM and the Legation.

CHAPTER SIX

MEMORY: ITS FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

The French scholar and artist Jean-Paul Sartre once famously said that “history is the deliberate resumption of the past by the present” (1962:206). Indeed, there is no empirically ‘objective’ history; both experienced and documented truth can be re-negotiated and rewritten, as can what constitutes adequate history. As Smelser and Baltes (2001:6828) state, “everything the historian deals with is primarily mediated by human memory.” Without memory, defined here as the lived experience of the former present by an individual or collective, there is no history – historians cannot ignore the “multitude of ways that memory makes its way into lives, or in fact is life” (Tota and Hagen 2015:1). There are many different subgenres of memory, four of which will be discussed in this chapter: individual/biographical, collective, organizational/institutional, and archival.

This chapter explores the field of contemporary memory studies and relates how it is crucial to any project involving oral history. First, I will explicate the interaction of memory and history, showing how memory interacts with the reconstruction of the past. Next, I will define and discuss individual/biographical memory and collective memory, explaining how the former is a fundamental unit of the latter and how both come together to create narrative frameworks – grounding my analysis in interviews with various individuals involved with the Legation. I will delve into organizational/institutional memory, focusing on TALIM as an organization and the importance of the Legation as a physical space in relation to organizational memories.

My last area of focus will be on archival memory, discussing how it relates to organizational/institutional memory and briefly delving into the archival work I have done with TALIM. I conclude by summarily tying these threads together, and reemphasizing the importance of memory within the context of constructing TALIM's history.

Memory and History

Paraphrasing the words of American psychologist Barry Schwartz, history cannot exist without memory, because memory is what allows the past to be constituted through recollection (Schwartz 2015:19). In other words, historiography is “the universal memory of humanity” (Smelser and Baltes 2001:6826). There are many limitations to the utility of memories, however, when attempting to effectively reconstruct the past. Memories are subject to constant construction and mediation by human actors, be it through cultural frameworks or systems of meaning, or through biological failures to remember events exactly as they occurred (Brockmeier 2015:34-5). Two people may experience the same event, but recall it differently due to the strength of their brain's memory faculties (particularly when age is a factor) or for what their perception was primed; essentially, “the present does not produce a common reality that can be experienced by the witnesses in a similar way” (Smelser and Baltes 2001:6822).

The latter is where culture comes into play. Culture, which is best understood as “practices of meaning-making” (Wedeen 2002:714), influences an individual's perception and interpretation of the world through both learned and experienced social

norms. These sociocultural frameworks consist of the standard beliefs, appearances, behaviors, modes of governance and economic means in any given society. One's demographic and cultural background, as well as one's personality and interests, influences one's recollection of any given event; as Smelser and Baltes (2001:6822) affirm, "the personal experience of history is not only radically subjective, it is also shaped by the generalizing and collectivizing factors of social norms and cultural knowledge." For example, we can compare the memories of Prentice with those of Zartman during the former's time as Resident Director in 1989 and 1990. While both are American by birth, they come from different sociocultural backgrounds – one an artist and socialite, and the other an eminent academic running a voluntary organization. When remembering Prentice's tenure as the Resident Director, Zartman noted in an interview that she "ran it into debt, but she kept it alive and at a higher standard [...] We were all enticed by the idea that she was going to raise us some money, because she's a beautiful person, but she did not" (August 26, 2015). However, Prentice recalls the financial situation during her time as Resident Director differently, stating that:

PRENTICE: People would wine and dine me, take me out, give me information... It was at that time that Joseph Verner Reed gave a huge amount of his collection to the Legation. [Reed], who was formerly the Chief of Protocol [for President George H.W. Bush from 1989 to 1991] and had also been the ambassador [to Morocco from 1981 to 1985] wrote to every Moroccan he had ever met that I was in town. Some remarkable people came and called on me. (interview, September 20, 2015)

In her Director's Reports from November of 1989 through September of 1990, Prentice rarely referred to funding as a pressing issue, although she notes several renovations to the Legation. Moreover, Prentice explicitly mentioned that the financial report for July of 1990 was the second month in a row to be "in the black thanks to donations" (Prentice July 1990:1). Although Prentice was the Resident Director at the Legation in Tangier, Zartman presided over the Board of Directors, which hold biannual meetings in Washington, D.C. In the meeting minutes for December 1989, the following is stated: "the Society had a deficit in that year's operations," and that a quarter-million dollar grant had been awarded to TALMS, "provid[ing] a little over a thousand dollars a month for TALMS operations" (Minutes, December 11, 1989). The minutes for the subsequent meeting half a year later fail to make note of any financial distress. (Minutes, May 23, 1990). Despite Zartman's recollections of the time, all available archives – which corroborate Elena's perception of events – indicate that the Society was not in fact "run into debt" during Prentice's tenure.

Zartman and Prentice were on different sides of the Legation operation, and came from different socioeconomic backgrounds. These kinds of frameworks mediate how we as individuals process, store, and recollect information – how we remember. Regardless of how Zartman recalls the financial status of TALMS while Prentice was the Resident Director, archives from the time show that the Legation was not in dire financial straits. Time can distort the accuracy of recollection, and information fades from the brain over time.

As Schwartz notes, “historical events and persons are unobservable, and the only way one can know them is through memories of their influence on contemporaries” (2015:15). The fact that memories are culturally and biologically mediated – i.e., that they are neither objective nor absolute – does not change this fact. Because “nothing can be known without mediation...if mediation is conceived as a process of distortion, then the past becomes inherently unfathomable” (Schwartz 2015:16-17). This is the line that must be balanced in historiographical projects – know that memory is crucial, but be skeptical of its objectivity.

No matter for what end oral histories are ultimately used, the purpose of using oral history is to record the memorable experiences of designated individuals. The truth-value conundrum is made relatively irrelevant by the implicit understanding of human fallibility; moreover, “partial (selective) knowledge is not synonymous with faulty knowledge” (Schwartz 2015:16). But what of historiography that includes both oral history and archival work? In this situation, such as this history of the Legation, the researcher must make careful efforts toward recording the factual events as accurately as possible, primarily through confirming interviewee narratives with archival or otherwise recorded whenever possible – yet, while noting the spirit and culture of these remembrances by the interviewees. As Schwartz notes, “failure to recognize the reality of selected events and persons because they are selected, or because existing data allow for incomplete knowledge, utterly confounds the relation among history, memory, and truth” (Schwartz 2015: 16). The history of TALIM would be incomplete without

involving the memories and lived experiences of those who have spent time at the Legation, regardless of their recollections' basis in documented truths.

Individual/Biographical Memory

Memory can be divided into two overarching categories, from which further categories derive – biographical/individual, and collective. While these categories are not mutually exclusive, they are useful in analyzing the particular impact of a given memory. The former refers to what “individuals know, believe, and feel about themselves at earlier times in their lives” through the brain’s biological “storage and recall systems” (Schwartz 2015:10). These systems mediate sociocultural frameworks through which an individual’s memory is filtered – such as biographical information provided or recalled by friends and family, representation of events in the media, the production of photos and other personal, historical memorabilia – and enables people to “locate their own past within the wider world” (Schwartz 2015:10; Brockmeier 2015:130).

The difference between individual and collective memory in the context of constructing an oral history can be difficult to ascertain. The key, however, is to parse out redundant recollections across a multitude of interviews and separate them from what is an entirely unique memory to one or two interviewees. Repeating groups of recollections can then be analyzed on both an individual and collective level, while singular memories remain purely in the biographical/individual realm. That being said, the boundaries between personal and collective memory are constantly shifting and

often inseparable. Take, for example, the academic seminars which the Legation continues to host each April. Zartman recalls their creation through a personal memory of his happiest time with the Legation – when the 6th Fleet U.S. Navy Band played the classic song “Begin the Beguine” all night long in Tangier’s Grand Socco, in order to celebrate the bicentennial of Morocco and the U.S.’s original friendship treaty. After the festivities ended, Zartman wondered what could be done to look ahead, now that they had celebrated the past.

ZARTMAN: I said, “Let’s start a regular program on the 9th of April. In 1947, Mohammed V made a very important speech. It was a failure. But, it was an important speech nonetheless, backing Moroccan nationalism and so on. [...] I said “Let us celebrate that with April seminars!” We started, I think, in the early 1990s. (interview, August 26, 2015)

The April seminars have become a core part of the Legation’s identity, bringing together scholars from across the region in order to honor King Mohammed V’s legacy through education and camaraderie. The fact of their existence is undoubtedly embedded in the collective memory of the Legation, and all who are involved with it. However, Zartman’s above recollection adds personal nuance and depth to the April seminar narrative.

Collective Memory

Individual memories, such as the above recollected by Staats and Zartman, are a foundational part of collective memory. As sociologist Thomas S. Eberle notes, “all

individual recollections, even of personal experiences, images or emotions, are part of collective representations” (Eberle 2015:103). Though often reputed to be complex beyond definition, collective memory can be summed up as “the distribution throughout society” of biographical memory – how people feel about the past, identify with the past, and morally or normatively judge the past and its relevance to the present (Schwartz 2015:10). Collective memory is thus not ‘created’ in the sense of a singular event, with a cause and an effect. It is the conglomeration of individual memories to the point where a common pool of knowledge regarding the past emerges, from which individuals self-reflexively draw upon and to which individuals refer.

For example, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks are part of the collective memory of the modern United States because each individual who recollects the attacks does so with the awareness that millions of other Americans recall this event as well, and that each set of biographical memories regarding the attacks is in communication with countless others across time and space. In other words, the terror attacks spawned both “recollections that are held in common” and “reflections that are... self-reflexively shared as part of common knowledge about the past” (Rigney 2015:65). Moreover, collective memory is time-sensitive – it is developed over time, not created in an instant. My personal recollections of the September 11 terrorist attacks over the years is part of my biographical memory, but is now also part of a wider web of collective memory mediated through the cultural frameworks to which I am exposed. This is what differentiates individual memory from collective memory – the former is necessary but not sufficient for the latter.

After its development, collective memory is sustainable because of the concept of narrativity (Brockmeier 2015:130). In the context of memory studies, narrative refers to the storage and communication of remembrances, principally through the schematic application of stories to any given medium (e.g. photographs, monuments, oral histories, novels, and music). A story does not have to be fictional in order for it to be a story, nor does a narrative. For example, when people recall the September 11 attacks, they do so in the context of 15 years of media, studies, monuments, and other mediums that have created a narrative field for this particular event. One cannot think of the terrorist attacks in a vacuum – they have become part of many larger narratives, such as the War on Terror, the impact of globalization on developing countries, the place of religion in contemporary times, the rise of jingoism in the early-21st century United States, and more. While “experiences are not in themselves stories, [they] become narrativized through the application of models of storytelling” when recollecting the past (Rigney 2015: 70; Brockmeier 2015: 130).

But narrativity alone is not enough to ensure the sustaining of collective memories. Collective memories are generated and regenerated not primarily through storage – which narrativity facilitates – but through “the capacity of a particular story to stimulate its own reproduction in a new form: to procreate” (Rigney 2015: 68; Brockmeier 2015: 34). Otherwise, stories become forgotten and inert, existing in an objective sense through archival work or physicality but dead through an absence of active remembrance and recreation. Dead stories such as these, however, can become

“culturally active again when someone brings it back into circulation” (Rigney 2015: 68; see also, Eberle 2015: 107).

The Tangier American Legation rejoined the collective memory of the American diplomatic world once TALMS was up and running. Before TALMS, few people outside of Tangier were aware of the Legation. Even when Eastman was assigned to be the Consul-General of the city, he was unaware of the Legation’s existence until meeting with the Embassy in Rabat (interview, August 3, 2015). Now, the Legation is a National Historic Landmark and a regional center for diplomacy and research. Another way that the stories underlying collective memories procreate is through the process of remediation, or the “continuous translation of media content from older to newer media and from one platform to another, with a view to creating fresh effects of immediacy” (Rigney 2015:69). The concept of remediation effectively describes the social dynamics that transform specific spaces such as the Legation “into high-profile ‘sites of memory’” (Brockmeier 2015:34). These memory-sites are “places of commemorative record and practice where remembrance anchors the past” (Smelser and Baltes 2001:2221). Significantly, memory-sites such as the Legation have become more accessible and popular due to the networking and publicity available through the Internet. For example, the Legation’s website and use of social media (i.e., Facebook and Twitter) have allowed new and larger audiences to engage with it and its history. In an increasingly media-dependent society, these ‘sites of memory’ are constantly expanding. The Internet, social media, and mass communication in general create more stories that

collate into common pools of knowledge, fostering the development of collective memory.

Organizational/Institutional Memory

A distinct type of memory is institutional memory, defined as a set of knowledge, facts, experience, rules, regulations, events, and archival data that comprise the history of any given institution or organization. Institutional memory – also referred to as organizational or corporate memory – is important because modern societies are distinguished by the prevalence of an organizational form that developed during the European Enlightenment, wherein the following distinct features are present:

1. Free choice of (specific) goals;
2. Free design of structures and processes; and
3. Free entry and leaving of members.

(Eberle 2015:93-4)

There are many exceptions to these liberal rules, however, regarding organizations or groups that restrict their members in ways contradictory to Eberle's rules. These include, but are not limited to: ultra-conservative religious communities, cults, secret societies, and criminal enterprises. Yet, Eberle is referring to the explosion of groups outside of those categories, ones that exhibit the aforementioned distinct features; these are groups oriented around civic engagement that essentially did not exist pre-Enlightenment, but now characterize modern societies.

Because of the explosion of these kinds of organizational forms, such as associations like TALIM, institutional memory has become an important tenet of memory studies. Institutional memory involves collective and individual memory, as described above, in addition to archives and databases. In fact, it is the latter that enables the reconstruction of organizations – archival work is crucial to the creation and transmission of institutional memory.

Institutional memory is collective in that much of it is shared by the individuals in an organization as part of a common pool of knowledge from which they all draw. For example, Sultan Moulay Suleiman's 1821 gift to the U.S. is part of both the institutional memory (it is the starting point for the current Legation Building institutional history) and the collective memory (it is commonly known and self-reflexively made reference to by members of TALMS/TALIM) of the Legation community. However, "organizational memory does not only consist in collectively shared memory; it also comprises the total of individual memories plus archival memories" (Eberle 2015:102). Each individual involved in an organization naturally contributes to the overall development of the organization's collective memory, though "certain collective memories are more dominant than others" due to the hierarchical power distribution found in most institutions (Eberle 2015:102). This distribution of power affects who has access to which parts of an organization's institutional memory. Anglophones involved with the Legation have greater access to the Legation's English archives than a non-speaker, as Francophones do to the Legation's French archives. Someone who has been involved with the Legation for decades, such as Eastman and

Zartman, will have more access to and knowledge of older archives. The line between what is purely biographical and what is collective becomes blurred in the context of institutional memory – each Board member’s time with the Legation is now part of its institutional memory, though it will probably fade away from the collective in future years. A situation such as this is why the importance of archival work cannot be understated. Archives “document some aspects of an organization’s life that may have been forgotten by the actually living generation...allow[ing] an interested researcher to rediscover the past of an organization and reconstruct, to some degree, its structures and social processes” (Eberle 2015:96).

Place, space, and materiality in general are also crucial to the development and continuity of institutional memory. Buildings and monuments become imbued with greater meaning over time, becoming sites where the past, present, and known future converge (Brockmeier 2015:34-5). In regards to TALIM, the importance of the Legation as a building is a theme that has been stressed over and over again by interview subjects. The building itself is seen as a crucial holder of institutional memory, the loss of which would be harmful to both Moroccan and American history – no fewer than six interview subjects mentioned that the Legation was a National Historic Landmark, and that it must be protected.

Archival Memory

A final kind of memory within memory studies is archival memory, which refers to any recorded collection of historical data on a given subject, such as a person, family,

organization, government, corporation, and the like. Records include but are not limited to: documents, photographs, paintings, and audiovisual materials such as interviews, video tours, and music. Though the word 'archive' may conjure up images of dusty filing cabinets in hidden-away halls, archival memory is stored in more popular spaces such as museums, libraries, and online as well. Archival memory begins as a kind of collective memory, as archival work is "public cultivations of shared memory" (Rigney 2015:67). Without the aforementioned processes of procreation and remediation, however, archival memory can lose its place as part of collective memory until it is brought to the fore once more.

This is the primary focus and work of historians – to analyze archival memories into a cohesive and coherent historical narrative, into "shareable and shared representations" (Rigney 2015:69). When attempting to construct (or reconstruct) a historical narrative via archival work, a number of issues exist with which one must deal:

What has been preserved, by whom, and where? What got lost? How extensive and detailed are the archived documents? What information is missing? How objective are the chroniclers' accounts? What information can be double-checked on the basis of other sources? How to make adequate sense of the archived materials? (Eberle 2015:96)

As noted in the last section, archival work is crucial to the development and maintenance of institutional memory because of the sheer amount of documentation that occurs during the lifetime of any organization – organizations typically have by-

laws, bookkeeping, meeting minutes, annual reports, correspondence, receipts, and other documents “produced in the context of daily business” as opposed to intentional historical documentation (Eberle 2015: 96). Archives thus reveal the daily administrative minutia that keeps an association such as the Legation Society running. Moreover, archives also reveal details of past events that the collective memory of members in an institution may have forgotten. During this project, no interview subject recalled that Dr. Thomas Whitcomb served as the Resident Director at the Legation during two periods, from December 1978 to November 1979 and from November 1990 to August 1991. If they did mention him, it was in reference to his second tenure at the Legation. All notion of his previous period had faded away. Archival documents, however, clearly reveal his earlier phase at the Legation – he wrote two Director’s Reports that have survived in the records, one from January of 1979 and the other from February (Whitcomb 1979).

Instead of relying only upon a personal account – take, for example, Zartman’s recollection of the Legation’s finances during Prentice’s tenure as Resident Director – archives allow one to refer to more documents untainted by the passage of time. Comparing these documents to the accounts of interview subjects enables for several truths to manifest: the documented truth, and the perceived truth. The lines between the two are blurred, as perceptions of both people and situations can make their way into documents. Moreover, oral history is more than just perceived truth, and can reveal paths toward documented truths. Both are real, and impact how an institution is shaped and how it functions. As described earlier, the documented truth of the

Legation's finances during Prentice's tenure as Resident Director is that she did not "bankrupt the place," as Zartman claims. However, Zartman's perception of that truth could reveal several things: his personal attitude toward Prentice, the rhetoric she used when talking about the Legation's finances, and the dynamic of the Board and the Tangier side of the TALMS operation. Archival work, particularly in conjunction with the oral history method, allows one to tease apart what truths are documented and what truths are only perceptive. Though empirically untrue, Zartman's comments reveal interpersonal truths which are crucial to understanding how an organization actually works on a day-to-day basis.

Archives also allow one to more accurately analyze how an institution changes over time. TALIM has a veritable trove of such archives, including monthly and semiannual Director's Reports and Board Meeting minutes from its inception in 1976. They indicate the kind of events that have taken place at the Legation over the years; in its first decade, the majority of focus was on maintaining the building and giving tours of its museum. By 1987, however, the Legation was already hosting academic conferences and art shows (Shea 1989). Archives remind us of when the seeds of change began to grow. Some interview subjects, such as Eastman and Coon, emphasized the importance of the Legation museum and noted that the conference aspects of it were much more recent, developing in the 1990s or early 2000s (Eastman interview, August 3, 2015; Coon interview, November 21, 2015). Yet, as Shea's report noted, TALMS was already hosting academic conferences within a decade of its inception. Depending on what one wants to see, we necessarily project the present into the past or the past into

the present. The timeline an organization's evolution becomes distorted to fit the image in any one individual's mind. Archives remove that temporal bias, unearthing the past in a fashion less prone to – though not free of – subjectivity.

Conclusion

The field of memory studies is varied and complex. This chapter has explored the link between memory, truth, and oral history, while analyzing how all of these moving parts influence historiography. This chapter then examined the differences between four key types of memory: individual/biographical, collective, organizational/institutional, and archival. All four kinds of memory interact with and influence one another. The lines between these four types are thus necessarily blurred, and the truth-value of any given memory can be hard to absolutely ascertain in different contexts – but that complexity only adds to their utility when attempting to write history.

CONCLUSION

METHODS AND REFLECTIONS

I first saw the Tangier American Legation on Wednesday, April 9, 2014. I and the rest of my Dartmouth foreign study program met with Resident Director Gerald Loftus, and toured the historic building. I remember being very impressed with the museum and with TALIM in general. If only I knew then how important that building and the people associated with it would eventually become to me.

This thesis project has been the culmination of a year-long focus on the Tangier American Legation, starting with tentative emails to former Peace Corps Volunteers and resulting in my return to one of the cities I now call home – Tangier. It has impacted my Dartmouth education in ways I never could have foreseen, and I consider myself blessed to have been able to delve into the operations of TALIM and the history of the Legation.

My methods and ‘ways of attack’ for this project shifted and evolved over the past year. I originally intended to add to the study of mythico-history, as best elaborated by anthropologist Liisa H. Malkki in *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (1995). However, after beginning to interview individuals related to the Legation, I realized that the mythico-history framework was far too broad for a project this narrow. I shifted my focus to American-based voluntary associations consisting of a certain kind of ‘elite.’ Having a narrowed focus sharpening my gaze and allowed me to better analyze – and thus generalize – the case study at hand. Moreover, my narrowed focus enabled me to go into each

interview with a free and open mind, as opposed to some preconceived notion of what I wanted to or thought I should hear.

What I found in my fifteen interviews surprised me. Instead of individualized anecdotes, most subjects recalled general trends and perceptions of the Legation at the time. While this made it harder to analyze individual memory as a category, it revealed something important about the collective memory of TALIM – each person saw their involvement with the Legation as something bigger than themselves, decentering their individuality and adding to a larger narrative of what this historic building has meant to Tangier and accomplished over the past 200 years.

Using a combination of my interviewee's remembrances, Legation archives, and outside scholarship, I have striven to illustrate why TALIM is important in the anthropological study of voluntary associations, oral history, memory, and truth. Moreover, TALIM is significant due to its role in a larger framework of American ideals regarding civic culture. Robert Putnam's seminal work *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000) details how civic engagement underpins the strong democratic ideals on which the U.S. (or, at the very least, the concept of the U.S.) is founded. Putnam found that social engagement with one's chosen community enriches the meaning and purpose of one's life, and encourages cooperative growth and progress. These ideals of civic engagement have characterized America since its inception, illustrated by everything from the American Revolution to Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835) – and TALIM is no exception. Without a strong passion for civic engagement and a feeling of responsibility toward preservation

and community, a voluntary association such as TALIM would likely not exist – and it definitely would not be able to survive for 40 years.

The Tangier American Legation is a storied building, with a little under 200 years of diplomatic and sociopolitical activity. As the U.S.'s relationship with Morocco evolved, so did the titles of the foremost American attaché in Morocco – Ministers, Consuls, and Consul Generals were just a few of their designations over time. All of these refer to the same position, though: the head of the Legation. Past these figures, O.S.S. spies, diplomats, and elite expatriates all have spent time at the Legation – and TALIM is now responsible for its management, enabled by a nexus of State Department funding and staffing, and by private donations. Without the Legation society, the building may very well have been destroyed – the unfortunate fate suffered by most legations around the world. Given its unique place in American, Moroccan, and international history, it is important to document why this institution was founded, on what ideals it was founded, and why individuals volunteer their time and money to maintain it. The oral histories I have constructed, and their contribution to this cultural history of TALIM, show both why and how something like the Legation is kept alive – and if the people I have interviewed have any say in the matter, the Legation will flourish for generations and generations to come.

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APPENDIX A: Oral Histories of the American Legation in Tangier

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Harland Eastman Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht

Monday, 8/3/2015 — Springvale, Maine – in person

ALBRECHT: This is going to be a really laidback, relaxed, and conversational interview. I am interested to hear about your history, your time in Morocco, your time at the Legation specifically, and how it was like to be there at the foundation of it. I have some guiding questions here, but that is all they are — guiding. We can follow the flow of the interview, and see how it goes. My first question, just to get us started, is: How did you become involved with the American Legation?

EASTMAN: I arrived in Tangier in April 1975, as the American Consul General. Upon my arrival, I was in touch with the Embassy and was asked to come down within the next few days, as soon as I could conveniently do so, to confer with the Ambassador, the Deputy Chief of Mission, and other people in Rabat. So, within a few days I was in Rabat, and there for the first time I heard about the American Legation of Tangier. It was all news to me, of course, because I really had only a very vague knowledge of life in Morocco. They told me that in Tangier there was a very, very important building which was at risk. It was at risk for this reason: in 1821, the then-Sultan of Morocco gave to the United States a building within the walled city of Tangier to serve as the residence for the consular officer and also for consular business. We still had this property, after all of these years. In 1961, the building in the walled city was no longer needed by the Consulate, because a new consulate had been built in the new part of the city. The first impulse was to put this no-longer-being-used building on the market for sale — but, it was soon discovered that even though everybody knew that the Sultan of Morocco had gave us title to the building in 1821, it was never recorded in the land records of the City of Tangier. Additions to the original building were all recorded, but until the land record showed that we were the owners of the nucleus building, given to us by the Sultan in 1821, we could not dispose of the property. So, a use was found for the Legation. It became the Western Arabic Language School for the next 9 years, until 1970. When they had apparently trained as many people in Western Arabic as they needed, that school was closed. But, the title to the building was still unrecorded. And so, another use was found for it by the Peace Corps, which used it for 5 years, as a place for new arrivals to get them climatized and oriented to what they were supposed to be doing in the Peace Corps in Morocco. When I arrived in April of 1975, the Peace Corps was just moving out. People at the Embassy — particularly Carleton Coon, who was the Deputy Chief of Mission and who know the whole history of the Legation because his father had served there in the espionage service during the Second World War — knew the historic importance of the building. Between 1970 and 1975, the title had finally been

established at the land office, and so the building could at that point legally be sold. I was told that we had to do everything possible to head off any thought that the [Office of] Foreign Buildings [Operations] might have to sell off the old Legation. They said that they knew the building was not in good shape because it had not been taken care of very much during its time, especially when the Peace Corps had it, and so there would be a lot of work to make the building look presentable. But, on July 4th, 1976, there was a historic moment coming up. They wanted me to restore as much of the building as I possibly could, in the just over one year of time between my arrival there and the bicentennial. By the way, there is absolutely no money available to me to do any of this. Over the next 13 to 14 months, with volunteer labor, contributions of paint from the Kénitra Naval Air Station, with and some private donations, we managed to get 25 of the 45 rooms looking very respectable. It was actually on July 2nd that we celebrated it in Tangier, [but] we had the reception on the bicentennial of the United States. Now between April of 1975 and July of 1976, I am getting that building (or as much of it as I could) ready for the challenge, because — not just for the lack of money — every time we turned around there was another problem. The worst crisis I faced was just about four weeks before the bicentennial event. I got a call from the people down at the Legation, and they said “You better come down here.” And I said, “What is the matter?” “Well, just come down.” So, I went down. The ballroom — I do not know what they call it now, but I always called it the ballroom, because it is an enormous room straddling the street — had about a 16 to 18 foot high ceiling, with a huge crowning going all the way around like a piece of molding, all in plaster. About 12 feet of that had collapsed to the floor. Now that was something that you could not just have volunteers go up there and replace — you had to have people who knew how to do the stucco work and to create this molding, which was about a foot big. It was going to cost a thousand dollars. When was I ever going to get a thousand dollars? Suddenly, I remembered that the Peace Corps had left some junk behind that we were going take to the dump. It was some small high-end stoves, some cast-off iron pots, and things of that nature. So, the administrative assistant, who was a Moroccan citizen, and I went down and set up a stall in the bazaar on the Grand Socco. We sold this trash and got our thousand dollars in order to pay for the replacement of the damaged ceiling. It was done and repaired just days before the event. And you know, it was not just donations of materials — we had personnel from the Kénitra Naval Air Base come up on occasion to help us out for a day, the Marine Guards at the Embassy came up several times to help, and we had ship visits quite often in Tangier. Quite often, I was able to persuade them to go down and scrape loose paint, repaint, and all of that. It was a wonderful adventure, it really was. But, during all that time, I had not one cent from the U.S. government to help me. The Consulate had a maintenance staff, so I would put them down there to work as much as

they could be spared, but that was really the only U.S. government contribution to the project. The furnishing of the building was also another challenge, because just to have 25 rooms looking respectable was fine — but if they were empty, they would not say much. Fortunately, there was a man named Donald Angus who had left Tangier and had been a collector of everything related to Morocco and the Straits of Gibraltar. Be it artifacts, paintings, maps, drawings, whatever it was, related to Moroccan history or the Straits of Gibraltar's history — including, of course, Gibraltar itself — he would collect it. When I arrived at the consulate, there were all kinds of materials related to Morocco there at the new Consulate building. I found out that they had been left there by Donald Angus for my predecessor to use, because the consulate was not very artistically furnished. It really did not have much by way of materials to put on the walls. And yet, there were stacks of paintings, rugs, and all kinds of things just in storage, in the residence. My predecessor never used them. I started to decorate the consulate with them, but the things related to Morocco, as soon as we were able to start finishing rooms, we put down at the Legation. Hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of items. And eventually, although this did not happen in time for the bicentennial... He had been living in Spain, and I went over to see him, and got this collection of Moroccan books [...] and, more particularly, Louis XV mirrors — of which he had, I think, eleven. They were made during the reign of Louis XV for the North African market, and they were gorgeous, very elegant mirrors. On the bottom there would be two stakes that a sheikh could put into the sand in his tent, and [then] lean the mirror safely against something. These are highly collected, and the Legation Museum as the result of Donald Angus has a really very significant collection of them.

ALBRECHT: Where is Mr. Angus now?

EASTMAN: He passed away. He was from Hawaii, and he lived in Tangier for 20 years. He left Tangier, I would say about a year before I arrived, for Spain, thinking that he might like to live there for a while, and he did for three or four years. When I met him, I met him [...] in Spain, and, eventually, got him to give us more things than we already had at the Consulate General residence. He really was a fantastic collector, hundreds and hundreds of objects, hundreds of pictures and paintings and maps.

ALBRECHT: When you said that the Legation served as the Western Arabic Language School, is that when it was technically a Foreign Service Institute, as well?

EASTMAN: Foreign Service Institute would have been the organizer and the operator of the language school. But, it was a school to teach diplomats Western Arabic. The

language spoken in Morocco is almost not understandable by those who speak Egyptian and vice versa.

ALBRECHT: That is what we learned while I was in Morocco. My host mother, for example, could only speak *darija*. She could not understand *fusha*, and I had only been taught *fusha* in school. It caused for a lot of translation mistakes.

EASTMAN: You have seen the Angus collection on the [Legation] wall, then.

ALBRECHT: I have. I actually believe I have a couple of pictures of it on my phone. It is absolutely gorgeous, and knowing the history just makes it all the more beautiful.

EASTMAN: Eventually, a lot of materials were given to us while I was there, but there were some things that [Angus] did not give us immediately. He loaned them to us, and that caused a problem. The reason he loaned them to us was that, because he was so generous in giving things away, he had used up his tax-deductible possibilities for years to come. I think that you can use just so many years ahead of the current tax year, for tax-deductible claims, and he had already used all of his tax deduction possibilities for years to come. As a result, it would have been of no tax benefit for him to have given part of the collection, and that remained his property on loan to the Legation until 1990. I left in 1979; it [took] almost 11 years [to get the rest of the items], when Elena Prentice went over and soft talked [Angus] into actually giving them. But he came [to Morocco] the last year that I was in Tangier, and was my house guest for four to five weeks. I was trying to get him, at that time, to turn over things to the museum — which we, of course, had already set up and were operating. He was very generous at that time, but he had a lot of things at the consulate especially that he wanted to sell, including some Moroccan things. There was a Moroccan antique dealer who [he] was going to meet and look at [his items] and make him an offer. He stood Donald Angus up, and Donald Angus never forgave him. When [the dealer] called the next day, [Angus] said, “You are out of the picture. You will get nothing from me.” He was so angry that he gave us all of the items he was going to sell.

ALBRECHT: Could you talk about what happened to the Legation after the bicentennial, in 1976?

EASTMAN: During 1975 to 1976 it was all repairs, but starting in 1976, it began to function as a place for people to visit. We had one of two Directors during the latter part of my four years in Tangier [...] Long before the most recent ones, Thor Kuniholm was there for 19 years, he left a real mark on the Legation, and he was followed by [...]

Gerald Loftus. He succeeded Thor Kuniholm. Between the two of them, they must cover 25 of the past years. But Thor did not come to the Legation until the late 1980s, if I remember correctly. I think it was 1989 or something like that. We had one Legation Director, [Dr. Robert Shea], who was there for a long time, left his employment there to become a Catholic monk, and is now gone. It was not until Thor Kuniholm came that it really began to take on a life of its own. He was excellent. He and his wife both spoke fluent French, which of course is essential. They were wonderful. But we had, during the time that I was there, a lot of possibilities for the future. For example, when Malcolm Forbes died, the family decided they did not want all of his far-flung estates, one of which was the Mandoubia Palace in Tangier. A lot of materials came over from there to the Legation, including all of his books. He had some really rare, valuable books. [...] The Moorish Pavilion [...] that was the original library. It now is located in what we always referred to as the brothel, because that is what it once was. We did not do any restoration in that part, we just could not get to it. But that has become the library now, and it makes a wonderful space. The Legation has seen several collections of books, and it has a fabulous, fabulous library for Moroccan-American diplomatic history, and just history in general. It is wonderful.

ALBRECHT: What would you say the central purpose of the Legation was in the years after the bicentennial but before Thor Kuniholm arrived? The late 1970s and early 1980s.

EASTMAN: Well, I would call them years of preparation, working toward having a little more money to work with. [We] want[ed] to have something that would be a monument to Moroccan-American relations — and as you probably know, Morocco was the first country to recognize the United States, and that must not be forgotten. The future of the building was going to depend very much on financial support that would, from necessity, go beyond anything that TALMS would be able to raise. There were some structural problems in the building that were expensive. Eventually, after the building was put on the National Register of Historic Places, the [State] [D]epartment suddenly realized that it had a greater obligation than I think that they had come to accept, previously.

ALBRECHT: When, if you can remember or recall, when was the Legation put on the National Historic Register?

EASTMAN: It was in the early 1980s. There are two stages. In the early 1980s — I am going to say 1981 or 1982, but I really do not remember the exact year — the folks in Washington involved with TALMS persuaded the Department of the Interior to place

the building on the National Register of Historic Places. That was an extremely important development, because it was the first building outside the United States ever to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Not too many years after, they raised its status to that of a National Historic Monument.

ALBRECHT: You mentioned TALMS — could you tell me more about what that stands for, and when it came together as a named, coherent organization?

EASTMAN: Well, when it got on the National Register, and then in a very few years was raised in status to a historic landmark of the United States — and again, it is still as far as I am aware the only property outside of the United States that is on the National Register — that is what made the Department of State realize that it simply could not neglect this building. [The Department] has been wonderful in years since in assessing structural problems and roof decay. Whatever the building has needed in recent years, the State Department has pretty much filled the gap and taken care of the physical needs of the building. That, of course, is something that was unheard of when I was there. The State Department, even during the whole four years that I was in Tangier, provided not one cent.

ALBRECHT: Correct me if I'm wrong, but TALMS — or, T-A-L-M-S — stands for the "Tangier—"

EASTMAN: "Tangier American Legation Museum Society." And [the organization] has now expanded that to become TALIM. I forgot what it means, but it puts a couple more words in it.

ALBRECHT: If I recall correctly, I think TALIM stands for the "Tangier American Legation Institute of Moroccan Studies."

EASTMAN: Yes. I like TALMS better. It is easier, but that is just a personal opinion.

ALBRECHT: When you started your renovation work on the Legation in 1975 and 1976, in preparation for the bicentennial, is that when TALMS was founded?

EASTMAN: No, TALMS was not founded until after 1976. It was about 1977 that TALMS came into existence. Ben Dixon, who had once been the Consul General in Tangier and I think was serving as Moroccan Desk Officer when I was in Tangier, did the legal work to set up TALMS. Not too many years after that, there was the

automobile fund, that I think gave about \$300,000 [...] to TALMS to carry out its work. That was a result of the State Department deciding that people should not, in a foreign country, be able to sell their automobiles for more than what they paid for them. In some countries, an automobile that might have been purchased brand new for \$15,000 could easily fetch double that. Foreign Service Officers, until they made this new regulation, could pocket the difference and just declare it as capital gains. But then it became impossible to sell a vehicle for more than you paid for it. If you did, then you had to either turn the profit over to the State Department to go into this fund, or else choose a charitable cause that you would like the money to go to. [...] But a lot of people did not have any charitable causes that they were anxious to give a lot of money to, and so this fund kept building up within the Department of State. A very large contribution came from it to TALMS. That made it a lot easier to, say, hire a Director and that sort of thing.

ALBRECHT: What would you say the driving force behind the founding of TALMS was?

EASTMAN: Well, it was certainly the product of people in Washington. By that time Carl Coon would have been back in Washington, I do not think he went back overseas immediately... by 1976 he was no longer in Morocco, he transferred. Who knew about the Legation, some of them were people who studied Arabic there, and some of them were people who had been assigned to Tangier in years past and knew about the Legation and its history, and just wanted to see the building preserved. And the fact that it was the first building ever to be acquired by the United States in a foreign country set it apart immediately from all other buildings. And the fact that we still own it is nothing short of miraculous. You know, the Sultan didn't just give the United States a building. He gave every foreign power that had a presentation [presence?] in Tangier a building. But over the years, they moved out of their buildings into places that suited them better in the new town, and by 1961, when we moved out, we were the last of the missions to move out of the walled city. But the others had sold their properties within the walled city. I don't know whether they had any problems establishing their title in the Land Registry Office of Tangier or not, but anyhow they had disposed of their holdings within the walled city, so ours was the last country to still own property in the walled city.

ALBRECHT: What has your involvement with the Legation been like since you left your posting as Consulate General?

EASTMAN: Well, I, first of all by 1980, because I retired in 1979, by 1980 I was a member of the Board of Directors of TALMS, and then a few years later — and I couldn't tell you just when — it was decided that there ought to be some turnover among the Directors, the Directors is I think a body of 12 people, and so there were various setups of how many years you could serve, and then have to go off for at least a term, and then come back on if you were interested and they wanted you back. So after for serving for a number of years on the Board, before there was any changeover, so the only changes that ever took place were when somebody of their own volition decided to leave the Board, and then they'd have to find a replacement. So in that first shuffle, I was one of the four Directors who got a full 6-year term. So I served for 6 years as a Director, and then I went off — I don't remember, for 1 or 2 years, and then I came back on for another 6 years, and since I went off that time, I've been a member of the Fellows, but I'm not on the Board. But I used to go every meeting; I went to all of them.

ALBRECHT: What would you say the current, main purpose of TALMS or TALIM is?

EASTMAN: Well, obviously providing leadership and the running of the Legation. The State Department provided the expertise and the funding to take care of the physical structure, but you have to have programs going on, you have to have it available for the public to see, you can't just keep it as a closed building. And over the years, there's been an awful lot of activity there, of cultural events and artistic events, and receptions to honor visitors of significance... It's been a way of bringing Moroccans and Americans together in Tangier. And now that the Consulate has closed, and it's been closed now quite a few years, I'd say there's an even greater function in the way to have a liaison between the Moroccan community and the United States.

ALBRECHT: Would you say that purpose has changed since its inception in the early, mid-'70s, or has it remained fairly consistent?

EASTMAN: Would you repeat it? The question didn't come through clearly.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. The purpose that you just described, essentially acting as a liaison between the Moroccan and American communities — would you say that is the same purpose that its founders intended, that the founders of TALMS intended, back in the late '70s, or would say its purpose has changed over the years?

EASTMAN: Well, I would say the original purpose of TALMS was simply to keep the project going, and the restoration of the building, and the financing of the building with

some personnel on the spot, which obviously was necessary. The... early on, TALMS was thinking of lectures and conferences there, bringing American scholars in various fields together with North African scholars, and I think there still is an annual meeting of some sort on various subjects that take place there.... You know, it's gone from "let's fix it up" to "let's support it financially" to a whole institution of Moroccan-American relations, and a facility for cultural exchanges as well as exchanges of ideas on a whole vast variety of subjects, both historical and current. So, obviously, the purposes of TALMS and TALIM have grown, grown as their horizons have expanded.

ALBRECHT: How do you feel, and what do you think, about the purpose of TALMS and TALIM? That's a very broad and abstract question, I know, but overall do you think it's a positive thing for the State Department to put its energy toward, do you think it's a positive thing for Tangier and the Moroccan-American community, and etcetera?

EASTMAN: Well certainly the building couldn't survive without an organization like TALIM to support it. I mean, it's TALIM that hires the Director, and takes care of the day-to-day running of the place, so without TALIM or a comparable organization, the doors would close. So this is an extremely important goal. The fact that the State Department has a caretaking interest in the property and realizes that it has an obligation towards the building, in view [?] of its historic significance, is a real plus and that's something that's only happened in the years since I was in Tangier... but you know, you're going to have an organization to keep something like that going, if you don't...[trails off, unclear]...and one will wonder, you know...I can't imagine it surviving as it has without an organization in the United States to make use of it and expand its utility as a base for lectures and conferences and meetings, bringing together not just Moroccan but also all North African countries to meet there.

ALBRECHT: Now, you've been with the Legation — or you know, TALMS, since the very beginning, since before it has, had the purpose that we knew of it today. And from what I can tell, and from what I've heard, the Legation has had a rather profound impact on your career, on your life. How do you feel about all of that? Like, what...when you think back on the Legation, and when you think of it now, what kind of memories come up? What do you think of?

EASTMAN: Well, I personally feel extremely proud that I was there at the beginning, and was able to accomplish so much during my four years there. When I look back over my Foreign Service career, nothing that I did remotely compares with the saving and restoration of the Legation. It was a wonderful thing to become involved with... and in

my later years, I've created a museum here in Sanford-Springvale [Maine]. And without any support from the town, except they gave us the building, it was a former town hall, and I raised half a million dollars to restore the building and turn it into a museum. And now we've just purchased the house next door, which is a magnificent Queen Anne house, and that's going to become part of our museum structure, too. So, I can't seem to get away from creating museums.

ALBRECHT: What else would you like to tell me about the Legation, about your time in Morocco? What sort of memories have cropped up during this interview?

EASTMAN: Well, you know, the... I guess getting to know Donald Angus, and being able to literally furnish the place... was both satisfying and also a great deal of fun. I carried on a relationship with Donald many years after I left the Foreign Service, because he had thousands of things at the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts. And I went down there frequently and worked with him on evaluations and so forth, and he was a remarkable man, he really was. And before I left Tangier, I bought a lot of things from him. I said you know, I'm going home, and some things I've become used to — this rug used to be in the grand entrance hall of the Consulate... it's about an 1850 rug... I bought the round painting over here behind me from him. And that's a very good painting; two of the artist's paintings hang at Windsor Castle. And there are about 10 at the royal palace in Stockholm. And I bought a lot of other paintings from him, and rugs, particularly because I never wanted them for this house here, I could just picture where I was going to place the museum...

ALBRECHT: How do you think the Legation has impacted Tangier, and the Moroccan community in Tangier? I've heard a lot about how important it's been to the American community, and especially the American expatriate community.

EASTMAN: Well, you know, they've had programs there to improve the lives of residents of the walled city, you know, and to teach women how to do things they didn't know how to do before... this has all happened since I was there, so I haven't been personally involved in it, but they've had some wonderful programs on, to promote manual skills and knowledge of people, both males and females... but they've done an awful lot with the wives and mothers of the neighborhood in the walled city. It's wonderful.

ALBRECHT: Right now, it's the State Department that helps support the Legation, correct?

EASTMAN: Well, they don't support the Legation as a functioning thing. They provide the maintenance of the buildings, and they've been very helpful in that regard.

ALBRECHT: Do you have an opinion on whether the State Department should do more to financially support the non-maintenance of the Legation, such as the programming and events run there?

EASTMAN: Well, let us say that if TALMS reaches a point — and I hope it never does — where it can't provide that function, then the State Department would be remiss in not picking up the slack. But, hopefully TALIM will be able to fight on for many years to come. I can't tell you how good their finances are now because in the last few years I haven't been directly involved.

ALBRECHT: I am just about out of questions, you know on my sheet, and just what I've thought of talking to you. But, is there anything else you'd like to share, or talk about? I have all the time in the world, and I'd love to hear your thoughts.

EASTMAN: Well I think one of the funniest things that happened during the first 6, the first 12 months... you know, the huge courtyard has, they're about 12-inch square orange tiles all over the place. Well a lot of them were missing, and some were broken. And we found they could not be purchased in Morocco. But they could be purchased in Ceuta [Spain]. And so, I knew how many we needed, and added a few, but we went over to Ceuta in a big, black official car, and we bought the tiles and put them in the trunk. And as we start to navigate, we realize the car is like that [front wheels off the ground] because the tiles are so heavy in the trunk. So I got out of the back seat and got into the front seat beside the chauffeur, and that balanced it a little bit, but we went out of Ceuta and into Morocco looking like a speedboat at full speed. [Laughs] (**ALBRECHT:** [laughs] That's hilarious.) But anyhow, we got the place retiled... you want to see any photographs that I have?

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. I would love to see photographs.

EASTMAN: I went looking for some when I knew you were coming today.

ALBRECHT: Thank you.

EASTMAN: And this album here was made just when the — get out of the light — these pictures were taken in 1976, just as the museum, the Legation museum was

opening. And these evergreens replaced some pine trees that were about 100 feet tall. Let me tell you, that was a major effort on our part to get them removed and the roof taken out... but all this whole complex was the grand courtyard, it's fabulous, it really is. And this is the Moorish pavilion, of course, some of the interior views... but you know, all of that fancy stuff here in the ceilings, was all the work of Maxwell Blake, who was Consul General... well between 1910 and 1941, he was Consul General for all but about seven years. And he's, and he's the one basically responsible for the appearance of the building as it is today. And the huge painting — you remember that? (ALBRECHT: Mmhm.) — that was by [Ion] Perdicaris who had a significant bit of history, because he was captured by al-Rasuli, the... he was a *cherif* and he was also a powerful figure — I always loved those ceilings, cause they, those are old, much older than the building, they come from other places... This was the lineup on the day that we opened the Legation building, that was for the arrival of the governor. (ALBRECHT: It's beautiful.) And also the Minister of Culture, who came...

ALBRECHT: After we finish the interview, do you mind if I take a picture of some of the photos off my phone? (EASTMAN: Sure, sure. Now these—) I won't take the physical photos, I'll just snap.

EASTMAN: These are some of these mirrors that I was mentioning, and they're extremely valuable. And these chairs were in the original Consul's residence in Tangier, back in the early 1800s. That's a James McBey and so was that, and that room has all of his etchings of Morocco. But I brought all of these back, all these big mirrors came back in a van that I borrowed from the Embassy that had diplomatic license plates, but that all happened after 1976. It was the following year. This is the Governor of Tangier and his aide, and there he is again... This is inside the building... and there we are surveying the premises, and all that. (ALBRECHT: Oh, which one are you? EASTMAN: Hm? ALBRECHT: Are you in this photo?) This is the Governor, that's me. (ALBRECHT: I thought that was you, I just wanted to be sure.) And over here... I always loved that — “Visite d'amitié d'un bâtiment américain!” — we had a lot, we had ship visits every month or so. And that was the later Governor of Tangier, Chaishe... Oh yes, the Independence Party given by the United States was a brilliant reception, I always loved that. Everything was brilliant. This one here, I've got a number of pictures taken in 1976 of the reception held there for the bicentennial. Not that one [motioning to album] but this starts it... and then, these are what the building, what the rooms looked like on that day. And as you can see, there were a lot of people there. That is... oh for heaven's sakes... Bob Anderson, who was the ambassador at the time that the 4th of July reception took place... This is the Minister of Culture, he was the Sultan's

representative at the event. And there he is again, that's my wife, that's me again... And that is Bob Anderson. Anyhow, you want to any take pictures of them — [points to a different album] this has nothing to do with the Legation, this is...

ALBRECHT: Yeah absolutely, I'll grab my phone.

EASTMAN: If you have any desire to take any pictures of them, you're welcome to.

ALBRECHT: I think Dale had asked if I could grab a few photos, but I don't want to take from your personal collection. So I think camera photos should do well. ... It's really incredible, just the amount of history in that building.

EASTMAN: Do you want to put them somewhere else, where the light might be better?

ALBRECHT: Yeah, there's a bit of a glare, that's a very good point.

EASTMAN: There's also the dining room table you can put them on, or whatever.

ALBRECHT: This should work well... yes. Cause over there I could see the shadow of my hand, on the photo.

EASTMAN: Yeah, that's a little more difficult. And these black and whites on the back are descriptions of who's in what picture.

ALBRECHT: Yeah, I'll be taking photos of those as well. What's... I mean all of this is interesting to me, but something that's really touched me is how, seeing these photos that you took back at the bicentennial in 1976, I have similar photos on my cellphone that I took in Tangier last year! You know, like a picture of the seal at the Legation. So just, really being able to see that tangible a sense of the permanence of this building.

EASTMAN: Well you know, when the present Sultan came on the throne, he was invited to Washington for a state visit. This was during the last year of Clinton's administration. And I received an invitation to the state dinner, and the President and the King both mentioned the Legation. And I'm certain that's the reason why I was invited.

ALBRECHT: It's incredible, it really is. Would you say that the relationship that we have with the Legation, and even just the very existence of the Legation, is that unique to the Moroccan-American relationship or do we have other —

EASTMAN: Well I think frankly that this relationship that we have as a result of this historic building is unique in the world.

ALBRECHT: That's what I would say too, but I wanted to hear from you.

EASTMAN: I mean, there's no other country where we have anything of the sort. And it's wonderful. And the fact that it happens to be the country that first recognized the United States is, makes it doubly significant.

ALBRECHT: [asking about the photos] Am I still on the Legation or...? (**EASTMAN:** Hm?) I don't know if I turned too many pages back.

EASTMAN: I think you've gone too far back. No, these are at the [Consul's] residence. No, that's, that's the Forbes palace, and that's at my residence. (**ALBRECHT** and **EASTMAN** talking over each other; can't understand.)

ALBRECHT: That's the last page I took photos of. Do you mind if I grab a few of the color photos, just pictures on my phone? (**EASTMAN:** Sure. Any of them you can take pictures of, if you want.) Absolutely. They're beautiful photos too, by the way.

EASTMAN: Well you know there's this professional photographer named DeFeouf [?] and he would attend all of our receptions and special events, and he would take tons of pictures. And then, anybody who wanted to buy any of them was allowed to do so. And as you can see I've got three albums, three or four albums of these, most of them of events that took place at the Consulate-General, but... And the nice thing is that I was smart enough, when I remembered the names, to put the information on the back.

ALBRECHT: It's very helpful, absolutely. (**EASTMAN:** Yeah.) I remember the architecture, when I visited last year, really struck me. It's just gorgeous.

EASTMAN: It's a beautiful, beautiful building. It really is. But you know, the ballroom was really trashed by the Peace Corps. They had caulk boards hanging about six feet down from the regular ceiling, and did severe damage to the actual ceilings, and all over the place they just used it like it, you know, it was a fraternity house or something.

ALBRECHT: Why do you think that is? Why do you think that the building fell into such disrepair under the Peace Corps?

EASTMAN: Well, obviously supervision wasn't there to restrain these people. And I suppose the building had, over the years of not being used as the Legation but as a training center for Arabic language, maybe when they got it, it was a bit worn, too, probably was. But these Peace Corps people really treated as though it was a second-class fraternity house.

ALBRECHT: I'm certainly glad that you all were able to undo the damage, and bring it back to its former state.

EASTMAN: Well, me too.

ALBRECHT: I think I want to grab a photo of this cover, too. These photos are wonderful, truly.

EASTMAN: Unfortunately, Moroccan photographs — and all those were processed in Morocco — haven't held up as well as they should. I don't know what chemicals they used, but I've got a lot of pictures that, it's shocking now the way they've disintegrated.

ALBRECHT: That's always so sad to see, so unfortunate. My mother was always a big fan of photo albums, so I would grow up — or when I was growing up, I would just look at them and see pictures of her and my dad.

EASTMAN: Well I used to be, but for the last three, four years I've been very negligent. [pointing at painting on the wall] This huge painting had always been at the Legation, or at least for time immemorial, and an ambassador arrived in Morocco and — his name was Henry J. Tasca, and his wife came up to Tangier and she saw the painting, and she says "Well that doesn't belong here, it should be in my residence!" And a few days later, a truck arrived in the Embassy to take the painting away. And, happily, Bob Anderson sent it back to us, so we got it back at the Legation.

ALBRECHT: Do you mind if I take a picture of the painting? (**EASTMAN:** No, you're welcome to.) It's gorgeous.

EASTMAN: I've got a couple of beautiful Ali R'bati watercolors, do you know about Ali R'bati? (**ALBRECHT:** The name sounds very familiar.) He was a cook of Sir John

Lavery, who was a court painter from England, and apparently Lavery saw him with his paints, trying to draw a picture one day, and he thought he had talent, and so he taught him the rudiments of watercolor painting. And later on, he set himself up in a booth in the Grand Socco in the walled city of Tangier, and painted scenes of Moroccan life as they were in days gone by. And for the most part, they were purchased by tourists going through. Now he's looked upon as a national treasure of Morocco. Some of his paintings are on Moroccan postage stamps... I'll show you a couple, I've got a couple of his paintings downstairs. (ALBRECHT: Absolutely, I'd love to see.) I don't... I've got all kinds of engravings of Morocco, that's a very good map of Morocco there from 1750-something... These were done by Wenceslaus Holler and date from the 1660s. (ALBRECHT: Wow.) And they are extremely rare. Donald had two extra ones, he gave them to me. [*laughs*]

ALBRECHT: [*laughs*] Of course, everyone just has extra...

EASTMAN: But Tangier has a complete set of them. There are three large ones, like those two, and then there are 12 small ones. Sorry about the 12, they're downstairs...

ALBRECHT: Oh no, that's quite alright. No concerns at all. [*goes downstairs*] I see the seal of the Legation.

EASTMAN: Yes, that was once at the Legation. (ALBRECHT: Wow.) [*pointing at painting*] This is a wedding feast, and here is the same scene on a Moroccan postage stamp.

ALBRECHT: Look at that! Here, I'm going to take a photo of that. That is so incredible.

EASTMAN: And here is another by [Mohammad ben] Ali R'bati. But these, these are two, I had six of these, Donald gave them to me. And four of them I've given away to my children, because I run out of wall space after a while. But a lot of those pictures over there are Morocco...

ALBRECHT: They're beautiful.

EASTMAN: This is Morocco, Asilah. (ALBRECHT: Oh, Asilah is my favorite place in the world.) That is Marrakech, and that's not Morocco, but some of these over here are. That one, I'm pretty sure is Morocco, that's Gibraltar. These are all engravings from about 1850. (ALBRECHT: Wow.) There is Gibraltar... the rest of them are not. I love these engravings and things, I've got them scattered all over the house.

ALBRECHT: I enjoy the details, you know the fine, fine details.

EASTMAN: They're exquisitely done, they really are. But recently, well, the last three or four years, I had all of these remounted, because the mats they were hanging on from overseas were highly acidic, and I could tell they were going to damage them, so I spent a ton of money having them all redone. This is the best painting in the house, here. It's by an artist from the Hudson River school, David Johnson: Looking West, From Dollar Island, Lake George. (**ALBRECHT:** Wow.) It is a masterpiece, it really is.

ALBRECHT: It really is. It's breathtaking.

EASTMAN: I bought it with some damage, because I thought the handling of the rocky cliffs was outstanding, but having the boat with some people in them helps the perspective as well. Painted in 1874, I think it was. It says on the back.

ALBRECHT: Wow. That is truly something.

EASTMAN: I like paintings! This is a big one here. [...]Anyhow, the house has got paintings all over.

ALBRECHT: It's absolutely beautiful.

EASTMAN: If you see any dust, it's because my housekeeper is on vacation.

ALBRECHT: Everyone has to have a little vacation every once in a while. [...] Oh, I miss Morocco. Do you find yourself missing Morocco?

EASTMAN: Well, I enjoyed it tremendously, I really did. But I don't travel as easily as I once did — sorry, I know it's trouble to follow me [up the stairs.]

ALBRECHT: Oh it is not, don't you worry. Don't you worry.

EASTMAN: Well, that's at the state dinner for the King of Morocco. (**ALBRECHT:** Ah, yes, you had mentioned.) Now over here there are some of Donald Angus's things that have nothing to do with Morocco. The pair of portraits here are Monsieur and Madame Pasquier, he was the tax collector for the city of Paris and died in 1768. And their granddaughter, with the pearl necklace, is over there. (**ALBRECHT:** Ah! It's lovely.) And this is an example of Limner's art. Limner's were painters who would paint bodies

all winter, in these cold New England climates, and then go around during the warm part of the year to try and persuade people to have their portrait painted, and they could pick out a body to put the face on it. So that body has nothing to do with the boy's face.

ALBRECHT: Wow, that's very interesting. Strange.

EASTMAN: Most the paintings there came from Donald, as did this desk. (**ALBRECHT:** Wow. Beautiful.) And the ones in this room came from him. That's the son of Monsieur and Madame Pasquier, this is by a Danish artist, painted in 1852, it's signed and dated at the end of the bench.

ALBRECHT: [*points at piece of furniture*] Is that from Morocco? (**EASTMAN:** Yes, it is.) I thought so. I recognized the star, and whenever we would travel through the souks in Fez, (**EASTMAN:** Oh yeah.) there were many for sale.

EASTMAN: My daughter was back there. Well, she returned to the United States four years ago, but she spent three years in Tangier as head of the Lower School. And my son was on the Board of the Directors of the American School of Tangier, and was also the Chairman of the Board.

ALBRECHT: My friend did a study abroad there, actually. She enjoyed it, quite a lot.

EASTMAN: This is a rather interesting picture. This came from Donald as well. No indication as to who it was. One day I very carefully took it out of the frame in order to clean the glass, and when I did, I discovered that somebody had previously done the same thing, and had put this thing [the back matting] in the other way around. Because it says "Lord Anson, who went around the world." Anson's Voyages? (**ALBRECHT:** Wow!) So it makes the whole thing that much more significant.

ALBRECHT: There you have it.

EASTMAN: And that's David Robert's view of Gibraltar, which is a classic one. All those are Moroccan pictures, going up the staircase. (**ALBRECHT:** Oh yeah, I can see.) And they're beautiful. (**ALBRECHT:** They are. They truly are.) And they just make a nice fit.

ALBRECHT: I know this will be the third time I've said it, but you really do have an astounding house. This is beautiful, and the art —

EASTMAN: Well thank you! I like living here. My great-grandfather built it as a wedding present for his younger son. (**ALBRECHT:** Wow! That is one heck of a wedding present.) And he was married three times, but had no children. And so it came to my side of the family after he died, and we moved into this house when I was just turned 10 years old. And I'm now 86.

ALBRECHT: I've always thought that that was, that was so nice to see houses stay in the family. My grandparents still live where my mom grew up, so.

EASTMAN: Well this will go to my daughter, and she knows it, and my sons know it. And, but I hope she doesn't get it too soon. [*laughs*]

ALBRECHT: Oh yeah. So —

EASTMAN: Practically all of the books on that wall, going from the middle section up, are all Morocco.

ALBRECHT: Actually, Dale had mentioned — I just saw the book "Tangier: A Different Way," and Dale had mentioned that book to me, he told me to take a look. So how funny is that? Clearly, I'm in the right place.

EASTMAN: I tried to get some that I thought were interesting historically. I don't know how many there are there, maybe a hundred or so. But there are some very fine books there, that is, quite rare books. And there's one — not one, but there are four books by [James Edward] Budgett Meakin. (**ALBRECHT:** Budgett Meakin.) Budgett Meakin. I assumed for years that Budgett was a woman. Budgett was a man. (**ALBRECHT:** Hmm.) Odd name.

ALBRECHT: Odd name, indeed. I'd say for either, I've never heard Budgett as a name for anyone, regardless of gender.

EASTMAN: But it was a he, not a she.

ALBRECHT: Well there you have it.

EASTMAN: Well, what more can I tell you?

ALBRECHT: Anything more you want to say. I'm out of questions, but I've certainly appreciated your time and everything that you've shared with me.

EASTMAN: Well, you're most, you're most welcome. You know, the Legation as it exists today, is really the work of Maxwell Blake. That big courtyard he created, and he's the one who acquired the brothel, which is now the library building. And so without his work — he got a, I think it was a 25,000 dollar appropriation from the Department to do some of that work, but he also was a wealthy man himself, and a lot of the stuff that he got and put into the Legation — these old ceilings, and doorways, and so forth, he bought himself. And he made them a gift of the building. He also built for himself a palace to live in, for the rest of his life, when he stopped being in the Foreign Service. But he got out of it and went back to the States during the Second World War, and after the war, I guess he decided he didn't want to go back to Morocco after all, maybe there were health reasons. But anyhow it became the occasional home for Barbara Hutton. Did you know how Barbara Hutton was? (**ALBRECHT:** Mmhm.) Well, she used to still come to Tangier when I was there. (**ALBRECHT:** Oh yeah?) And she was a piece of work, let me tell you. She'd call me at three o'clock in the morning to complain about the taste of Morocco Coca-Cola.

ALBRECHT: [*laughs*] Would she now?

EASTMAN: You know, at three o'clock in the morning, I have no desire to talk about Moroccan Coca-Cola even if it was the King of Siam.

ALBRECHT: [*laughs*] Not sure that's a topic worth discussing at any time of the day.

EASTMAN: [*impersonating Barbara Hutton*] "Well can't you get me some American Coca-Cola? This is terrible tasting stuff!" And I said "Barbara, I'm drinking the same stuff you're drinking," I said you know, [*back to impersonating Barbara Hutton*] "Well how about the post exchange at Kénitra! They must have some good American Coca-Cola." I said "They buy all their Coca-Cola from a Moroccan supplier." I said "Forget it Barbara, forget it." She'd keep calling me, and it was never during normal daylight hours, it was always at some ungodly hour in the morning, she'd wake me up.

ALBRECHT: [*laughs*] I am so sorry to hear that.

EASTMAN: And, but, she was, she was really a piece of work. She kept a Rolls Royce in Tangier just for her one-month visit. Otherwise, it was in a garage, covered over and

all of that, for the other 11 months. (**ALBRECHT:** Wow.) When she would leave Tangier — she was in Tangier every August — in September, she would go to Paris, and take an entire floor of the Ritz Hotel, so that all her friends from Morocco could go out with her.

ALBRECHT: Wow. (**EASTMAN:** I know.) I cannot even imagine that kind of life.

EASTMAN: Well, you know, she inherited the Woolworth fortune. (**ALBRECHT:** Mmhm.) And her father was E.F. Hutton, of investing fame. So she had hundreds of millions in all directions. The American ambassador's residence in London was her former home. She decided that she didn't want it anymore, and just gave it to the U.S. government so that the ambassador would have a decent place to live in.

ALBRECHT: Wow... to live that kind of life. (**EASTMAN:** I know!) That's something.

EASTMAN: But you know, the Consulate in Tangier wasn't supposed to be built in Tangier. (**ALBRECHT:** Really?) What happened was, in the early 1950s, there was an appropriation for a new Legation — and it was still a Legation then, 'Legation' is an old name for an embassy, as you know — in Tangier, and it was to get out of the walled city. And so, plans were drawn up, an entire city block was purchased, and it was ten years before the appropriation was finally made. So it was in the early '60s that the complex that included the residence and the office building were constructed. By that time, Tangier had ceased to be the diplomatic capital of Morocco. It was Rabat. So, the ambassador's residence was built in Tangier, and the ambassador used to come up from time to time to see how the other half lived, you know. The only compromise they made, the embassy — the, not embassy, but the Consulate General building — was supposed to be five stories high. And they lopped off the two top floors. But they still had the elevators. (**ALBRECHT:** H .) But it was, you know, the office building was here, the residence was here, and between they had this beautiful, big garden. But it occupied an entire city block. Street, street, street, street.

ALBRECHT: Wow. That is something.

EASTMAN: Well, it was. Very enjoyable living there.

ALBRECHT: I can only imagine. Must've been an incredible time.

EASTMAN: Well, it was. It was sort of like being in Never Never Land, you know.

ALBRECHT: Exactly.

EASTMAN: But just before my arrival, they decided they needed better security. And so they built a, an iron wall, which consisted of squares and circles, and it went up about, I don't know... I guess it went just about to the top of the building, if I remember correctly. And they had the, it was for security. And there were gates of course, so you could get into the building itself. It was right next to the building. And as they were having the opening ceremony, they heard the sounds of laughter on top of the building. Kids had climbed up the iron barrier to the roof, and they were playing on the roof. [*both laugh*] So much for security!

ALBRECHT: So much for security.

EASTMAN: We had a couple of stray animals that used to come in and entertain us with their presence. We had a cat, and then there was a dog. And one day the dog was chasing the cat, and went out the kitchen door. And there was another one of these grills protecting the exit there, and the cat went right through one of these circles, and the dog got his head through... but the body did not go through. And so the butler came, and he said, "Would you please come here?" So I went out, and here was this stupid dog, neck through this thing... and I went and got a container of lard, and I put lard all over his neck and ears and under his jar and everything like that, and then I grabbed his body and pulled, and the servant was on the outside pushing on his nose, and finally he went back through it. It sounded like the cork of a champagne bottle coming out. [*both laugh*]

ALBRECHT: That poor dog!

EASTMAN: But he didn't learn anything — a week later he did the same thing! But that time the servants knew how to help him out.

ALBRECHT: [*laughs*] What a silly, silly animal. Wow.

EASTMAN: My predecessor had all these beautiful paintings and rugs and what have you, and he never used any of them. When I arrived, there was this small storeroom, and these painting were like [*making motions*] that, that, that, that, that, piled head high. I mean, we're talking about a portrait of Napoleon by Jacques-Louis David, things like that. He never used them. (**ALBRECHT:** Wow.) And down in the basement, in the boiler room, was this painting, hanging from a water pipe, about five inches from the wall. And with each draft it would go bang, bang, bang, bang. And up on a shelf in the

basement utility area, there was this rolled up rug. Which was about, the roll was about 20 feet long. And I said, "What's that rug up there, what's wrong with it?" And they said "We don't know, it came from Mr. Angus." So I said, "Well then take it out in the driveway, and roll it out, and see if there's something wrong with it." It was gorgeous! It was about 20 by 25 feet. So I went up and measured the dining room, and we put it up there. There was a government issue, pea green carpet in the dining room. Probably worth 25 dollars. And there was this magnificent Persian, worth thousands upon thousands of dollars, rolled up on a shelf. So anyhow, we rolled it out and put it in the dining room for the four years that we were there.

ALBRECHT: Wow. Can't imagine anyone just leaving a rug like that in a basement.

EASTMAN: And on the walls were pictures, like of cowboys and Indians chasing each other, and that sort of thing. They were just prints, the sort of thing I'm sure you could buy at the S.W. Woolworth's on the corner five-and-ten-cents store for maybe \$20 framed. [*laughs*] I couldn't believe it.

ALBRECHT: Some people...

EASTMAN: Well, we redecorated the embassy, or the Consulate-General very well.

ALBRECHT: Sounds like it was gorgeous.

EASTMAN: It was, it was beautiful.

ALBRECHT: Is there any final thing you'd like to add about your time at the Legation? Cause I'm afraid I'm going to have to head out, but —

EASTMAN: No, no, I think I've talked myself out of any thoughts, but you know, one of the thrills of being in the Foreign Service was being related to the Legation and its restoration. (**ALBRECHT:** Absolutely.) And, I couldn't have been more thrilled, even if there was no money, to have that cash pushed in my direction when I arrived on the scene in Tangier, because it was wonderful. And that building was thrilling, even when it was in need of everything.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. Well, I'm going to stop the recording now...

[END OF RECORDING]

I. William Zartman Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht

Wednesday, 8/26/2015 — Boerne, Texas — via Skype

ALBRECHT: Well, the way that I'm conducting these interviews is very conversational, very laidback. Really, I'm just interested to hear about your history with the Tangier American Legation, about your involvement in it, etcetera, etcetera. I have a few guiding questions and a few things I'd like to talk about, but overall we can just see where the conversation goes. So, to start out — how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

ZARTMAN: Well, I'm not sure, exactly... I was not a founder, it was founded by the time I got in, and for some reason or other, Ben Dixon — who was the maligned organizer of the thing under the leadership of Anderson... I forget his first name, Ambassador somebody Anderson, I'll have to remember his first name — when this thing was set up. And Ben, I think, just found out that I was somebody working on Morocco. They didn't have any academics I don't think at all on the Board. The Board was made up of a bastion of ambassadors, which is the curse of inaction. Because ambassadors always like to tell what to do, and then let somebody else do it! So here they were including Bob Anderson, who had the good grace — I guess he had just come back from Morocco, [unclear] in Morocco — to set this thing up. And so they invited me, and I was at NYU at the time, I wasn't in Washington. And so I was brought on the Board. So the background is, as somebody who worked on Morocco, and Washington found out about me before I got down to Washington itself.

ALBRECHT: So, what motivated you then to accept the position when Washington reached out to you?

ZARTMAN: I mean, because I like Morocco — I'm not a Tanjawi, I went once in a while to Tangier when I was up from Kénitra. But it was something that we were doing with Morocco, some continuing institutionalized relationship. And I thought that was a good thing, that's all.

ALBRECHT: Very cool. So New York to Tangier, that's a pretty big move. How did that make you feel?

ZARTMAN: I didn't go to Tangier! I was just part of the Board of Directors.

ALBRECHT: Oh, okay. So you didn't have to —

ZARTMAN: This was the Legation, the members of the Legation Board were all meeting in Washington, and it took me a while to get back to Tangier again, because as I said I have worked as a – I had been there before, literally as a tourist. My Moroccan background is through the U.S. Navy, I was sent to Morocco as a naval officer, located as I said in Kénitra. And I had been up there, to Tangier, as a tourist. But I had no real background in.... I mean, you're a Moroccan, but then, more than a Moroccan, you're a particularly... you're situated in a particular location, as Dale is in his village, or town, north of the Atlas, and so on.

ALBRECHT: Exactly, yeah. So when were you stationed in Morocco with the Navy, in Kénitra?

ZARTMAN: 1958 to 1960, yeah.

ALBRECHT: Very cool, very cool. I'm kind of creating a timeline of what the Legation functioned as –

ZARTMAN: Well, the Legation at that time, I had no contact with it. Remember that the Legation... When the Embassy went to Rabat, when the official representation went to Rabat, we had this building on our hands that was given to us by Sultan Moulay Suleiman in 1821, and what we were going to do with it... I think the initial period of time was as an Arabic language teaching establishment, and then it – (**ALBRECHT:** That's correct, yeah.) – like the one in Lebanon. And then it was a Peace Corps, it was the Peace Corps headquarters. (**ALBRECHT:** Yes.) And then, at some point – and I guess this must have been Bob Anderson who did this – it was handed to the TALMS Board for a dollar a year, to the TALMS Board as a private corporation, to use it as a museum. Therefore, T-A-L-M-S, museum. Tangier American Legation Museum Society. And that's when I joined the society's Board of Directors.

ALBRECHT: So what year did you joined the Board of Directors, and how long have you been on it?

ZARTMAN: Well, I left it, what, two years ago? When Dale came on. And I must have joined... it was before, I came to Washington in 1980. It must've been in the early 1970s, I would say. That was when it was set up.

ALBRECHT: Oh yes, it was set up I think in the mid-to-late 1970s. I was curious as to when you came onboard, with the directors.

ZARTMAN: Sometime not long after its foundation, but I don't remember exactly when.

ALBRECHT: Very cool, very cool. So, what was your experience with the Legation like?

ZARTMAN: On one hand – you better not quote me on all these things! As you said [unclear] – I can look in my little books and maybe get back to you, yeah I do have your e-mail, as to the specific date... I have my little diary books to see when I started joining with TALMS. On one hand, there was this personality-ridden Board of Directors. They hated Ben Dixon, who was the workhouse, and who was an irascible person but got a lot of things done. One of the things that was done was the issuing of the commemorative stamp, in 19.... let's see. Hang on. [goes to grab book] I think it's 1987, but... commemorative stamp, there it is! 1987. And the wrangling was over who did this. And my reading of the situation was that it was Ben Dixon who did it. It's not easy to get a stamp through the post office bureaucracy and so on, but as I said this was a stamp commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Moroccan-American friendship treaty. And so that was a great accomplishment. Another accomplishment was the getting of the leftover automobiles fund to help support the Embassy. It's like PL480 money that's unused – leftover automobiles fund our, come from automobiles that diplomats left on post when they came back home. And then they're sold, and then they're put in a [unclear], and then what do you do with it? Since it's the U.S. Government, you can't put it back in the pot again. So that was given to the Legation, as I remember. At that time, too, we finally – I think the first Director was Bob Shea, S-H-E-A, who also was... and now we move to the other side, because when I did go to Tangier, and I forget when my first visit in this incarnation was to Tangier, then I met Bob Shea. And I guess I met him when he came back as well. Bob Shea was a holding operation. He was a very interesting person, he was a priest who had been in education – I think an Episcopal priest, who had been in education, and in Colombia [Columbia?] in some administrative position and so on, and then went out there. And that was the first era. And Bob Shea's era was to simply keep the thing alive. He didn't do anything, there were no programs or anything like that, and he slept on a mattress on the floor, and he didn't renovate the building or anything like that – and we had awful leaks, and real problems. But bless him, he kept the thing alive. And we didn't have anybody better, and we didn't have any money to pay anybody better, and so on. So these first years were Bob Shea and wrangling Board of Directors. Then, I guess... Bob Anderson then retired as President, and Ben Dixon became President, which was – I'd describe the situation. He was not an ambassador, you understand, and everybody else, all the members were ambassadors. So they told him what to do, and then when he did it, they took the credit for it. And then he got annoyed at that, and he was as I said an irascible

person, and anyhow. And so then, after a while, for some reason – I don't know, maybe because I was not an ambassador, maybe because I was interested, because I was a neutral person, whatever – they made me be President. And I can't tell you when that was... It's somewhere in the records, of course. And somebody must have the – Winnie Weislogel had the records, I think that it was after I got to Washington, so it was after 1980. It must have been the mid-80s, something like that. And then Bob Shea – I don't know what he did, really, he resigned, died or something like that... And then we had phase two. In phase two, there was a guy who was a teacher at the American School who came in as Director. And that didn't work out. He was there for about a year. And then the princess came in – that is, Prentice. What's her name... (ALBRECHT: Elena.) Elena Prentice! Yes, of course. She came in. So she ran the thing, ran it into debt, but she kept it alive and at a higher standard. She came in, she did a lot of fixing. I mean she was aware of what a nice place should look like, so she fixed things and made bathrooms work and things like that, took her bed up from the floor, and so on, for a while. She also, we were all enticed by the idea that she was going to raise us some money, because she's a beautiful person. And, but, she didn't. So then she met somebody in Tangier, and I forget the history of the thing... Either she married left and left Tangier, I think she married him and left Tangier and got divorced from him later on, and came back to Tangier. And so we were looking for somebody else. And we finally found what we needed, which was Thor Kuniholm, who was God's gift to Tangier. He did a lot to take care of the building, to put it in shape, he had great relations with the Federal Buildings Office through the Embassy – he was a former Foreign Services Officer – he built programs... He really did a great job there. Probably the one thing – and he was in for 12 years or something, you must have the dates for that – but the one thing that he probably didn't do... well, two things that he probably, that could be improved after he left... And one should always do a good job in a job, and leave some things that can be improved. So he did a very good job, and the two things that he left to be improved on: on the one hand, he didn't have much contact with the academic institutions of Morocco. And as he said, that wasn't his business, and as a matter of fact he was in no position to do it, cause he could go around, but he was not some famous professor like Dale is, or something like that. Well, I guess, like I was, but I wasn't on the ground to do that. And then there were, again, still despite what he did, there were weaknesses in the building. And that's not surprising because Tangier is practically [?] slipping into the sea. And so, tearing the Embassy, the Legation with it. So it's a continual job to keep the thing standing. I mean, it will take another millennium before it disappears into the sea – like Chesapeake – but it still has to be shored up all the time. And then came in the guy after him. I was born before World War II, and I forget names. So, then, this guy came in and his... he didn't... I wanted to mention one more thing about Kuniholm. *[brief excised interlude wherein ALBRECHT had*

to deal with her dog] One more thing about Thor Kuniholm. He was a Rotarian, and so he made very good use of his connections there. And he really, really inserted himself in the Tangier community. The princess was of course part of a certain Tangier community – the traditional international Tangier community... I don't know how much she was involved in the Moroccan-Tangier community, but eh, somewhat, for that. But Thor was really in the Moroccan-Tangier community. And then the next guy came in – it's a Freudian slip, because I'm just drawing a blank. Then he came in, and his shtick was to shore up the building. And he got a lot of work done, but he really pursued the issue, that the building was in trouble, and he got the FBO – it has a different name now – to set aside a lot of money for it. Perhaps Thor started that, and his successor worked on it. And they've done a lot, but we still need a lot more that's involved to shore up the building. And he did a good job in dealing with the local programs, the things like that, I think he built on what Thor had done. And now we have this present guy in, and I'm not in a lot of contact with him to know what he's doing, in what particular lots.

ALBRECHT: So, thank you for all of that. What were your most cherished memories from this time with the Legation? You know, everything you just talked to me about, all of these people while you were on the Board of Directors...

ZARTMAN: My most cherished memories...Oh, golly. We really came to life – and it was my program and Thor was very much involved, I mean, I had ideas and he did them on the ground. So he gets 75 percent of the credit of the thing. But we celebrated the 200th anniversary. That must have been 1987, too. Something in regard to Morocco, so it must have been that. It's always said, okay – yes, in fact, it was that – let's... things don't fall into place, exactly. But another figure of importance after Bob Anderson left was Carleton Coon. Carleton Coon was the uncle of the princess, and the brother – brother? Or cousin, or something like that – of what... of Carleton Coon, the anthropologist, as you certainly must know about. (**ALBRECHT:** Oh, Dale has talked to me.) Yes. And so he was an active member of the Board. Oh, and another thing we did at that time – I mean, I'm letting as you do at the moment my hair down, and you'll be very careful about what you say – when I took over... I'm stepping back. When I took over as President, I said one thing we have to do is rewrite the constitution. Or, a number of people said we have to rewrite the constitution. I forget what was wrong with it. But we rewrote the constitution, and we had an interim committee, and Carl Coon was kind of the leader of the revisionists – I don't know what they wanted, maybe the old guard revisionists or something like that – of the ambassadors' plan. So I had this committee, led by Chris Chapman, to write up a good constitution (which is what we had), and I don't know how much you're aware of what's happened in the last

two years, but my good friend Ed Gabriel wanted to revise this constitution completely, and Dale and I think effectively shot down that effort to take over the Legation and make it into a club. But the constitution made this – it was a very cleverly done constitution. The Board of Directors is elected by the Fellows. We had a big debate as to what we should – should we have members, should we have Fellows, should we have friends and so on and we said no, we have Fellows. So the Board of Directors is elected by the Fellows. The Fellows, therefore – although they'd never recognize it or share it – have fiduciary responsibility. They're not aware of that. But the Board of Directors nominates the Fellows. So the Board of Directors nominates the people who elect them. And then the Board of Directors doesn't nominate successors for the Board of Directors, but it suggests at each meeting who would be nice successors for the vacancies for the Board of Directors. So it's a nice, insidious group. But the Fellows are businesspeople very much, as well as academics and so on. So, Chris Chapman wrote up this nice constitution, and we had this interim committee, and then I said "Why don't we just officialize the group that's been involved in this?" which would make Carl Coon the Vice President, and me the President, and so on. And they were surprised by that move. And so they did it. So I was elected President for life or so – at least, my active life, my useful life. And Carl Coon, we changed every once in a while. So, that is all the background to this... You better check all this with Dale, to see how much you want me to let my hair down as you're letting your hair down.

ALBRECHT: Well – (**ZARTMAN:** Wait, wait, I'm not done!) I was just going to let you know that everything is being recorded, and I do plan on writing a transcript of this interview, but I'm not sure what all will be quoted in my thesis, or what won't be, so I'll hand you a copy of that transcript.

ZARTMAN: Thesis, I don't care. They are totally unimportant events.

ALBRECHT: [*laughing*] Fair enough.

ZARTMAN: I tried to get my doctoral thesis published, and somebody said "Hey, what are you worried about! It got you a doctorate, didn't it? Get out of here."

ALBRECHT: [*laughing*] So, then, let your hair down as much as you want, because the furthest any of this is going to go is my thesis, so.

ZARTMAN: Will be to Dale, yeah. I guess it was 1987, then, when we had this thing. We were going to celebrate the 200th anniversary, how are we going to do this? Well I said, "Let's do it bang-up." So we got the Navy, the 6th Fleet – I think it's the 6th Fleet

– to come and pay a fleet visit, and we got the band from the Navy to come in and play for us, and all kind of things. And, I'll tell you a very personal... We had – well, before I get to the personal story – no, I won't. A very personal story. This was in whatever month it is, March or whatever. The rainy season. And we said you know, here's, everything's going to go well, we have speeches and the ambassador is coming up, and we have the visit from the 6th Fleet, and so on – I think it's the 6th fleet, the Mediterranean fleet... But we just have to worry about the weather. So the week before, it poured. And they said, "Oh my God, what's going to happen?" And I said "It will be alright." The night before, it poured. The day before – sunshine! All over the place! For two days! And after it was over, it poured. That's my Moses role. But one other thing – the reason I mention Carl Coon in this, Carl Coon [too quick to understand], he said "We need some kind of, we need to use the Legation for some classical music! There's a piano there." And I said "You can do that, if you want. But I want something for the people. And so, the Navy band came into the Grand Socco – do you know Tangier? (ALBRECHT: Mmhm. I've been.) – came into the Grand Socco, and was stationed up there as you face the mosque, was stationed to the left of the mosque, in front of the movie theater up there. And they began by Cole Porter's song that was inspired by Tangier, "Begin the Beguine!" And they played all night, and people were out in the Grand – it was at that time, before the Grand Socco existed as you saw it, it was an empty square, there was nothing in the middle. It was a parking lot – people were out dancing! All over the place, all night long, we danced out in the Grand Socco to the Navy band. But, again stepping back just one minute, they were up there, they were ready to begin, they had their trumpets up to begin the beguine, and what happened? The *muezzin* in the mosque began the beguine! So what are you going to do? You know, you can't run up to them... And the director of the Navy band said "Stop." And the *muezzin* had his call to prayer, and then he stopped, and then the band took over. It was glorious. It really was glorious. So then we said "Well, that's very nice, but what can we do? We want to look ahead. And what can we do to not simply look back on the 200th anniversary, but what can we do to look ahead?" And we had some pieces of programming about that. And so I said, "Let's start a regular program on the 7th of April – or is it the 9th – the 9th of April. In 1944, Mohammed V made a very important speech. It was a failure. But, it was an important speech nonetheless, backing Moroccan nationalism and so on. He called in the Arab League and said "Morocco is an Arab country," and so on, and that didn't help matters. And the Arab League didn't help matters either. Or the Arab countries... I'm not sure if it was the Arab League, or just the Arab countries. But in any case I said "Let's celebrate that with April seminars! And every April we're going to have a seminar, a program, on some topic on which we can bring American expertise, if you want to put it that way, face-to-face with Moroccan persons, and vice versa." And say something useful to them, and so on. And so we

did... Golly, I don't know. We started I think in the early 1990s, and we must have done some 20 years or something like that of April seminars. I think my dating is correct on it, I'd have to go back and look at my book on it to see when the April seminars began. So, what was my happiest moment? When we danced in the Grand Socco. And when the Navy band played for the people! Not some concert of the piano in the embassy. And my second happiest moments have been... I guess my second happiest moment after that was the Kuniholm years. Because I think we had a very, very good director there. And I hope you've talked to him! Have you talked to him?

ALBRECHT: I'm going to. I talked with him a little bit a few months ago, I haven't scheduled a formal interview yet. But, I'm definitely going to interview him and I'm very much looking forward to it.

ZARTMAN: Then I guess on the tail of that would be the April seminars, which is something special that we did. We had lots of other ideas. My greatest disappointment, I can tell you, was with... what's it called... the MIPPY program. We submitted three times a proposal to MIPPY for some funding, and we got turned down three times. Okay, that happens. But we went back two times, maybe three, to find out why. Because they had always said "Okay, we're sorry you can't make it this time, but we encourage you to put forward a proposal again." All people who turn you down say that. When you look for a job, they'll say that to you. So we said "Okay, what was wrong? What should we do differently?" And we got all kinds of different stories as to what we did wrong. And we began to suspect that what we did wrong was being us, for some reason or other. And when we asked people inside — we had a mole in MIPPY, and he was very embarrassed when we asked what was wrong — which suggests that just being us with it was not a good idea... We had some very good things in that that I still miss. I wanted to set up... Oh! Another thing that we did that was very good, I really liked that we worked with the — and I guess this is another good aspect of the Kuniholm year — we worked with FATM, the Fondation Tanger Al Madina. The director at one time was a famous Moroccan-Tangier architect... It'll come back. So we had this plan of a — you know, [as an] anthropologist — that the great institution is the well. Because everyone meets at the well or the pub, the women exchange news, and so on, and that's the center of household activity. So Tangier is made of these houses, none of which work, but used to be the well of the villages that constitute Tangier. So we said let's restore one of these, and let's restore the tiles on the ground, and let's refurbish the whole area. And what we'd like to do is then take an empty house — because there are always some houses that are empty there — and turn that into a youth center. And maybe we'll put up a basketball hoop at one end of the square. And so on. We'll make it a center of activity, and youth, and so on. Then we can

make them do little drama things, and get them out of the streets, or usefully in the streets. And so we did this, and this woman was very enthusiastic – Hanae Bekkaroi. H-A-N-A-E, I think – one N – Bekkaroi, B-E-K-K-A-R-O-I. So we started this thing up, using embassy special funds. And I forget who was ambassador, but that was very good, I was very pleased about that. And of course, it went to pot. Nobody kept it up, or anything like that. And it was one of the things that we had put in the MIPPY proposal, that we would do other ones in other parts of the city, to get kind of a network of these village fountains, so to speak. But that never happened. And a disappointment that came out of that was that, as happens everywhere I get, if you set something up like FTAM, then you have a counter-FTAM. And so there was an institution set up by Tamar Sidi, who was a dynamic guy, worked for one of the banks in Morocco, did a very good book Morocco – big history, and colored book – and Tamar Sidi said that Bekkaroi's design on the ground was an atrocious modernization and it should be more traditional! And Bekkaroi said that this is the kind of [*word in French*] of the traditional. And so they took out their swords and went after each other... Tamar Sidi, instead of joining us, I said to him one time “[*sentence in French*]”, and we didn't, because he had his principles. So that was a disappointment. That was a joy, and that was a disappointment. Another project that we had in the MIPPY plan, and that I brought up again with the two successors of Kuniholm, because part of it seemed to get enacted, was to set up a youth center down on the fortress, down at the bottom of the Kasbah [...] where they had cannons, and has now been refurbished, and there are little houses in the front – or in the back, I guess – of where they had cannon. So there was a great debate about that, as to whom that belonged to. Again, Tamar Sidi claimed it, and I guess prevailed, and the idea was to take one of those little buildings and turn it into a youth center. And so we had – they – apparently had the property to do this, finally, I think we won... but I'm not sure what happened. But we also wanted to have a thing called CEPAD [*phrase in French*] in which we wanted to get together using Fulbrights, using people from university and things like that, some study sessions for interested college [or] high school students to study not in a courtesan way, but to study the city's problems. And then to latch in on one problem, and come up with a proposed solutions, and then try to sell this somewhere, to parties, to government, and so on – to be kind of a little educated civic voice. That was CEPAD. And they didn't buy that either. So there you go. Those are my disappointments, as well as my joys.

ALBRECHT: Wonderful. I was actually going to ask you [what were your] most cherished memories [and] least cherished memories, but in talking about your disappointments that answers that. So, moving on, what did you or do you see as the main purpose and goal of the Legation?

ZARTMAN: Well, that is to establish an American presence, an American non-political, cultural presence in Morocco, but specifically in Tangier. In Morocco, there is no other place like this, and in Tangier – because Tangier is a part of the neglected north, and we said at one time, particularly after the cultural center was disbanded in Tangier, that we were the cultural center for the American Legation. And that idea – you know, you can't sell that too hard, because then the American Legation would take us over, so we have to say that we are acting in place of the cultural center and so on, you have to dance around that one... But I think that's been sensed, and appreciated, in what we've done.

ALBRECHT: Did that purpose or goal change at all during your time there?

ZARTMAN: How we did it – I mean, the implementation changed in the kind of things I talked about. But I think that 1987 was kind of the turning point, because – and I wrote up around that time kind of a list of our purposes, as a Legation. If Dale doesn't have it, you'll have to ask me, and I'll fax it to you or something like that. I'm sure I can find it. And I would still stand by that. You know, any new body that comes in always wants to rewrite purposes, and so they have said sometimes that we ought to have a list of what we want to accomplish, and I keep repeating that we've got this... And also, it's in the constitution, as well, I think. But that's been essentially the same.

ALBRECHT: How do you feel about that purpose – you know, having a cultural center? Do you think it's very important, what are some of your feelings surrounding that?

ZARTMAN: Yeah, it's very important, or I wouldn't do it.

ALBRECHT: Fair enough, fair enough. Is there anything else you want to add to that?

ZARTMAN: No, I don't think so. I wish we had – you know, it's funny, I'm involved in a number of things, two things particularly in North Africa, although I'm a Moroccanist first, that's where I landed... I'm a Maghrebist, and now I'm an Africanist, and now I'm a Middle Easternist, and the circle starts expanding. But as President of AIMS – and that's an interesting story, I don't know if you get into that – as President of AIMS, I set up CEMAT. You know CEMAT? (**ALBRECHT:** [Shakes head in negation.]) Oh my. The Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis, which is the American research center, the AORC, American Research Overseas Center, in Tunis, just like TALIM is the American Overseas Research Center in Morocco. The Tunisian one – all these things are not without fights – the Tunisian one had a smoother sailing, because

it's in Tunis, where as TALIM always benefitted from it but was sneered at because it was eccentric. Not only eccentric in the Tangier sense of being eccentric, but eccentric because it was away from the center. And I remember in the first... Well, this gets me into another thing, this gets me into AIMS. In the first conference, historic conference we had there – in fact, anthropological conference we had, it was directed by Nick Hopkins and Hamudi – and Nick said to Hamudi, “Where should we meet?” And Hamudi said “I want somewhere out of Rabat.” And so Nick said “Well, that's very nice, because this is sponsored by Tangier, and we've got just the place.” And so the first publication [*phrase in French*] or something like that, you should get ahold of it. You should have that, it's a part of your story. So I set-up... you know, when I say I set-up, I was President of CEMAT, CEMAT was founded under the urging of a good DAO – no, a good Middle East Officer in ICA.... what was it called? The cultural... independent cultural operation before I joined the State Department... USIS! USIA. And so we set up, and then we signed up an agreement with Bourguiba's doctor to set up CEMAT, and that went off and running. And I was talking once to Muhammad bin Aysah, who was Minister of Culture at the time, and I said “You know about CEMAT, don't you?” and he said “No, what's CEMAT?” And I said “Well, you ought to know, because it's the Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis. Because it's the American Overseas Research Center for North Africa.” It was the first one established in a regional span. Everyone else, like RC in Egypt, is a single country focus. And so he said “Oh, that's interesting, where is this located?” And I said “It's in Tunis.” And he said “Bah! Always Tunis.” So I said, “Well, we can do something about that, for AIMS.” And so the President of AIMS talked to the President of TALMS, and we made an agreement that Morocco would be, that TALMS would be the Moroccan branch of AIMS. And that was very easy because the President of AIMS and the President of TALMS were the same person. Me. And so at that point TALMS became – and that was, I don't know when that was... That was in the 1980s, too. I mean, I was President at that point, that was in the 1980s. What did I want to say in addition... I wanted to say that the conferences... No, I don't know what else I wanted to add on that paragraph. Yeah. But I mentioned the Hamudi and Hopkins conference. Then, having set up AMES with its locations in North Africa, we set up the annual conferences of AIMS. And the annual conference of AIMS is on a subject, and we have four delegations: Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, and American. And then we have papers presented, it's an academic conference. And then we publish the things. We did, at that time. And the first one was in Morocco, this conference that Hopkins and Hamudi had set up. And then it was by rotation, and then we went back to Tunis, and then to Morocco, and finally we decided – and I finally signed an agreement in 1993, I guess, with the University of Oran, the University of Oran would represent the universities of Algeria. And since we had no American Overseas Research Center in Algeria, and so then we went to Oran, and we had a triple rotation. And all of

these — this was another joy I had — I said “Dammit! We’re going to publish these things.” Because conferences talk, and that’s all very nice, but let’s get something that’s lasting. And so for a while — and I have a collection of six or seven books or something like that — for a while, we published everything and we published it in the countries, and in French. And, the translations were the charge or the authors. So some authors translated their own pieces, some authors got somebody to translate them, and so on. But I mean, it was really a yeoman’s — literally, a yeoman’s — participant’s job. And I’m very sorry that has gone by the wayside. We don’t... We still do good conferences, as far as I know, but we don’t have publications that come out of it. What else to tell you... I’ll think of some things. Call me tomorrow, I won’t be here.

ALBRECHT: I do have one final guiding, overarching question, if you’d like me to ask that. So, you’ve spoke a lot about the various things you did at the Legation during your time, and about the various ways your presence impacted the Legation. And I just wanted to ask you — what do you think the most important way your presence impacted the Legation is?

ZARTMAN: Well, I think that, with the help of everybody around, it kept the thing alive at a higher level. And with the help, I mean, I couldn’t — I wasn’t there, I found it very frustrating. I couldn’t have done it without Kuniholm. But he couldn’t have done it — to be humble — without somebody in charge back in the United States who was pushing him. I mean, he will complain that I kept pushing him... That’s the way I am. So I think that and the ideas that I came up with, the various things that I’ve talked about... As I said, I had the ideas and he had — he had lots of ideas back there himself, but I’m talking about from my point of view, he was the one who carried it out. So I think that made a difference... You know, we’re gradually, gradually... It takes such a long time to get people to know what TALIM is and where we are, because it’s eccentric. “Oh, it’s up in Tangier!” Another thing I did after the, in 1987, was to set up the National Council for the Rehabilitation of the Historic City of Tangier. Because I thought that people should... that the country should be involved in this, and I got mad because we talked to people in Tangier at that time, and they would say “Oh, what does it matter? Rabat doesn’t care about us. So what can we do here?” And I was saying, for the students, I was saying, “Do something about your city! Get it spruced up, pay attention to the historic medina.” And so on. And then, so I said, “Let’s get this National Council going and we’re going to get the Crown Prince to be the honorary chair.” So we went down and we got the Crown Prince to be honorary chair, and he was happy to do that, and then we went back to Tangier and they said “Oh, my goodness! The Crown Prince is honorary chair! Oh, he cares about us! How wonderful!” and so on. Well, they were not wrong, because — I don’t know whether you know the history of the North —

in 1958, the North went into rebellion in the Rif, two years after independence, and the king – Mohammed V – sent his son, who was in charge of the army, up there to put down the rebellion. His name is Hassan.... Moulay Hassan, the crown prince, says “I don’t carry my sword around simple to knock against my boots.” And so he went in, and he saw the North as subversive, and he never went back there again, since 1958. Well, that was one of the greatest gift that he gave to Mohammed VI, because Mohammed VI only had to go to the North, and they said “Oh, he loves us, not like his father, that guy!” And he got the vote of the whole North, including Tangier, of course. So, then the Crown Prince became King, was promoted, and he stayed on as honorary chair of the National Council for the Preservation for the Historic City of Tangier. It is one of my great disappointments in life, because I like acronyms and I cannot think of a pronounceable acronym for that, in any language. And the other side, the disappointment was, that this was let drop. And this was probably, I could have done more in that... Every year for a while I wrote and told him what we were doing for the April seminar, and got some kind of appreciative answer and so on, and I kind of dropped that after awhile. And I’m sure nobody writes to the King now. Nobody has disbanded this thing, but it’s not active, and more could be done about that.

ALBRECHT: One question I meant to ask earlier, and it just popped out of my head and it popped back in – my apologies, I’m still getting used to the interview process, so thank you for bearing with me. You mentioned that you believe that TALIM’s mission – you know, to be a cultural center in Tangier – is important. But why do you believe it’s important? Why is such an institution meaningful?

ZARTMAN: Well, because I think the ties between our countries are more than just political. They’re educational, they’re civil, they’re cultural, they’re civilizational... and if we leave that kind of bridge-building to the embassy, it’s essentially political. I’ll give you a story. In the first Iraq war – probably about the fourth Iraq war, but the one in which Iraq invaded Kuwait, and the Americans jumped in – in Tunisia, the people at CEMAT got out, and noticed one day that there was graffiti somewhere on the wall. So the director then went to the police and said so Jean Murad went to the police, and she said “We have no problems, but I’d like just tell you to keep alert about the American center here.” And the police said “What American center?” We were so well implanted in the society that they didn’t know that it was an American center. And CEMAT, The Centre d’Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis, does not have American in it. Now in TALIM, we have that great discussion there, the national seal, and the American is there because it’s the American Legation, and that’s fine. But, I think that our job is to build bridges where otherwise the bridges or not, and particularly in that area, so that ties between the Moroccans and Americans that exist, or do not yet exist, still can be built and

developed. It's maudlin to say in a sense and a bore, but we have this enormously long history with Morocco. And Morocco is in a different position than all the other Arab countries. And it's aware of it, and this is one way – and now admittedly, I'm turning political – in which we can keep those ties going. I think that's our job. It's not just a place – and no place is, and this is the purpose of the AORCS, the American Overseas Research Center – where we go in, and take data, and come out, and publish. It's a place where we build bridges and share data and share concerns, and interests, and so on, in an academic way. And that's the purpose that we play, and I think that's important. Is that more important than CEMAT in Tunis? I don't know, that's a different story, but the same kind of thing. And that's special because we have historic contacts with Tunis and all that kind of thing. But we'll stick to Morocco, it's important with Morocco. And I like Morocco.

ALBRECHT: Are there any final things that you would like to add? Because we're reaching about an hour now, and I don't want to take too much of your time.

ZARTMAN: Lots of things, but I don't remember them right now.

ALBRECHT: Quite alright! I am always available on Skype, so there's no reason why we can't have another conversation.

ZARTMAN: Good, good. I don't have Skype on all the time... in fact, usually ever, unless there's something set up. So if you want to talk some more, or if you have other questions, or questions from what other people have told you, I'd be happy to talk. I'm going to try and look up dates. Now you've really poked me, and I have to find out how my life began.

ALBRECHT: All right! Well, I look forward to speaking more with you, and I hope that you continue to have a lovely evening.

ZARTMAN: Thank you, thank you! Good night.

ALBRECHT: Good night.

Elena Prentice Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Sunday, 9/20/2015 — Hanover, New Hampshire – via Skype

ALBRECHT: First off, thank you so much for agreeing to do this. The way I've been conducting these interviews is very laidback, very conversational and casual. I really just want to hear about your history with the Tangier American Legation, your involvement with it, how you feel about it, how you feel about your experiences there.... Really, just getting a picture of you, and the Legation. So I do have a few guiding questions to help move the conversation along, but we can really just see where it leads us.

PRENTICE: First of all, the Legation has always been part of my life, because my grandfather, as you know, worked there. You know that? (**ALBRECHT:** Mmhm.) So, anytime I came to Tangier to visit Morocco as a child, did we go by the Legation? Probably not, because it was shut for a long time. But when I became... I lived in Paris for 20 years, and I was visiting with my cousin Carl, probably in 1988, and leaving my son there to do an internship at the National Gallery, and I was having dinner with him in Georgetown where he had a place, on Edmund Street, and there were a bunch of different friends there, and Carl turned to me and said "I'm head of the search committee for the new Director for the Legation." This was up because Dr. Shea was retiring, and they were looking for somebody new, and I said I didn't know anything about it. I had been living in Paris, I was in the State, I had just moved – and several people at the dinner said "But you'd be great!" And I said "But I have no qualifications – I'm a painter... Not really." And they said "No, no, no, you'd be great!" So Carl looked at me and said "Would you consider it?" And I said "Sure. But I would like to see the place before I make any decisions." Because I wanted to make sure there was enough space, if I decided to paint. So a couple of weeks later we met in Casablanca, drove up the coast, came to Tangier, and visited the place. I was amazed. And then I had to go through the process of meeting the different members of the Board and seeing if they would approve or not. And there were quite a few who didn't approve, saying "A woman can't live in the medina, it's not possible." And then there were a few others that thought it was just fine. Eventually, they decided to nominate me. I changed the name – I think it was Curator, to Director, that would be more advantageous to me – to Museum Director, because then I could go [unclear] and meet other museum directors. So I changed the title, actually. But it was still at that point called TALMS. So I turned up at the museum in July, and there was a very sweet woman there, who was a Spanish woman – Docent. I said "Oh by the way, John Blake right now is actually at the Minzah Hotel." John Blake being the son of Maxwell Blake, who really spent what, 30 years or so? He really made the place what it was. He put his own money into it, he

fixed it up, there's wonderful letters... I think you still have the book, "The Bigger Circle?" (**ALBRECHT:** I believe so, yes.) John Blake's memoirs, letters from Walter Harris, congratulating him on his taste, this beautiful Spanish grail work [unclear]... He really gave it the look it has. Entirely responsible for it. Gave it great style. So, I called the Minzah, and John Blake came down to the Legation, and I had never met him. But he had known my mother and my grandmother. So suddenly, I sort of became for him my mother and my grandmother. I just let him go with his memories of picnics on the beach in the 1930s — of course, I wasn't even born — and I just listened to him, and he showed me all around where his room was. He showed me the whole Legation. His own, personal experience. And eventually through that, that's why I got into writing down his memoirs, of his childhood there. So I took up my post in 1988... I stayed a year and a half, so it must have been the very end of 1988. I was there in 1989, and I left in the beginning of 1990. I just opened the place up, because what happens with Directors who stay too long, they seem to get lockdown syndrome. And it happened to Thor, it happened to Dr. Shea — where they get very private, and they don't want anybody in there, and they don't want any tourists. It's good that they stay a nice chunk of time, but not too long. That's really just between you and me. It's not really necessary, but it's what I have observed over the years. Jerry was great, John Davison is fantastic, so we're into a wonderful period of time. I think what I was credited for doing — perhaps not so much on the American side, if you will — was on the Moroccan side, is I invited the Moroccans in. [Moroccan names I will need help from Dale to transcribe.] I asked them to come in and take a look at the place, which hadn't been at all on anyone's normal circuit. And the budget was tiny when I was there, I don't think it's huge now but it certainly was a lot more limited... So I would give cocktail parties and get donations, and I didn't have money to repaint, so I put on dimmers so I could change the lighting. I really had an amazing time, and wonderful people were coming through. There was still a lot more diplomatic representation at the time. There as still the Germans, the Italians, the English, of course the Spanish and French as there are today. I was extremely well received.

ALBRECHT: Now, when you began your work as the curator/director of the Legation in 1988, had you already been living in Tangier, or did you have to move from somewhere else?

PRENTICE: I had to move. I moved from the States, actually.

ALBRECHT: How did that make you feel?

PRENTICE: Fine. It was great, I mean, it was perfect. I'd lived in Paris, I moved to the States, and then moving to Tangier... It just felt right. I had my youngest daughter with me, and the quality of the [unclear]. The welcome was fantastic. But, anyways. I would sort of... Because of the lack of budget, and having a wonderful group of friends, someone would come for a vacation. One woman was a specialist in autism. So I would put together a conference, and invite different people who are still friends today to come and have a sort of roundtable discussion around little recording machines, and take notes or something else. And I had a friend that had started a chamber music ensemble and they came, and I did that. The French were extraordinary. The French Institute was incredibly helpful, everybody was. I was very well received. Everyone was very kind. It was a very happy time.

ALBRECHT: Wonderful. That actually leads into my next question, which is: what were your most cherished memories from this time? So you've just shared some very happy memories – what are some other cherished memories? And also, just as a quick reminder, this is on record. You know, I have my little tape recorder here. But all of these interviews will just be used for my senior honor thesis at Dartmouth.

PRENTICE: Yeah, no problem. I think it was just, I think I was the only woman.... and being, as I said, a single woman in the medina posed absolutely no problem. It was just an extraordinary period of time, when remarkable people were passing through Tangier. And I had the chance to meet a lot of them. From different writers, to... People would come in and use the research library, and people that did come in – if I thought they were amusing, I would ask them for lunch. Because I had my youngest child with us, so we always had lunch at home, because she in the French lycée, kids come home from school. And because she was along with me, I sort of thought I should have... I don't know, it was just a very wonderful time, where people would bring me people... No, it was great, I had a great time. But I also knew that I had very limited qualifications in a certain world, in an academic world. I'm a painter, I taught drawing. I can certainly perceive people, I can ask good questions. But I realized that it wasn't something that I really... you know, there are other people with qualifications. Better Arabists, and academics, and other connections. And it's become a much more sophisticated organization, with the link-up with AIMS and Maghreb Studies, and all sorts of things.

ALBRECHT: And now, for a somewhat more personal question. So, share what you feel comfortable sharing. But what are some of your least favorite memories from your involvement with the Legation?

PRENTICE: No, I have no bad memories. I really don't. It was just a funny time. I went to Washington; I introduced myself to every one of our Board members at that time. There were a lot of people that probably forgot they were on the Board. And it was wonderful. They were all very sweet to me, because I was, you know, I was in my early 40s...you know. I was young. One doesn't begin to age until a little bit later. One can stay pretty winsome until that age. But they were great, they were great. People would wine and dine me, take me out, give me information. It was at that time that Joseph Verner Reed gave a huge amount of his collection to the Legation. And old Bob Anderson, ambassador who was one of the initial founders of it, was great. He called up different people in town and said: *[affects manly voice]* "There's a classy babe coming to town and I want you to see her!" Joseph Verner Reed, who was chief of protocol and had also been ambassador, wrote to every Moroccan he'd ever met that I was in town, some remarkable people came and called on me. They didn't quite know who I was, so it was very funny. It was kind of amusing.

ALBRECHT: So what's your involvement with the Legation like today?

PRENTICE: I live in Tangier, I go to programs there, I take people by. When anybody comes, I say "You must visit the Legation!" I'm on wonderful terms with John Davison, I think he's absolutely terrific. I'm on the Board. I think it's a very, very important institution in our particular day and age. It's a symbol, it's a reality, and these sort of institutions... I think it's unique, in the Arab world, with the reputation we have. They're very important, in terms of creating friendships, you know as we're considered as "Americans," in this part of the world, as having single-handedly – with two terms of Bushes – of having really destroyed the balance in the Middle East. So, to have something like the Legation, at least we can try and prove something. People don't have anything against us personally, but in terms of our politics and our government, definitely do – as we do, as well.

ALBRECHT: What do you see as the main purpose or goal of the Legation currently?

PRENTICE: It's a remarkable research center. It's a place where somebody can walk in off the street into an old diplomatic residence. There are very few places where you can do that, in the world, where major people in history were in that place physically. It has a really interesting collection. There are no museums in Tangier, particularly – there's the Kasbah museum, but in terms of decent art, there's a very good collection. There's a young man I met who said, "Hello, I'm a painter, and I want to paint." And I said, "Have you ever been to the Legation?" And he said "No." And I said, "Well, go, and you'll see some absolutely first-rate paintings." So there's the Marguerite collection,

which is important, there are maps, there's a great conference center... It's a place where young people can step in off the street and see something they couldn't possibly see anyplace else.

ALBRECHT: Did this goal or purpose change during your time there, or over the years that you've been involved?

PRENTICE: I think the difference was that it was — and I think it's just a question of... Shea had been in Morocco a long time, and by the time he left he was very, very bitter, and very discouraged, and I think he was tired and he was irritated, and he was underappreciated. It's just a question of character. He went off to Gibraltar and became a priest. I did not go off to someplace and become a nun, afterwards. I think the Moroccans — now, there may a very different attitude from the States' side — that Moroccans really feel that I was the one who kind of invited them in, for the first time. Where they felt they had access, they came, they looked around, I entertained. I had groups of friends together. Also I spoke French, and it's a very important tool to have when you're dealing in Morocco with Moroccans. It's more important than Arabic. Not more important, but it's as important, and you can get by with French.

ALBRECHT: Now you've mentioned your family history with Tangier and the Legation — you know, you grew up going to it because of your grandfather. Do you have any memories or specific memories regarding the Legation from before TALMS and TALIM?

PRENTICE: No. No, not at all. I might have walked down the street in the medina as a child and it might have been pointed out, but I don't... I think it was in different phases. You know, Peace Corps, Arab Language Center, etcetera. But I don't... I remember having it described by my mother, and my uncle on my father's side also went in and called on my grandfather, and that's how my parents met, because of these two strains. And you know, the woman that lives up the street here, she doesn't know my grandfather but her grandfather signed my birth certificate, so you know, there are wonderful connections with people. Because my grandfather retired here, after he retired from the State Department, he came to Tangier in 1951 or 1952. And lived until 1966. And my grandmother, who was White Russian until 1976... He stayed, he was here, and people knew about him and knew what his connection was. And he's still remembered by quite a few people that I know. So there's that kind of continuity, and when I tell people that my grandparents are buried in Tangier as well as my mother, the Moroccans say, "Well for us, you're Moroccan." (**ALBRECHT:** Very cool.) Yeah, it's

nice. So what do you have with Morocco, aside from spending time with Dale? Are you an Arabist?

ALBRECHT: So, I have no real background with Morocco and the Middle East. Growing up, I didn't study it. I'm half-Hispanic, there's no Moroccan lineage in my family.

PRENTICE: What part of Spain? From what part of Hispania?

ALBRECHT: Well, so... It's Spain by way of northern Mexico. I guess, northern Mexico by way of Spain. I'm forgetting the region of Spain now, because that must have been 200 years ago, but it was definitely in the north of Spain, too. But when I came to Dartmouth, I took "Political Anthropology" with Dale Eickelman, and I just fell in love with the subject and fell in love with Morocco, and studying abroad and seeing the country and meeting people... Going to Tangier, seeing expatriates such as yourself.

PRENTICE: Don't forget the remarkable connection between Morocco and Spain and then the *conquistadores* going to North America, and the cultural heritage and the aesthetic heritage and the architectural, so much. It's so connected. The cilantro, you know. I'm sure that one could kind of make a band around the world in terms of flavors. I absolutely adore Mexico. For me, there is more talent in the little finger of a Mexican woman than there is in all of Scandinavia. It's remarkable.

ALBRECHT: I'll have to tell my mom that, because she'll be very glad to hear it.

PRENTICE: No, no, I really mean it, too. And I think I was sort of seeing someone who was Mexican, before I took this job. And I just... Hedges of gardenias, my god the vegetation! And it was suddenly after being in New York City and then spending time in Mexico, I just, I was so ready to move and encounter different vegetation. Just magnificent. You speak Spanish, I hope?

ALBRECHT: Eh, solo un poquito. (**PRENTICE:** Un poquito.) Un poquito. My mother's very disappointed in me. (**PRENTICE:** It's easy, you can learn it.) Yeah, I hope to learn it one day. Now, what do you see as the future of TALIM and the Legation? Do you see the purpose and goal evolving and growing, or... Since you're so involved with it to this day, what do you think about its future?

PRENTICE: I think it's been right on track, and I think it should stay very local. I don't think it needs to expand. I think it could be a place where people from other places

could come and exchange conferences, but I think the fact that it's America's only historic landmark not on national soil — I think it's fine. I don't think it needs to become, you know, new buildings and a new institution. I think the fact that it works on a small intimate basis... It has to be repaired, it has to be maintained.... [Skype technical issues] I just think it's fine as it is. The actual physical building needs to be secured and [sup]planted. It can't expand physically any more than it is. There's no point in acquiring more buildings. I think the fact that it's small and that it holds people... What it does need, I think, is a catalogue of the library. I mean, a serious catalogue, and online. And then it could be connected with major institutions, like the Bibiothèque Nationale in Rabat, and other places. Because there are books that are unique to the place.

ALBRECHT: So, what I'm hearing is that it's more about continuity and maintenance, both of the physical plant and of its history, and the programs within it.

PRENTICE: Yeah. And how that will continue, it will be in relation to whoever is Director. You know, you can't have major exhibitions, you can't have... In terms of insurance, in terms of humidity, I know the work of conservation that goes on. Only so much can be maintained. I know Tangier's climate. I've talked with engineers about what that building really needs, and you can only do so much. That medina is a honeycomb, and it's not a free-standing structure. And it's also slowly sliding into the sea. But I think, it's simply a symbol — and as a reality, something I said, it's American, and something that's friendly, and you can, you know... literacy program for women, kids coming in off the street and looking at art collections, scholars being able to use the books. I had lunch yesterday with a very interesting writer-editor, and he wants to do something — he's from Bordeaux — he said "I'd love to do something and just kind of install myself for a few months in Tangier, and just sit in the library and use it as a place to write." And I said, "Well, that's fantastic. There's no reason [not to], I'll call John Davison and let him know that you're here." So I had that kind of odd talk with John, I'd call him up and say "Somebody's coming, can I bring him by?" I think it's important.

ALBRECHT: We've touched on about all of the structured questions that I have — many of which I didn't even have to ask, you just knew what I needed to hear. But what else would you like to say?

PRENTICE: There were those who were instrumental in preserving it and putting it together, like how Eastman, Jerry Loftus (the last Director) — I don't know if you've spoken with him yet.

ALBRECHT: I haven't interviewed him, but I did meet him while I was in Tangier, and we've emailed some.

PRENTICE: Okay, good. Because he and his French wife, I have to say, absolutely gave the place great style. And I've known the place, as I've said, over the years. What I did was minor, I rehung everything actually. But it was pretty much the way it was. But Jerry did a great job. Just tireless, he really changed the whole way it moved, he put it in historical context, he got every sort of little book, got frames. He did a remarkable job. And John continues in a different way, he's more flamboyant. He's putting brighter colors in, which is fine, I think it's fine, because he's Director and will do his own thing. And so it will take on the life of the different people that will run the place over the years.

ALBRECHT: Who do you think are specific individuals that I should reach out to, as far as, you know, major players in the Legation and its history?

PRENTICE: Well, John Blake lived there, but he's very old and in Madrid. I'm not sure he's the best to interview. In terms of who it would be interesting to talk to... I have to think about that. I think you've got, in terms of who's on our Board... Different people have different interests. Certain people are interested because they work for Morocco lobby firms. Other ones are more interested in Moroccan things. Then there's the American side. There is... It was my cousin Carl, but he's very much the one who... He supported it for a long time. He had a sum of money that had to be given away every year that had to go towards charity, and he singlehandedly gave enough money to really keep it going. And he was really upset when they changed the name without telling him from TALMS to TALIM. And there's a really interesting division that you will run into as you go on in life, as the difference or the conflict between the academics and the diplomats. The academics are very sensitive, and they feel very looked down upon by the diplomats, and the diplomats look upon the academics as being perfectly nice but they don't really understand what it means to have lived in this other type of world. It's something I just observed, because I'm neither one nor the other. I'm a complete dark horse. It was pure serendipity that I ended up there. I remember one of the first nights I was there, my uncle on my father's side had hidden out in the rooms because he was in the OSS during the war, and downstairs my grandfather had his offices, and my mother, once she was widowed, was very good friends with a man she grew up with. They were devoted to each other. And they both turned up to visit me in 1989. And it was kind of wonderful to turn and look at both of them, and I said, "Well look, you get to spend the night in a place where both of your fathers were employed."

ALBRECHT: How have you seen that divide between academics and diplomats play out in TALMS, or TALIM?

PRENTICE: Oh, there's just a real division. Academics, I mean... I get caught between, the diplomats are more indulgent with me. And I have run across the fact that the Board — Zartman — have been totally uninterested in anything I've done with Morocco. Starting the first free newspaper in Morocco written entirely in Moroccan Arabic... I mean, even Dale. Dale was chatting with Jamal Amiar, with the [unclear]. They're kind of academics. And they've showed no interest in the work I've done, but funnily the major library at [the University of California, Los Angeles] has requested all of my artwork. But I haven't written papers, I'm not an Arabist, I don't have any degrees. But I just went to something in the country. I was just walking in the street, earlier this morning, and I was invited to the French Consulate. And I bump into the man, whose name is Mohamed Hassad, who happens to be the Minister of the Interior for Morocco. Grabs me with his wife and gives me a big kiss, "How are you? Are you still doing the books and the newspapers?" No one has shown any interest in that [at TALIM] at all, because I'm not an academic. At all! So I specifically hand out the little things that are Legation related. I have sent to the Board meetings, I have handed out everyone, I even had some taken — I think by Loftus — of "The Bigger Circle" given to everybody. I said, "This is a history of this building." Not one person contacted me to thank me. I do not care, because that's not why I do it, but it's very funny. And I even had a little incident with Dale, I said — (**ALBRECHT:** He sends his warmest regards, by the way. I had a meeting with him earlier today.) — but even with him, it's like, I can see areas of sensitivity, and I'm just saying that to you in a very offhand way. I think the world of him, and what he's trying to do. So I fall, as I said, between all of these different areas. And if anybody has shown any interest in what I'm doing, it's been the Spanish, it's been the French, and finally, UCLA. But it's not... What I do, I do for other reasons. And in fact, even John Davison is now selling the books we do in the bookshop at the Legation. So, where do you go from here? You?

ALBRECHT: Me? Well, I'm still in the preliminary stages of my thesis and in gathering research, so right now I'm focusing on interviewing as many salient people as I can, and just gathering all of the history and all of the information, both personal and institutional about the Legation that I can gather, and I hope to by the end of it, have created this sort of oral history of the Legation and use that to conduct a case study.

PRENTICE: Have you ever spoken to anybody that was part of it when it was an Arabic language school?

ALBRECHT: Not yet. I have some names on my list, but since that was back in the —

PRENTICE: Do you have Frank Wisner?

ALBRECHT: I believe he's on my list, but I'm going to write him down right now in case he's not.

PRENTICE: Ambassador Frank Wisner. He's one of our great Arabists, in terms of the diplomatic core. He was an ambassador in Egypt, he's done other things, but he speaks Arabic like a native. And he learned Arabic in Tangier. And those that have learned Arabic in Tangier have stayed absolutely devoted to the place. Have you heard of Ambassador Reed? (**ALBRECHT:** I believe so, yes. I don't have it in front of me, so I'm going to write that down.) He's a wonderful, extravagant ambassador to Morocco, absolutely loved, would drive around into a village and look at whatever they had to sell and say, "I'll buy it all!" He gave us a portrait of himself, which sits at the Legation, painted by Manfold Draper, who was sort of the society painter, studied in New Jersey, you know, Princeton and all of that, probably in the 1950s... He comes from a very old patrician family. And he, as I said, after that he was chief of protocol. And he's charming. His wife just died recently and I exchanged emails with him, and he spends most of his time lying around with David Rockefeller, who's now 100. Incredibly [unclear]. But I wanted to make sure that you have... let me see.... You should send him an email, and the email that's on the Legation list is perfect. And mention to him that Elena Prentice said that [he] would be absolutely essential. He's such a remarkable donor to the Legation. And having been as senior diplomat, [he] could understand the importance of the Legation when it was an international zone, and ask him what he thinks about what he thinks it's a symbol of today.

ALBRECHT: I will absolutely do that. Thank you, so much.

PRENTICE: Because it's not the academics that are going to tell you to do that. That's all.

ALBRECHT: Well, I'm excited to talk to both. Academics and diplomats and important non-academics and non-diplomats, such as yourself. Because you are very important.

PRENTICE: If I think of anybody else, I'll drop you a line. People did come through. When I was there, three young men turned up, and I just thought they were charming. So I asked them, I said, "Oh, if you want to meet everybody in Tangier, I'm having a birthday party for my son. Turn up!" And it was, you know, it was Hamish Bowles —

who is editor of American Vogue, and a fellow called Mario Testino, the photographer. And I didn't know who they were at the time, just young guys in their early 30s. And they've all gone on to be some stars. So they have very fond memories of the Legation. And they said [unclear], "If you met everybody instantly..." Another good portraitist is Lawrence Manning, there's a wonderful drawing of his of Paul Bowles at the Legation. So... There were so many people. Willy Davis came through. That shouldn't mean much to you, but he wrote an amazing book about Haiti, he's a Canadian writer. And he's married to one of Chuck Percy's — who's a senator — daughters, so I mean, there's a lot of very interesting buzz about the place. If I was there on a Sunday morning and the door would ring, and I'd be in a kaftan with a cup of coffee, there would be 20 people in front of the door, and I would say, "Come on in!" I just treated it like my home. And I said, "Come on in! I'll show you around." And it took like, within 6 weeks, people were saying, "My God. We told our friends we were going to Morocco," and they said "There's a place you have to go. And it's the Legation." Celebrating what it was, enjoying what it was, and being terribly hospitable. And I think maybe a woman can do that in a very different way than a man. So you'll be Director next time around, in about five or six years. A woman can have a very different touch. And in relation to Morocco culture, where women in inside space are all-powerful. And they don't... It's changing, but the Arab world doesn't like women in public space, but in private space, they're very powerful. People... [Skype technical difficulties]... that was sort of my lunchtime dining room. We ate there, danced there, there was a big kitchen. Sunday night dinners I had, people would bring all kinds of different meals, and we would eat there. And I hosted a lot of people. You know, Senator Moynihan, the Princess... All sorts of people would come through, and I would just do what I would do normally, just sort of have a meal and invite people. I can remember my daughter coming in once to one of these long tables, it was Voice of America, and different people, and someone turned to her and said, "Now this is charming, but where is the museum?" And Irina said, "Well, we're in it." As a house, expecting what was there. It was actually very fun. People were very much more cautious around the present directors, and you know, they stayed upstairs when there were apartments. But I converted a lot of the rooms into desk rooms, because I had no money, but I could receive people. So I had extraordinary guests coming through. Susan Miller, she turned up, I let her stay there. And she still mentions it every time I see her. I had all sorts of people who would come and participate.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely, all in the Legation.

PRENTICE: Yeah, because it was a home. And I lived in it as a home, as well as a physical place. Anyhow, I hope I've been of some help.

ALBRECHT: Oh, you have been more than helpful. This has been essential, thank you so much. And you have my email, if any more names come to mind, or anything else you'd like to say.

PRENTICE: Oh, I do. As you know, I can offer you the other side.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely, which is why you're essential.

PRENTICE: Yeah, you know, as I said, I don't belong to either one, but I understand how both worlds work. And it kind of amuses me.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. Well, I've already taken up so much of your time, but thank you so much for speaking with me. Here, I'm going to stop the recording, real quick, and then we can keep on chatting. But the official part of the interview will end.

ALBRECHT: So the way that I've been conducting these interviews is, as I mentioned, fairly informal, fairly conversational. I really just want to get a sense of who you are in relation to TALIM, your experience with TALIM, your perspective on the organization. I have a few guiding questions to help the interview along, but really we'll just see where the interview takes us. So my first guiding question is, how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

KUNIHOLM: How did I first become involved with the Tangier Legation? Well, I don't know what you mean by involved. I was named Director in 1991 and went out to take up my responsibilities in August 1991, and I stayed there until June of 2010. So if you mean by 'involved,' when did I have official responsibilities and duties, it was during that timeframe. However, I am a retired Foreign Service Officer and I've had two assignments to Morocco. Both times they were in Casablanca. And, at least on the latter, occasionally I believe I visited the Legation, but not in any official capacity.

ALBRECHT: So, did you visit the Legation much, or really know about TALMS or TALIM, before you were nominated to be the director?

KUNIHOLM: Yes, of course I did, because I was Moroccan Desk Officer from 1980 to 1982, I guess, and I knew ambassadors who were involved in TALIM and some of its previous incarnations. You know, in the very beginning, the Legation had an arrangement with a Moroccan entity – and I can't give you the name of that, but you can probably look it up. So I was aware of what was going on at the Legation. That arrangement, by the way, didn't work out. The arrangement didn't work out because they had a very small budget, and on the Moroccan side, they wanted to use the entire budget to send Moroccan scholars to the United States. Had they done that, they wouldn't have had any money left over for the maintenance of the museum, and for other activities. I'm summarizing it, but basically that was a problem. So they parted ways. I'm trying to think of you know, you get to my age and it's hard to remember things. I'm trying to remember the exact timeframe for that. In any case, there was that kind of arrangement between the Moroccans and the Embassy. That went on for some time, I think several years. Or two to three years, maybe. So I knew about it from that point of view, and then I went back to Washington as the Moroccan Desk Officer. I used to see Ben Dixon, who was treasurer of TALMS. He used to drop by my office frequently to complain about all of his headaches and problems and so on, and so I knew about the Legation and had some unofficial familiarity with it.

ALBRECHT: So, this ties into your previous history with the Legation, then. What motivated you to accept your nomination as director of the Legation?

KUNIHOLM: Well, first, because I thought I was qualified for the job. Having spent about six years in Morocco with the State Department, and also because I have some ability with French, and because I had some general knowledge of the area. And because it's the kind of activity that I thought myself and my wife would be interested in doing, because there we have a long time interest in preserving buildings and locations and improving them. It fit in with the kind of thing that we would like to do.

ALBRECHT: Did you have to move?

KUNIHOLM: Well, actually, well, yes. We moved lock, stock and barrel. We move and spent 19 years at the Legation in Tangier. However, I came home frequently. I'd say two to three times a year, and we maintained our home in Philadelphia, so whenever I came home, we were of course dropped off in Washington for discussions, and then we came up to Philadelphia, as well.

ALBRECHT: How did moving that far, for that long especially, make you feel?

KUNIHOLM: Well, it was very difficult in the beginning. You know there's a whole development of TALMS over that period of time – 19 years, as you can imagine – and in the beginning, we had virtually no budget. When I came there, the total budget we had for a month, our monthly budget was 500 dollars. And our Treasurer, Mr. Dixon... If I was able to make money, for example, by cruise ships coming in and visiting the Legation, and if they paid me 100 dollars to do that, then he reduced that amount of money by \$100. So it was a very unfortunate relationship. What I'm trying to say is that we were hanging on by our fingernails those first years, and we have to be very active in trying to make a go of it. I think for the first five or six years, my wife and I never traveled together back to the United States. One of us was always at the Legation, and that was a considerable sacrifice in a way. She would go back and buy materials for the museum to improve the establishment, and I would go back for meetings and so on. That arrangement persisted, as I said, for at least five or six years.

ALBRECHT: What was your experience at the Tangier American Legation like? Especially considering how long you were there – 19 years – and living there in Tangier, and moving back and forth... What was that entire experience like, with the Legation?

KUNIHOLM: Well, it was very challenging, and in the end it was very rewarding. I should explain to you that when we first got there, the Legation was not in very good shape physically, and it wasn't the kind of place that people would walk in the door and say, "Oh, what a fantastic place." Usually, if we had visitors to the Legation in those early years, they would come in and say, "Oh, you really have to live here?" As we developed over the years, we got to the point where people would come in and say, "Oh boy, are you lucky to live in such a nice place!" Of course, they didn't realize that the reason we were so "lucky" is that we had strived over a period of years to improve the quality of the museum. So from that point of view, it was very rewarding. We developed the Legation and its resources.

ALBRECHT: What were your most cherished memories from this time?

KUNIHOLM: Well, my most cherished memories are, at least from my point of view, was the establishment of the employees at the Legation. We trained and worked day in and day out with a group of Moroccan employees who are still there. I hired all but one of them, and my wife worked with them day in and day out, and so they developed an expertise for maintaining the museum. And that includes Yhtimad Bouziane, who's in charge of the Arabic language program for adult women in the medina. That is probably my most pleasant memory – that we were actually able to use the Legation for the neighborhood in a very depressed area of Tangier.

ALBRECHT: That's wonderful.

KUNIHOLM: Yes, it's very rewarding, I must say. It's something that I think most people, when they are thinking about NGOs or organizations, they think about "How large is your budget?" and "How many employees do you have?" But another aspect of these NGOs, or of any organization, is how well you train the staff. You know, the staff that we have there now is extremely efficient. They know the museum backwards and forwards. But the reason they know it is because I, myself, and my wife, worked intimately with these people over a number of 19 years. That accounts for a great deal. Now, of course, the establishment of the Arabic language program, that was a proposal that was brought to me by our librarian – Yhtimad Bouziane – and of course I was delighted with her suggestion, and I supported it 100 percent. So, I suppose that was the most satisfying thing – two things. One is to work with these Moroccan employees so that they became really invaluable at the museum, and that is probably the most crucial thing about that organization. If you don't, and the reason that they were capable and became so efficient is that we worked with them. We simply didn't tell

them “do this” or “do that,” we worked with them side by side. I think if you interviewed any of those employees, they would probably tell you the more or less the same thing that it was a collaborative approach. We don’t just hire somebody and say, “Here’s your salary, and these are the hours that you work, and you come in and do A, B, and C.” That doesn’t do it. What you have to do is to work with them, and also as you work with them, you have to learn to respect their abilities and what they are able to do, so that they take pride in their work. And why do they take pride in their work? Because you take pride in their work. This is extremely important. I can't stress enough how valuable that is.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. What were your least cherished or least fond memories from this time? And given that this is a fairly personal question, answer to the extent that you feel comfortable, of course. It’s all right if you need a moment to reflect.

KUNIHOLM: I’m just thinking about it. Well, I don’t know if there was a particular moment. Of course, when 9/11 took place, it wasn’t the nicest time to be in Tangier. It was a rather lonely time, as you might imagine. But I think... I don’t think it’s a moment. I think the most difficult thing is to get across to outsiders the challenges that we had day-in and day-out. I think that’s probably the most difficult thing. Because even though the Board and I got along very well, I think it’s very difficult for outsiders – if they’re not living in Tangier and working day-to-day, as we did – to appreciate some of the challenges that we faced and we overcame. Eventually people kind of take for granted that, “Oh, we’ve got a wonderful staff here!” But why do we have a wonderful staff? We have a wonderful staff because we worked with them, because we told them how to do things, and engendered a sense of pride in what they were doing. And that aspect of an organization is so crucial. There were so many things that needed to be taken care of when I got there. We had a janitor who lived on the top floor of the Legation, he was probably in his 70s, and he was married to a woman who was probably in her teens, or maybe... I would say she was in her teens. And he kept the blinds closed all day long, and he kept her virtually a prisoner in that apartment. Occasionally she would go insane, or become really unhappy, and she had to leave and go back to her family, and then she would come back to the apartment. And I was finally able to get rid of this, and that opened up another floor of the Legation. I just mention that as an incident, it’s not crucial. Well, it crucial, in a way. But that’s the kind of thing that had to be taken care of. Or, when I arrived there, there was a young Moroccan woman who was given the entire budget of the museum in a box, and she was the one who took care of visitors. And I found out... We discovered after a while that she was actually taking money from all the visitors who came there. So I was able to get rid of her. There were a lot of challenges at that time. And even, for example...

You know now, the relationship between TALIM and the Embassy couldn't be closer, and the current ambassador loves the Legation, and he comes up there frequently, and is a greater promoter. But I have to tell you, when we got there, the attitude of the Embassy was, "Oh my God, I hope they're not—" You know, I would come down to Rabat, and speak to people in the General Services office, or the Administrative Services office, and most of them really didn't — they kind of moaned when you talked about the Legation. Because they knew that it was sort of a "white elephant," it was located in a very difficult part of Tangier in the old city, and had all kinds of structural problems and so on. They were not really happy to have much to do with the Legation. And so I had to remind them that the State Department had a legal requirement to take care of — they rented, we rented the museum from the U.S. government. And in exchange, they agreed to take care of the upkeep of the Legation. I had to show that to every single new administrative officer and general services officer. I would go down to Rabat and say, "Here's our arrangement. And the Embassy is required to take care of the Legation." Well, in the beginning, they sort of did it grudgingly. Over the years, as the Legation improved in quality and looks, the whole thing turned around so that they became great promoters of the Legation. But that did not happen overnight, that did not happen automatically. It happened only when we were able to improve the Legation and make it a more thriving place, and a place that they could be proud of. So at a certain point, there was a tipping balance where they couldn't do enough for us. They were happy to be associated with the Legation. I don't know if I'm explaining this very well with you.

ALBRECHT: Oh, you absolutely are. I just want to make sure that I don't interrupt you, and that I listen to everything. You've mentioned how important the workers were to your experience, and how both you and the rest of the Board and the workers created this new and improved Legation. How did you go about finding these Moroccan workers? Did they come to you, did you seek them out? I'm curious about that whole process.

KUNIHOLM: I should explain that three of the employees are all brothers, and the oldest brother was working there when we came. And so we hired the other two brothers through the oldest brother. I mean, the oldest brother probably told his brothers, "Why don't you try and apply for a job?" and they would come around, and we hired them. In the case of the Associate Director, Yhtimad Bouziane, she was already working on a part-time basis, cataloguing books in the library. The actual librarian resigned, and so I was able to offer Yhtimad the position of the librarian. And she later got the title of Associate Director. But again, particularly if you're working with an NGO abroad, the most important thing is to establish good, genuine relationships with your country employees. And Yhtimad, I don't think would have

come to me and made any suggestion if she thought I wasn't going to be open to cooperate with her. But she came to me one day and said, "You know, they have these women in the neighborhood who are illiterate, and they would really like to learn Arabic, in order to help their children in school so that they can help the kids with their homework." And it seemed to me like a fantastic idea. As we got going with this group of women, they then got lessons in sewing and doing other things, and it became a social group for them. We even invited them to our concerts and things like that, at the Legation. Up until that point, these women – and they said this – they didn't know anything about the Legation. All they knew was. "It's this building that used to be the American Embassy." They didn't have any sense that they could belong to it, or could do anything. So we opened that all up. The women became very supportive and cooperative. When we first got there, you know... I wouldn't say they were terribly hostile, but there wasn't a friendly attitude. But when we developed this literacy program, and these women would come in daily to have classes, and we invited them to visit the museum... Many of them had never visited a museum. They came from, you know, poor background, and they wouldn't have normally thought that they could just knock on a door and come in. But over the years, they saw the Legation as something that was helping them, and helping their families. It's the thing that I'm proudest of, I think, that we were able to reach out to the Moroccans and be useful to them, and establish a really genuine relationship. You know, there's always an emphasis that it's normal, but when you're dealing with Washington or people who are not in Morocco, they tend to think in the stratosphere. They think in terms of, "Who's the important people visiting the Legation?" and "How much money do you have?" and all this kind of thing. And a lot of that is just so much nonsense. If you're going to have an effective organization, you have to be working on the ground, and you have to be working with the people who live there, and with the Moroccans. So my wife and I think of those employees, who are still there, we think of them as family, because we worked so closely with them. And I think they're, I think it's reciprocated. I guess the thing I'm proudest of, out of everything I did, is to have established that human contact. I suppose it's true of organizations in general that when you don't do that, you risk having problems, I think. And you're not as effective.

ALBRECHT: Do you think that the previous Directors involved Moroccans in the Legation in the same way?

KUNIHOLM: No, I don't think in the same way, because they certainly didn't work day-to-day with the Moroccans as we did. You know, my wife would come back and show them how to hang pictures, how to handle curtains, how to clean the Legation. An important aspect of that is to make them feel that this was important, and it was

important in a sense, because the look of the Museum changed. It became quite an impressive, nice place over its years. But, you know, we had that opportunity because we were on the ground for 19 years. I think all of the others who came and went certainly had positive attitudes to the Moroccans, but I think it's a question of actually working with them. You know what I mean? It's not the same. I think our relationship with the Moroccan employees is quite intimate, and direct, and continual. You know, if a Director works there for one year and leaves, they don't establish the same kind of relationship as if you have a Director who's been there for 19 years. But you know, the other thing, when you're talking about Directors – everybody brings something different to the Legation, and can help in different ways. I mean, have you spoken to Dr. Zartman? (**ALBRECHT:** I have.) So, he's been invaluable in so many other ways. I think he's been there longer than I have. He's been the President of TALMS for what, 27, 28 years? Or maybe even longer. But he was able to help in fantastic ways because he was in Washington, and he knew people in the State Department, and he knew people in academia, which was very important. And he established organizations which brought in the Moroccans at a higher level. We have these – he may have mentioned it – but we have this yearly meeting in Morocco where the King was the honorary head of this organization. I mean, he never attended anything, but we could promote our museum by using this organization. And that was a responsibility of Dr. Zartman. He also helped in many other ways, because you know he was the Director of AIMS – the American Institute for Maghreb Studies – and he was the one that brought AIMS to Tangier. I was there when we started the program. So everybody has a different role to play. You know, it's not a question of some people doing well and others doing poorly. I think everybody made their own contributions. I respect that. I'm only speaking of what I found meaningful to me. I'm sure that Dr. Zartman spoke to you about AIMS. (**ALBRECHT:** He did. I learned quite a lot.) Yeah, he certainly knows a great deal about it. But you asked me what was meaningful for me I guess, and I'm trying to give you that perspective.

ALBRECHT: How did leaving the Legation in 2010 make you feel? And when you left, is that when you moved out of Tangier, or did you remain in Tangier for longer after that?

KUNIHOLM: No, we moved right away back to Philadelphia. Well, we felt sad to leave our employees. All of the employees that are there now – with the exception of one – are the ones that we hired and worked with. And I think that's what made us feel like we were leaving part of our family. I can still remember the day we left, they all had tears in their eyes. And for me that was, in some ways, a great indication – well not indication... I guess I felt that we did manage to communicate in the way that I had

hoped to. (**ALBRECHT:** A validation, almost.) Yeah, a validation, I would say. Even recently, Yhtimad Bouziane was in Philadelphia for a conference, and we got together, and so on. You can't believe what a wonderful feeling it is to have established that kind of connection with people who are, you know, in many ways, different than we are — from a different culture, and so on. But we did connect, because we all worked for the same goal, and they were proud of what they were doing.

ALBRECHT: Have you returned back to Tangier at any point, since?

KUNIHOLM: No, I haven't.

ALBRECHT: Do you plan to?

KUNIHOLM: No, I don't think so. I think, you know, once it's over, it's over. I think it would be painful to go back, because we had done what we intended to do at the Legation and brought it to a stage where we were pleased with it. I'm not saying that it isn't still good, but somebody else comes in, and they do what they can do for the Legation. I think it's best that once you resign, you don't stay around. I don't know if Dale mentioned, but he said, "We'd like to propose you for the Board," and I declined. I don't want to be on the Board. I guess it's because we gave so much during that 19 years, I feel that that was it. I did, we did our very best, and both myself and my wife, we left with the feeling that we had done a good job and we had achieved what we wanted to achieve. What happens after that, let somebody else have the pleasure of improving and doing things. You know what I mean?

ALBRECHT: I do know what you mean. So, what did you see as the main purpose or goal of TALLIM during your almost-20-years there? How did that goal change or evolve over time, if it changed over time?

KUNIHOLM: I think... how can I put this... I think there were several goals. One was our association with AIMS, which brought American students over to Tangier to learn Arabic. And I think there's a great need for Arabic language training, so I think that was a very good achievement. The AIMS program got started while I was there, and in fact I used to take the students on a six-day trip through Morocco for the first ten years I was there. So that's one thing I think is good, and it brought a lot of scholars to the Legation. I think also, it helped to promote even official and unofficial good relations between Morocco and the United States. I think that was an important aspect of it. And also, it also promoted — I often think that I was the greatest promoter for Morocco, because we had thousands of visitors that came through the museum every year, and we were both

very enthusiastic about Morocco and Moroccans and what a great place it was. You know, you don't get that kind of perspective when you're back in the States. If I tell somebody now, in Philadelphia, that I used to work in Morocco, their attitude is "Oh, too bad" or "It must have been difficult, or dangerous, or whatever." So I think what we were able to do is show them that Moroccans are interesting people and that we have a lot in common with them, and that it's a great country. I think that aspect was important as well. Yeah, I think those two... it's the academic aspect of it — we developed a very nice library... I guess you're going to be talking to Joseph Verner Reed? (**ALBRECHT:** Yes, I am.) Well, I knew Reed when I was a desk officer in the State Department, and I don't know why but we established a very good relationship. We seemed to enjoy working together. And at some point Reed decided to give his library, his Moroccan library, to the Legation. So I was very pleased that that came about.

ALBRECHT: So what I'm hearing is that there are two main purposes that you see here with TALIM: the academic aspect of this library, and of gathering and creating knowledge, and hosting symposiums and other academic programs that you do, and then also a more formal and informal cultural aspect — you know, serving as a cultural center for America, and for Moroccans in Tangier. How do you feel about those goals? Do you think they're important? Why do you think they're important?

KUNIHOLM: Well, I think they're very important. It depends on the individual, how the individual wants to relate to a particular situation. I tend to like to relate pretty directly to people, and establish good relations that way. I think that has a certain kind of impact. You know, if you're a Board member sitting in Washington, you may think "Oh, so-and-so visited the Legation" or some important person came through the Legation... I don't know, I think those things are of some interest, but the important thing is to... I don't know. Through force of personality, and being on the ground, to try and make the Moroccan — it works both ways. But I think it's the person-to-person contact that is the most important aspect of it. I mean, whether the Foreign Minister of France comes through the Legation is, I think, not a great deal of importance. Or whether this minister or that minister comes through — we had a lot of interesting people come through. The former president of France, and others, those kinds of things are fun at the time. But I don't think they're terribly meaningful. I think there's a tendency, sometimes, to think that this sort of ephemera... that you have well-known people come through the Legation, yes, that's good for a couple of hours, but as an organization it doesn't do an awful lot for the Legation. It's not as important as developing your staff, as to developing your contacts with the Embassy so they support you, that sort of thing. And of course it's natural for people, if you're sitting on a board in Washington and you hear that the president of such-and-such country has visited the

Legation, it makes you feel kind of good, and so on. I can understand that. Anyway, I think I'm being too honest with you.

ALBRECHT: No such thing as too honest.

KUNIHOLM: Well, I'm just telling you how I feel about it.

ALBRECHT: Everyone has been very receptive to openness and honesty throughout these interviews, so don't worry.

KUNIHOLM: Yeah, but it's very difficult for me to explain everything like this in an oral interview. That's why I'm a little bit concerned about your publishing my commentary.

ALBRECHT: I'll absolutely send you a copy of the transcript once it's completed.

KUNIHOLM: You know, the thing is, I saw my duties, and I looked at the museum in three terms. One is relations with the U.S. government – in particular the Embassy, because the Embassy is absolutely crucial to our survival there, because they have to provide for fixing the roof and doing a lot of other things. So that was one aspect of it, and I tried to maintain good relations with the Embassy. I think I probably did that. There's a Moroccan employee, he was the most senior Moroccan employee at the American embassy, as of a few years ago. He's immigrated to the United States, and lives in Washington. I got to know him when he came by the Legation, because he wanted to volunteer, and he helped students learn English and so on. He asked me, I remember the day he asked me, he said, "Well, there's this possibility of getting a job with the American Embassy in Rabat. What do you think about it? I'm not sure if I should do that." And I said, "Well, by all means, you should apply!" Well, he did apply, and over the years, he did very well. As I said, he ended up being the senior employee in the political section in Rabat. He got his PhD while he was in Rabat. Quite an interesting fellow. So, I tried to maintain as good of relations as I could – Moroccans and Americans. I think that relationship with the U.S. government, as I said, changed – in the beginning, they were not at all open to being particularly helpful. They saw the Legation as kind of a "white elephant." But as we improved the Legation, as we developed activities, they became quite supportive. And we also, you know, the library was improved a great deal [through] donations and so on. But everybody adds on to that. It's a collaborative arrangement. I'm sure that others have done things which I couldn't do, and that's good, because everybody has to make their contribution.

ALBRECHT: Well, we've gone through all of my questions, so is there anything else you'd like to add, or expand on, or... anything else? We've been talking for about 45 minutes now, and I don't want to take up too much of your night.

KUNIHOLM: I think that's fine. I am concerned about your printing my commentary.

ALBRECHT: Again, I've been warned by Dale not to say that it will only go as far as my honors thesis, but it assuredly won't go much farther than that. And if it does, I will keep you posted every step of the way.

KUNIHOLM: Yeah, that would be good, because I really wouldn't want to have any... I don't think I've said anything critical about anybody. I'm just giving my own perspective on it. Well, tell me again, what is your thesis going to be on?

ALBRECHT: Right now, it's still in the formative stages, so the "elevator pitch" is still coming together. But, essentially, I am doing an intensive case study of the Legation and of TALIM as an NGO, looking at how it reflects the Moroccan-American relationship and looking into what TALIM has to say about both American and Moroccan society. And through these oral interviews, I'm also touching on the anthropology of history, and of oral history, and also of memory and collective memory.

KUNIHOLM: I don't know if you have any interest or time, but you could look at my monthly reports over those 19 years, if you want.

ALBRECHT: Yes, I absolutely would love to.

KUNIHOLM: They're in a handy format, they're not terribly voluminous. I usually wrote a page or two every month, and I put them in a binder, so you can easily go through them. And they have photos with them. And I also had to do six month reports, so.

ALBRECHT: Does Dale have a copy of that, that he could send to me?

KUNIHOLM: I don't think so.

ALBRECHT: I would absolutely love to look at those, if you have time to send them over. I don't want to be too much of an imposition, though.

KUNIHOLM: Yeah, I'm just trying to figure out how that would be. I'd just lend you my reports, and you would look at them, and then give them back to me. I don't know how we'd do that. Do you ever come this way?

ALBRECHT: Out towards Philadelphia? Not too much. I tend to stick between Hanover and Texas.

KUNIHOLM: Oh, you're from Texas?

ALBRECHT: I'm from the great state of Texas.

KUNIHOLM: Well, isn't that nice. My daughter went to school in Texas.

ALBRECHT: Oh, where did she go?

KUNIHOLM: Rice [University].

ALBRECHT: Oh, yeah! I have a lot of friends at Rice.

KUNIHOLM: Yeah, well this is years ago. I'm a pretty old duff, my kids are all in their 50s now. But yeah, she went there.

ALBRECHT: Well, if you have nothing more to add about the Legation, I can go ahead and stop the recording.

Hon. Joseph Verner Reed Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Tuesday, 10/20/2015 — Hanover, New Hampshire – via telephone call

ALBRECHT: So, the way that I've been conducting these interviews is fairly informal and conversational. I really just want to hear about your experience with the Legation, your thoughts on its goals and its history, and really just getting an insight into how you work with it.

REED: Yes. When I first arrived in Morocco as ambassador, my very first visit was to Tangier, to the Legation. It's the only building America owns abroad, and the only National Historic Landmark we have outside our continental shores, and I thought it was symbolic to make my first official to the museum in Tangier. This was even before I presented my credentials to King Hassan. It was a wonderful visit.

ALBRECHT: Is that how you first became involved with the Legation?

REED: No, I had been involved thanks to Malcolm Forbes. He had been a big supporter of the museum and of the Legation. He and I were friends. So before I presented, before I became ambassador, I was entertained by Mr. Forbes at Forbes Magazine headquarters, and he told me about the Legation, and his interest in the Legation.

ALBRECHT: What has your experience at the Tangier American Legation been like over the years?

REED: Well, I was so intrigued by the quality of the museum. I had collected, during my tenure as ambassador, three thousand books on Morocco from the 15th century. I gave the three thousand books from my collection to the Legation.

ALBRECHT: What motivated you to do that? That's a very generous gift.

REED: Well, it was my love of Morocco and my appreciation that America had it's only national landmark in Tangier. Extraordinary.

ALBRECHT: It is extraordinary. Are you still involved with the Legation to this day?

REED: Yes, well. From time to time, I make a contribution. Yes, yes, yes, I am deeply involved in Morocco. It was a wonderful, glorious five years we had in the Kingdom. I'm just off the plane from a return visit, actually.

ALBRECHT: Really?

REED: Yes, I'm just back.

ALBRECHT: That's exciting. Morocco is a truly incredible place.

REED: Oh, I went to Fes, Ouarzazate, the Atlas mountains, Marrakech... We had a wonderful, wonderful visit.

ALBRECHT: I'm glad to hear it. What are some of your most cherished memories from the Legation?

REED: Surely, the Reed Library. It's my most important memory.

ALBRECHT: If you don't mind me asking – and this is a little more personal, so answer as you are comfortable – but what are some of your least favorite memories from or about the Legation?

REED: I don't have any. I only have fond memories.

ALBRECHT: That is good to hear.

REED: It's wonderful.

ALBRECHT: So, you said you lived in Morocco for five years?

REED: Yes. We were the official residents of the American ambassador in Rabat. It was beautiful.

ALBRECHT: How was that experience like? Moving so far away, and then having to move back [to the United States] when your post was done.

REED: Our children came, on and off, during our stay there. We had, my late wife and I, we went to every single performance in the Kingdom. We didn't miss one. I have, in whatever incarnation they are now, a Reed pen. I gave Reed pens wherever I went in the Kingdom. So, this is a story: one of my successors went to the border between Algeria and Morocco, and he said, "Ambassador Reed, has never been here." And a young boy stepped up to the plate and said, "Oh, yes he has. I have a Reed pen."
[laughs]

ALBRECHT: What do you see, or what did you see, as the main purpose or goal of the Legation and the museum?

REED: Well I think it was, it is, the main repository of beautiful things worth celebrating of the relationship between the Kingdom and the United States.

ALBRECHT: Did that purpose or goal change at all?

REED: No, no. Remember, we are very, very proud that Morocco was the first country on Earth to recognize our infant republic.

ALBRECHT: How do you feel about that mission, that goal?

REED: It's such an important exchange of letters between George Washington and the emperor. Six feet high, letters are in Arabic and in French, I think, that are on the walls of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And a letter from Thomas Jefferson, to the King, saying "Thank you, your Majesty, for recognizing our infant republic. We are a poor country and our prospects are not very good." *[laughs]*

ALBRECHT: How did your presence impact the Legation, do you think?

REED: Well, I'm very modest. I'm just grateful to be of support to the Legation and its goals. It's just a marvelous institution. I'm very proud to be associated with it.

ALBRECHT: I actually studied abroad in Morocco. I lived there for two months, and at one point, Professor Eickelman took us to the Legation. We did a tour, and we spoke with Jerry Loftus, and I was really just astounded by how marvelous the building was.

REED: Beautiful, beautiful, beautiful. I was very close to the former Director of the museum, Thor Kuniholm, who had been Consulate General in Casablanca. And then he was my Desk Officer at the Department of State, when I was ambassador.

ALBRECHT: I actually interviewed Mr. Kuniholm last week. He's wonderful.

REED: Wonderful.

ALBRECHT: During your time in Morocco, how much time did you spend at the Legation?

REED: After I finished my first visit, before I presented my credentials... Any time I could get to the North, I would. I would always come to the Legation.

ALBRECHT: Interesting. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me, or anything else that you would like to reminisce about or talk about?

REED: I want to emphasize the great support that Malcolm Forbes gave to the Legation. We're very grateful for his interest and his support. He was wonderful. Of course, he had a beautiful mansion, and another beautiful museum on his own. But he was very supportive of the Legation.

ALBRECHT: Well, I have run out of guiding questions, as I have been calling them. So, I am really open just to hearing whatever you want to tell me, and whatever you have to say. Or, if you have any questions for me that I could answer...

REED: How did you happen to be chosen to go to the Legation when you first visited?

ALBRECHT: I believe that Professor Eickelman, given that he's currently the President of the museum, he was able to let us in and show us around and provide us with that wonderful opportunity.

REED: Another supporter, if you haven't spoken to her, is Elena Prentice.

ALBRECHT: Yes, I've interviewed her as well, and I actually visited her home when I was in Tangier.

REED: Oh, you have! It's a beautiful house.

ALBRECHT: It's gorgeous. She's such a wonderful, vibrant woman.

REED: Yes, yes, very much so. Did you see the Reed Library?

ALBRECHT: I did! It was incredible.

REED: It really is. I think it's one of the largest collections on Morocco in the world.

ALBRECHT: I think someone else might have mentioned that as well. It's invaluable, it truly is.

REED: Have you been back to Morocco?

ALBRECHT: Not since, but I'll be going back in April to complete my research for my thesis.

REED: As I told you, I had a really wonderful return visit. At every port of call, I had the governor meet us, and greet us on his behalf. It was just great, it really was.

ALBRECHT: That's lovely.

REED: Such a beautiful country. Just beautiful.

ALBRECHT: It is, I miss it a lot.

REED: And such warm and welcoming people. Goodness.

ALBRECHT: Well, I don't want to take up any more of your evening than necessary.

REED: Thank you so much. I look forward to reading your report, and sending you all good wishes. Forgive my voice, I have Parkinson's disease.

ALBRECHT: Thank you so much. And it's quite all right, I've really enjoyed speaking with you. Thank you so much.

REED: I have enjoyed speaking with you too, and I thank you, and I wish you all of the best.

ALBRECHT: I'll make sure to send you updates along the way.

REED: Thank you so much. Good wishes.

ALBRECHT: Good wishes, have an excellent night.

Gerald Loftus Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Monday, 10/26/2015 — Hanover, New Hampshire – via Skype

ALBRECHT: Thank you so much for speaking with me, and Skyping with me. The way that I've been conducting these interviews is really relaxed and informal, more of a conversation. I just want to hear about your experience with TALIM, what brought you to TALIM... I do have some guiding questions that can help us along the way, but overall it's fairly conversational. (**LOFTUS:** Perfect.) So, to get us going – how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

LOFTUS: Okay, so. I think it was summer of 2009, and there's a publication called the Foreign Service Journal. It's a monthly publication, largely read by people in Foreign Service circles, State Department, but also you know people involved in academia, etcetera. They have a little classified ad section, and I literally picked it up in the mailbox in Brussels when my wife and I were just about to go off the next day I think, on a trip, and chances are that I might not have even read that issue until the month later, or something. I turned the pages, and I saw this full column ad for a position, and it was called "Tangier American Legation," and they were looking for a Director, and the job description really responding to a description of my professional background in the Foreign Service, experience in North Africa, and knowledge of French, possibly knowledge of Arabic, you know, that kind of thing. And I had heard of the Legation, but very tangentially. I'm not even sure that I know that it was run by something called TALIM. I learned all of that later on, but I showed the ad to my wife and she very enthusiastically said, "Well, you know, you should apply for that job! It sounds like a perfect match." And so I did, and we went off on vacation. It was probably soon after that that I got a response saying that "we'd like to interview you." It was funny because when the interview was set up, I had another MacBook, an older version, which didn't have a camera, so I couldn't do a video Skype like we're doing right now. It just didn't have a camera. So I wound up going to a neighbor's home, and they lent me their home while this interview was going on for the TALIM Directorship. Long story short, I was offered the job... Let's see, that was in September of 2009, and the job actually started, I actually went to Tangier, in June of the following year. So it was you know, I guess July of 2010 that I started the job. I had a short overlap with Thor Kuniholm, who I think you've already spoken with (**ALBRECHT:** I have.) So that was how I began. That was my learning curve, with TALIM, because – It was really good, because they invited me even before I started the job, I was invited to attend one of their Board meetings in Washington [D.C], so I was able to meet some of the members of the Board, etcetera. I was also able to attend the AIMS conference in Boston at the Middle East Studies

Association annual meeting. So I met a number of people in the TALIM and AIMS worlds before even starting the job, so it was a good way to start the job.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. And now, it sounds like you had to move to Tangier. How far did you have to move, and how did that make you feel?

LOFTUS: Well, it's funny. One of the questions that the TALIM search committee asked me during our Skype conversation was, had I ever been to Tangier, ever seen the Legation, and the answer was no. I think it took some of the members by surprise, because they couldn't imagine someone applying for such a job, a unique job, without ever having seen the place. I said, "Well, you have to think of the context." In the Foreign Service, you spend an entire career going from country to country for two or three years, and you don't often have the luxury of seeing that country or that city in advance. And so, you move yourself and your whole family to that new country, and that happens every few years. So basically, we were used to that. It wasn't a surprise. We had been, when we lived in Algeria – that was in the early 1990s – and so I had been at the American Embassy in Algiers, and then also the American Consulate in Oran. When we were in Oran, we used to cross over into Morocco to do shopping, and to be tourists. So, you know, we had been to Morocco but never to Tangier, and never to the Legation. So, the idea of moving, it really was like moving back to a region that we knew very well, and that we were very fond of. We had lived in Tunisia, our daughter was born in Tunisia in fact, lived in Algeria, further east in Egypt, etcetera... So it was really moving to somewhat familiar territory. (**ALBRECHT:** Very cool.) And our move was pretty easy, Emily, because since Thor and his wife had lived in the Legation for what, 19 years? (**ALBRECHT:** 19 years.) The place was set up, we had a nice overlap with Thor, where he showed us the living arrangements, so we had already gotten to know that. And we knew basically that when we moved to Tangier, it was going to be with the suitcases and maybe one trunk or something like that that we sent by air freight, and that was it. It was a very easy move. It's only because we had been living in Brussels, that's where we settled after I left the Foreign Service, and Brussels is only a two and a half hour flight away from Tangier. So when we returned back there on Saturday, it's so easy! You don't have any jet lag to speak of, because it's only a two and a half, three hour trip. So for the four years that we were here, we kept our apartment. We didn't rent out our apartment back in Brussels, because we wanted to use it. So every time there was a TALIM Board meeting back in Washington, we would always pass through Brussels, and make that a little pit stop in both directions. We always kept a foothold in Brussels. So again, transition coming here, and transitioning back to Brussels, it was very easy.

ALBRECHT: Wonderful. During those four years, going back and forth, what was your experience at the Legation like? Just, overall.

LOFTUS: It was fascinating. It was really fascinating, because, again, making a reference to a Foreign Service Career, just like Thor Kuniholm before me, and just like John Davison now, after me, you sort of get used to being in a country or a city, working at an Embassy or a Consulate, for a relatively short time. It could be as little as two years, it's never more than four years. So that kind of gets into your DNA almost, where you have to quickly adjust to a new environment, and you get to know the place, and then it's pretty much time to leave! Because two or three years passes quickly. So we wanted to stay what we felt was just the right amount of time, which was four years, that's what we set ourselves to. And the thing is, we wanted to do the maximum amount possible in that limited period of time. So basically, all of the elements were already here in Tangier, in terms of TALIM as an institution. But it was a matter of maybe pulling things together, and maybe stressing the narrative of the Legation, because... You were here, you probably recognized among maybe some of your colleagues, that no one had ever heard of a Legation before. Just from that very basic start – what's a Legation? And so, I had never before TALIM, before the Legation, run a museum before, having been a diplomat in the Foreign Service. So I had visited a number of museums, and of course when you're here, in this job, you also take an interest in other museums, and seeing how they work, and seeing what does work and maybe doesn't work. I wanted to start off with that very basic thing. Okay, why are we in this building? Why is this building here? Well, it's because the Sultan of Morocco gave it to the United States. And why the Sultan of Morocco, at the beginning of America's War for Independence...? Well, because he was always interested in being [unclear] in the Atlantic, and trying to branch out for Morocco's self-interests, in getting – you could say – allied countries to balance out other powers that always wanted to colonize Morocco. So all of these historical references were part of the Legation narrative, so we wanted to get that narrative and basically put it on the walls. So in the first few months that I was there, I found that it seemed to be too compartmentalized – there was the very lovely museum that was full of art that had been donated over the years, historic maps, you know, the collection. And then there was the library which was used by researchers, a great treasure trove of documentation, of books dating back hundreds of years. But there didn't seem to be much in the way of cross-walking between library and museum, and then another activity which is very important – the Arabic women's literacy program, that was sort of off to one side. So I felt that really what was needed was to integrate these different programs, and to get history that was in these books hidden away in the library, and put it on the walls of the Legation. To put all of that artwork that is there into context, and use the artwork and the maps to

illustrate the history of America's presence in Tangier and in Morocco, and the relationship between the two countries. There are all kinds of great stories over the past two centuries that were just hidden away, and we kind of dusted them off and put them into context, and again put them on display. So the idea is that there's a sense of the visit, we opened up new areas that had been closed off, or were just storerooms, etcetera. Cleaned them out, took advantage of great new wall space that was available now for new exhibits. So added to what already was there, set up over the years by my predecessors. So when you ask about the experience, it was really great fun, because it was kind of a voyage of discovery. Not only running this kind of unique institution, but also in learning about all of these different aspects of history, and of America's involvement with Morocco, and getting them out there in front of the public – not only just through the museum, but also through publications, creating a blog where we could put in blog posts, different anecdotes, different segments of history or, what we are doing currently, after a certain event, reporting on a conference or a speaker or a concert, what have you... Just sort of making the Legation presence on the web more than just a static website, but in addition to the website, having a blog, cross-posting on Facebook, that kind of thing. So that was one of the ways that we got the Legation story out there to publics that hadn't come across the Legation before, or hadn't been to Tangier. They could now discover lots of things about TALIM and our work through the blog, and actually put together, thanks to the blog, researchers and writers. We've had really neat things where we put up a blog post, for example, on a work of art, and talked about Zahra, the painting by James McBey. Well, we talked about James McBey, talked about Zahra, the context, put up the painting of Zahra... and then, out of the blue, you know over the web, I get this comment on the blog post from an American woman who sent me incredible photos that we didn't have before of her, as a teenager, with Zahra as a teenager, at the time that Zahra was posing for this painting, and it was just great! So you know, that kind of stuff, it led to contacts... We had a guest post one time by a young research who was working on Moroccans in the Spanish Civil War, and then we were able to link her up with other researchers who had done work on that topic, so it was a way of bringing people together even though they were not physically here in Tangier. So lots of fun, lots of discovery.

ALBRECHT: Now, those things that you're talking about, all of this work that you did to integrate the different sections of the Legation... how did the rest of the Board respond to that? Was everyone very supportive and very excited about these new initiatives, or...?

LOFTUS: I think in the main, yes, I think that people were pleased that the Legation was getting more use, more coverage, more exposure, that people were being linked up,

who may not have been part of the TALIM greater community of Board members and Fellows, etcetera. So I think yes, it was welcomed. What I wanted to do as well was to evolve people, both the Board and the Fellows, and just beyond that, people who had come through doing research, or even just visitors to the museum... we created a newsletter where every time I would do ten blog posts, we could send that out as a newsletter. So it was kind of a newsletter into people's email inboxes, so we just grew that list through a sign-up sheet in the museum, as student groups came through, or just individual visitors, of all different nationalities, they could sign up. It was just a way of keeping them informed of what we were doing at the Legation in terms of research or activities or interests, what have you... new acquisitions, you know. So yes, I think there was support, absolutely.

ALBRECHT: Wonderful. So what are some of your most cherished memories from those four years, and even today, if you're still involved with the Legation?

LOFTUS: Well, we just spent the entire day – we've been back in Tangier since Friday – and, from almost the minute that we arrived here, we've been seeing friends at the Legation, people on the TALIM staff, there have been a couple of Board members – in fact, there have been three Board members we just met, who happened to be in Morocco. Some of them live here, some of them visit often, so that's been great. And we just spend a wonderful lunch at the Legation, again seeing some other friends, some people who have been greater supporters of the Legation in terms of donations and giving us documentation and financial support. So it's been a great day because it's been kind of a trip down memory lane, after what, almost a year and a half since we've been away, since June of last year... so it's not been long at all, but still, catching up with people. But I think, when you ask about some of the fondest memories, I guess a couple stand out. And again, one of these is a result of just a happenstance meeting, thanks to the blog. I remember doing a blog post about Tangier during the Second World War. There is a very important – you probably saw it when you were visiting the Legation in 2014, that is when you came through? (**ALBRECHT:** April 2014.) Okay, so you probably remember in the room where there are a lot of references to the diplomatic history of the Legation... During World War II there was a diplomat in charge at the Legation who helped save 1,200 Jews in Hungary, who were about to be sent to the concentration camps. I wrote several posts about that story, and I got this little one line response from a woman in Alabama. It was literally a one line, one sentence thing, saying "My mother worked at the American Legation in the 1940s." Period. And so, I thought, "That's fascinating," and I wrote back to her, so we corresponded back and forth over months. And it turns out that this woman is a regional actress in the South, and that her mother, after she worked in the Legation, I think it was from 1944 to 1946, her mother returned

to the [United] States and she published stories – which we had, which we were given, published stories about her time at the Legation in Tangier. So this was really wonderful stuff. And so the woman, Dorothy Reems her name, she said in one of her emails, she said “There’s nothing that I would love to do better than to do a one-woman show of my mother’s stories in Tangier.” Well, as it turns out, every year in Tangier, there’s a Performing Tangier conference. It’s put on by a Moroccan professor at the university, and we cooperated with him on a number of occasions, and so I talked with him, and he said, “Fantastic! We can get some funding for this.” Well, it was easy, because she paid her own way to Tangier, and she brought her props with her, and we put her up at the Legation, so she stayed with us as our house guest. And we created this one-woman show, which was fantastic. We had a standing-room-only crowd, she took her mother’s writings and basically turned it into a play, and we set up a Legation conference room as it might have been in 1944, and it was fantastic. It was just this one day, one performance, one-woman show, and it was just unique. Because there was this daughter who really – she even dressed herself, did up her hair, to look like her mother in the 1940s, and I think she even wore her mother’s dress. I mean, this is very authentic. It was just great. Everyone just loved it, because it was one of these unique things. I’ll tell you one other favorite moment. It was a midnight radio program, Radio Tangier International. So this was the Moroccan national radio that is actually broadcast from Tangier to abroad. Lots of Moroccans living in North America or Europe listen to it. This was, again, with the same professor and a few other people who knew Paul Bowles, and who knew Moroccan music. So we had done in 2010, just months after we got here, we had done the digitization of what had been reel-to-reel tapes of what had been Paul Bowles’ recordings of Moroccan folk music. It’s 72 hours of music, I think it’s 200 different tracks, it’s really the opus of Morocco’s traditional music. We had brought that back to Morocco, so we had CDs. They invited me to this radio program, and they played some of the tracks, and it was amazing because the host of the program and the guests at the round table, they were all Moroccan. They had never heard some of this music before, and they were almost stunned in silence at a certain point, because they said “Oh. That particular kind of music was recorded back in 1959.” And they just haven’t heard that kind of thing in a half-century. So it was really great because it was one of these firsts that even Moroccans were surprised by. So it was great, yeah. There were all kinds of very fond memories of cultural events and meetings with people that would always stay with us. And that’s why we’re back this week, because we want to keep up our links with TALIM and the Legation in Tangier.

ALBRECHT: That’s really incredible to hear everything that you did and everyone you met. Now, the next follow-up, it’s a corollary – it’s very personal, so answer as far as

you're comfortable. What are some of your least favorite memories from that time? We just heard about the good – now, what about the not-so-good?

LOFTUS: I think that probably the institutional arrangements were a challenge to get used to. What I mean by this is that it is a very unique kind of institution, as I'm sure you know now, having talked to so many people. The fact that the Legation building has been, ever since the Sultan gave it to the United States, is U.S. government property. So it's owned by the State Department, and that's actually a big plus because what it means is that the U.S. government, which has resources that TALIM as a foundation of course does not have, is responsible for keeping the Legation standing, you could say – doing renovations, doing restoration work, repair work... Sometimes those are quite expensive because there are entire rooms, entire roofs, that need to be replaced. It's quite an ongoing job. You could say that there are constituents – stakeholders – of the institution that are in different spheres completely. You have the U.S. government, largely but not exclusively interested in the building, and the fact that it's the oldest property that – not only the State Department – the U.S. government owns overseas. So it makes it very special. You also have in the State Department the cultural side, where the U.S. Embassy in Rabat does make funding available for certain cultural programs, for educational programs, etcetera. So that's a very important part of the very small TALIM budget. You have, of course, TALIM as a foundation – so that's our primary stakeholder. But it has relatively little resources. You could say that one of the biggest challenges has been trying to get TALIM as an institution, which is largely in the United States, which is made up of either people from the diplomatic world, you know, as retired diplomats – or people from academia who worked in Morocco or continue to work in Morocco. But there are a number of people who are retired, and I guess one of the challenges there has been to try to make sure, try to encourage, people in TALIM and the Board and among the Fellows to do their part, or to do what they can do – even if people are not in the position to be financially supportive of TALIM, beyond just a symbolic thing. Not everybody is wealthy. But there could be other areas where they could be of help. You know, I often try to encourage people – giving them examples, such as “Hey, maybe you have a niece or a nephew or a granddaughter or grandson who has a MacBook, and this year they've gotten a nice new iPad for Christmas, and they don't need the MacBook anymore... Well guess what, we can use it!” We're trying to migrate to Macs, I brought my own Mac here... whenever we had a little bit of funding available, I would get Macs for our staff members. But that is always something that maybe, in their own families, they could come up with this and stick it in a box and send it off to use. It would be a huge help. We could make a video display out of a nice working screen, or something. So that has been a challenge. What we found is that over the last several years, in fact, fundraising among our local

constituents here in Tangier has really overshadowed whatever has been raised among our constituents, our members, friends of TALIM, Board members, Fellows, etcetera, based in the United States. I think, personally, that it should be the opposite. I think that the resources in the United States probably outstrip those in Tangier, and we should probably be doing a much better job in the U.S. in getting resources. Whether it financial resources from donations, or donations in kind of IT equipment, computers, etcetera. Or perhaps not even that... you could say networking resources, where you could say that maybe someone had been on the faculty of the university, maybe they still are, maybe they're retired, or have a link to their university... well maybe that university has a semester abroad program that would like to use TALIM's resources, whether that be locating in Tangier, or you know... Dartmouth actually does this, or you know did this, for a number of years. So that was a great boon. But, you know, there are lots of other universities that are linked to TALIM through members of the Board, or maybe Fellows... so a lot more could be done on that score. You know, pointing lecturers our way, and alumni groups, that kind of thing. Really, a lot more needs to be done, based in the United States. And then another one of the challenges is... Another important sponsor of TALIM is AIMS – the American Institute of Maghreb Studies. And so there [is a challenge] because of the nature of TALIM *vis-à-vis* the other two research centers in the Maghreb – the one in Algeria: CEMÁ in Oran, Algeria, and then CEMÁT in Tunisia – they were traditionally more academically-oriented, because they're headed by academics, traditionally, and they are in settings – the one in Oran is actually located at the university in Oran – so their whole programming is much more academically-oriented. TALIM has a special hybrid history and institutional set-up. You know, the building belonging to the U.S. government, National Historic Landmark – the only one overseas... and then TALIM as an independent institution. So we have a different relationship with AIMS, but it's nonetheless extremely important because that's another avenue for TALIM to plug into the world of research, of academia – and vice-versa, for them to take advantage of these amazing facilities here at TALIM with the research library. An important additional connection: now, for the last couple of years, the University of New England has a campus in Tangier. Beautiful new campus. It's a university that is specialized. They have some, you could say, scientific programs. The student body there is different, it's not necessarily a research university. People who come here are undergraduates. but, through that connection, it's yet another connection to American higher education. That is unique in Morocco – maybe unique in the Maghreb, I don't know. It's the first campus of an American university in Morocco. There are other universities that have semester abroad programs, but they use other institution's facilities, whether it's Al Akhawayn University... But this is wholly owned and operated by the University of New England. So it's a first. That's something that can be built upon as well. So in terms

of frustrations and challenges, it was sort of... Keeping these various institutional relationships on track, and pleasing different stakeholders. I think there's another stakeholder, in a way, that we can't forget – and that's Morocco. We are in Morocco. It's very important to ensure that when we do programming that we include Moroccan conference lecturers, etcetera. We have something – I'm sure you've heard of this from the others – called the April Seminar. Traditionally, every year, it's a semi-academic seminar. It's not heavy on presentation of papers, but it always has had a Moroccan component and an American component. The choice of themes is usually something that we know will be of interest to both Moroccan and American audiences. So when we were doing our overhaul of the set-up of the museum – putting the art into context, adding all of the history that we were getting from the research library, etcetera. We have a display right in the very beginning, because that was the beginning of the Legation. Again, it was the Sultan of Morocco's initiative that led to not only giving the Legation to the United States, but establishing relationships with the United States, before any other head of state. So there's always been at the very beginning, from the very beginning, Morocco, and the relationship between Morocco and the United States. So we have various exhibits, permanent exhibits that are on display, that stress that relation over the years. That's definitely another very important stakeholder because you know, here we are, we're in Morocco.

ALBRECHT: Exactly, exactly. and that's something that's come up in my interviews with others as well, is the importance of that connection. Which ties into my next question – speaking of that connection, and everything you've been talking about – what do you see as main purpose or goal of the Legation? Or: what did it used to be, what is it now, has it changed over time?

LOFTUS: I think that one easy answer would be to say that it's a cultural center. And I guess, a little bit of background on that: it used to be that the United States, for decades in the 20th century, had what they called cultural centers. I mean, there was an American Embassy in all the different capitals of the world, but there was also usually an American cultural center. And it was oftentimes connected with having a library available to the public, showing American films, American jazz groups traveling around the world. This was a very important part of America's presence abroad. You've heard of soft power, referred to in your studies, this was definitely a soft power. There was of course the background with the Cold War competition between the Soviet Union. Probably starting in the 1980s, probably for a combination of reasons, that started to change. Probably some of it was just budgetary. Budgets were being cut. It was also just kind of a modernization thing. Now, we're starting to have – and this was the 1980s, so it was before Internet – now people are reading books less and watching films more, so

maybe we don't need American libraries anymore. So then they would close down American libraries. And then in the early 2000s, it was a particular senator – Jesse Helms, from North Carolina – who wanted to actually disband the whole U.S. information agency, the cultural branch of the U.S. government. So, cultural centers disappeared. American cultural centers disappeared. Fast-forward to the existence of the Legation, and next year, celebrating the 40th anniversary of the creation of TALIM. In many ways, it's a unique kind of institution on that score because it's a cultural center. But it's a cultural center, it's a conference center, it's a research center. So, it's all of those. But, in addition to that, it's the only American National Historic Landmark outside of the United States. So it's unique, and it's the oldest American diplomatic property. It really is this hybrid, unique institution. I would tend to stress those things that are unique. The cultural center aspect is important, but the actual cultural activities that happen, those will evolve over time. If we had this conversation 20 years ago, perhaps no one would be talking about a hip-hop group. They might be talking about a jazz group coming through or something like that. The content will evolve, but the existence of a center in the medina of Tangier in Morocco, which is very important not only to the United States but, you could say, to the Arab world – because it's this haven of stability in a region of turmoil. So it's a very important presence that the Legation represents, which is a cultural education presence. And so, the symbolism of an American former diplomatic institution that actually, for the better part of 200 years, conducted diplomacy in the middle of the medina, from the medina. And this is another symbol of engagement that America has had with the Middle East, with the Muslim world, with Africa. And I think that's extremely important because many times, the United States is accused of “Well, you're only interested in this part of the world because September 11th happened, and you want to fight Islamist extremism,” etcetera. You know, many people in this region think that America's interests are only... that we've only now discovered, since 2001, the entire Middle East, the Muslim world, etcetera. The Legation is a way of saying, “Well, wait a minute, no. Actually, thanks to the Sultan of Morocco, we've had this relationship since the very beginning of our country.” That's extremely important symbolically, and the more people that know about it, not only in Morocco but in the United States, the better it is. We can say that “Hey, wait a minute. This has been a long-standing relationship, and here we have the living symbol of that.” I think that's what I would stress – the continuity of what the Legation represents.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. How did leaving all of that, leaving the Legation and moving out of Tangier... how did that make you feel?

LOFTUS: Well, it was not easy, because we loved the place. Again, we love it in [the] present tense – it keeps on going. I think that the idea was that, okay, let's do the very best for this four-year period. We wanted to leave things that would last. Really, that's what made leaving, you could say, a little bit easier. We were very proud – my wife was a key person in all of this, because not only did she accompany me and was here for the whole time, but she was also very active in teaching French to the women of the Arabic literacy program, and she actually organized the other women who volunteered as French teachers for that four-year period. So that's been a great source of joy as well. Both of us, we left part of our hearts here in Tangier. That's why we're back now, because we want to keep these friendships going. This is return number one of – we hope – many trips back to Tangier.

ALBRECHT: Wow. That's really... I know I keep saying wow, but it's just really incredible to hear everything that you did and everything that you contributed to the Legation. We've gone through all my questions, and I've just so enjoyed hearing what you've been saying. And I've learned a lot, personally. Is there anything else you want to add, or extrapolate on? Anything else that you feel should be in this interview?

LOFTUS: I think you had very good questions, and it was a pleasure to talk with you. I think you covered a lot of ground, as well. So, no, I think that's probably a pretty complete picture there.

ALBRECHT: Is this better?

[File was somehow corrupted, lost ~15 minutes of recording.]

COON: Yeah, this is a little better. Anyway, TALMS, T-A-L-M-S, the Tangier American Legation Museum Society, was as you know the name of the organization for a number of years. It was set up by Ben Dixon, who was in the [State] Department and had a legal background, who did some of the legal work and established the functioning of it as a private entity. I helped with the fundraising, as did some other people. And I never actually did anything myself – I was in Morocco for only a short time after that, then I was transferred elsewhere. But, I remained active, and was on the Board for many years. Now, that's sort of a very quick overview of the highlights. What can I do to flesh the picture out for you?

ALBRECHT: What were some of your most cherished memories from the Legation?

COON: What were my most cherished memories... Well, the most cherished memory was probably when it was clear that it was going to survive and take root as an independent entity, and I continue to cherish that memory as it grew and got to a more solid basis. I had very good feelings when various people did various things with it, and it became a nice center, when it became a research center, when it became a music and cultural center. I think that probably the thing that has been most important has been its growth as a library and a research center. But for my way of thinking, well, let me see. Most cherished memory... Perhaps I could go back before it was established a museum, while it was still in the Legation phase. That would be in 1947, when I was 20 years old. I first visited it, and my father was with me, and he showed me the little annex at the back end, where he and Gordon Brown had a little office, back in the early stages of the [Second World] War. They were with the OSS, they were very early OSS members. They had been attached to the Legation. They had to open up a closet door, and pull something out of the back to get into it. They had a radio station in there, and they had Berbers sitting on the pillows, reporting on Germany – military traffic going through the streets, and then sending reports back to Gibraltar or someplace. I think that was a cherished moment, when I saw that place where my father had actually worked in the Legation during the [Second World] War.

ALBRECHT: Wow, that's really incredible.

COON: Well, it isn't incredible, because it happened. I know what you mean.

ALBRECHT: *[laughs]* You know what I mean. What were some of your least favorite memories from this time?

COON: Least favorite memory? Oh, I don't want to get personal, but dealing with Ben Dixon was not always a great pleasure. He had a surly and hostile attitude toward everybody, including potential donors. Sometimes, that didn't sit very well with those of us who were really enthusiastic about the project. Anyway, the rest of us all worked harmoniously, and Ben Dixon worked with us, even though it wasn't terribly harmonious. I don't speak ill of the departed, he's long gone.

ALBRECHT: What do you see as the main purpose or goal of the Legation Society?

COON: It's hard to define because it's a multifaceted goal, and its priorities change from time to time. But its goal certainly is to constitute a tangible reminder of a bygone era, several bygone eras, and in other words, a monument to a past relationship between our two governments and so forth. Secondly, the library I think has long been one of its most important features. It is an important center for research. It does have assets in the library that are hard to replicate any place else. As a business center, it's had recent successes, but that's outside my range of interest. As an arts center, or kind of an art gallery, with some of the Americans who reside in Tangier and contribute importantly to it, it's been important. It hasn't been as developed as a music center, as I hoped it would, because it's had too much else to do. But let's see, what was the question again?

ALBRECHT: You've gotten at it, I believe. I asked what you thought the goal or purpose of the Legation is.

COON: It has all of these goals, with different degrees of success. It's been more or less successful in all of them.

ALBRECHT: It sounds like that goal may have changed a lot, over the years. How do you feel about that?

COON: I felt a little disappointed when they changed the name from TALMS to TALIM. But I wasn't devastated, it didn't mean that I was going to go out all mad and never talk to them again, or anything like that. But I liked the old name — it was a museum. The

name TALIM detracts somewhat from the museum and the historical concept, and puts a little more into this other business context. And that's a change in emphasis that I did not really participate in or support. But that doesn't mean that I opposed it. On the contrary, it's had some pretty good successes as a business center and a conference center. It did help develop sources of revenue that the institution badly needed during several periods.

ALBRECHT: When did the name change?

COON: Well, I think you'll have to figure that out using other resources. I'd say probably about 15 or 20 years ago. It was when Bill Zartman was in charge, as the President.

ALBRECHT: Interesting. So, I'd like to talk a little bit more about your role in founding the Museum Society.

COON: Well, I pretty well told you, and I don't like self-glorification, but I don't think I strayed very far or exaggerated very much, I think. It was my idea to begin with, and I got several other people quite interested in it, and we all sort of jointly pushed the idea – it was both with the embassy in Rabat and with the State Department, and got favorable responses all around. I consider myself sort of one of the founding fathers of the whole things. I presume you've got the names of some of the others – have you talked to Hal Eastman? He's living up your way in Eastport, Maine.

ALBRECHT: I have. I actually went to his home and interviewed him back in August.

COON: Good for you! I've never visited him, but I've kept in touch with him. Not recently, but generally. He's a guileless old guy, and I'm sure he gave you a version which probably wasn't very different from mine.

ALBRECHT: It was wonderful talking to him. Who else helped found TALMS? So, it was you, Hal Eastman...

COON: Let's see... I can't remember the name of the USIA fellow, in the Public Affairs Office in Rabat. It's slipped my mind. But he was truly leading the charge. And then this fellow, Ethan, he was relatively... He was a contract officer with USIA, but also came from a rather well-heeled family, and had good connections. And later on, Ben Dixon. The new ambassador, when he came in, was quite supportive. The embassy... Well, the embassy in Rabat has gotten a free ride all along. I mean, privately financed,

the branch Public Affairs Office was doing a lot of the embassy's work for it in Tangier, and that was particularly important when they closed the Legation 50 years ago. I mean, the Consulate, they closed the Consulate on the hill. It was lasted for a while, and then they shut it down. And now the American presence is vested in that corner of Morocco, in the [unclear] more than anything else.

ALBRECHT: Well, we've gone through most of what I've been asking people about memories, your experience at the Legation, its goal and its purpose. So really, I'm just interested in hearing anything and everything you have to say about the Legation, about TALIM, about people you've worked with – anything.

COON: I don't have very much to say that I haven't already said. There's always been a slight dichotomy between the Legation as a resource and library and academic [institution], and the museum as a cultural center and art gallery, a music center, and a place to hold cultural events. The emphasis has been on the first of those in recent years, and I would prefer to see a little more balance. But I'm not unhappy with it. It's going very well, and I'm really quite satisfied with it the way it is. But that central room is now the most wonderful room acoustically for chamber music that I've ever heard. A string quartet or a chamber group would make beautiful music there that is acoustically transmitted equally to every part of that room. You could get people in there and hear every pin drop. So, I'd like to see more concerts and so forth there. I've run out of it, I've now reached the stage of decrepitude [sic] where I don't even go to their meetings anymore. I was vice president for quite a while, I guess, I've forgotten. I finally retired from that, and then retired from the Board entirely as I retired out of the city. I hardly ever get into town [Washington, D.C.] anymore, anyway.

ALBRECHT: So what do you do with the Legation nowadays?

COON: I don't do much of anything. I have no active participation in it. I haven't been to Tangier for, oh, upwards of ten years, when I was last there, I visited [the Legation], saw old friends and acquaintances and admired what it was doing and so forth. But that was quite a while ago. My connection with it now is mostly a matter of historic memory.

ALBRECHT: Interesting, definitely.

COON: Well, nobody lives forever. If I had the choice, I'd rather be around for ten more years physically. I'm not connected with it institutionally, whether I'm actively remembered there. I'd be underground some place. When you're 88, you'll understand.

ALBRECHT: I hope to make it there.

COON: You have a better chance than somebody born when I was. Medicine has improved.

ALBRECHT: That's true.

COON: They'll keep you going where they couldn't in those days.

ALBRECHT: That is true. Is there anything else that you'd like to add? I don't want to keep you on the phone too long. I really appreciate everything that you've said, and I appreciate you taking time out of your day to talk to me.

COON: Well, what are you going to do with all of these interviews? Are you going to write a thesis, or what?

ALBRECHT: The plan is a thesis, yes, for the anthropology department at Dartmouth. I'm a senior right now, so hopefully it'll be my undergraduate honors thesis. I intend to do a sort of social-oral history of the Legation, specifically focusing on the founding of TALMS and TALIM. So, a social history from 1976 to today.

COON: Well, shoot me a copy of whatever comes out of it, if you think of it. I'd be glad to take a look at it, and I promise not to get too mad at what you say.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. I'd be very happy for you to read it.

COON: Well, if there's anything else, then go ahead and have at me. Otherwise, it's been a pleasure talking to you.

ALBRECHT: It's been a real pleasure talking to you as well, Mr. Coon. Thank you, so much.

COON: If you think of anything else, you can always give me a ring.

ALBRECHT: I will definitely take you up on that, sometime.

COON: All right. Good luck with your thesis, and it was good talking to you.

Valerie Staats Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Wednesday, 12/09/2015 — Boerne, Texas – via Telephone

ALBRECHT: So again, thank you so much for speaking with me tonight. I have a few guiding questions to help us along the way, but really, these interviews have been very informational, very conversational. I just want to get a feel for your history with the Legation, your involvement with the Legation, some of your feelings about your experience with it... So, to start off, how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

STAATS: So, I first encountered the Legation in the summer of 1983, during my Peace Corps training in Azrou, Morocco. It was through Dr. Robert Smith Shea, who was known throughout Morocco, and well-respected by the Peace Corps staff and the U.S. national staff. They brought Dr. Shea to the volunteers' training to speak to us about Morocco in general, Moroccan culture, Moroccan history, the relations between Morocco and the U.S., the whole French history with the nation, and of course, talked to us about the Legation, and warmly invited us volunteers to visit. That was my first connection. And back in those freer days, Peace Corps volunteers could travel wherever, whenever they weren't busy working on their assignments. We went to Tangier and stopped to pay our respects to Dr. Shea, who welcomed us warmly, he was a very kind figure to us. He would always take us out, invite us Peace Corps volunteers to dinner – you know, all of those warm, wonderful, generous things. Back then, most Peace Corps volunteers were teachers, and I was a trainer at a teacher training college. We had to find and develop our own summer projects when we weren't actively teaching. It was up to us to develop the project and send it to the Peace Corps to get approved. I don't remember by whom, exactly, but somehow the idea was floated that I might spend my summer living and working with Dr. Shea in the summer of 1984, between my two teaching years. Everybody liked the idea, it was approved, so I was lucky enough to do that. I spent about six weeks there in August and September of 1984. I actually lived in the Legation, in the part of it that is now administrative offices, in the very back part of the Legation. That part of the Legation was very different back then. It was very plain, very authentic. I had a single room, a skinny, small little room, a twin bed. It was like a nunnery, or something. It was very funny, because of the story – which I'm sure you've heard from others – that that part of the Legation used to be a brothel, back in the early part of the 20th century – I don't know if it's true or not. I had this little washing area where I would hand wash my clothes, and then slip out into the medina for breakfast. My time was spent in wonderful ways. At first, I shadowed Dr. Shea, and would absorb every syllable he said, like a sponge. I would watch him give tours of the Legation, and take detailed notes, and try to memorize his approach, all the facts and

figures. After he was satisfied with my ability, he let me give tours on my own, which I really enjoyed doing. I love the Legation, so much. It's such a place of beauty and tranquility and knowledge and history and art. It's all there. Very elegantly beautiful. Then, some of us Peace Corps volunteers got the idea to make a promotional video about the Legation that used fundraising efforts by TALMS. So, four of us all together, had ties to this project. Has anyone else talked to you about this video tape, Emily?

ALBRECHT: No one has, and I'm very interested in seeing it.

STAATS: I would give probably my left hand to see it. We spent about three weeks writing it, narrating it, and filming it, and refilming it, and getting it to be exactly what we wanted it to be. Dr. Shea was right there with us, he was very supportive and encouraging. This is probably hard for you to imagine, but this was the pre-digital era. This is when VCRs were new, a new technology! So we were kind of on the cutting-edge, at the time. So we made a VHS tape, a video tape that was a tour of the Legation. I don't remember how many minutes it was, but it was something substantial. Something like 15 or 20 minutes. We had a fun time doing it. But the sad footnote to that history is that, according to Dr. Shea, TALMS back in D.C. wasn't interested in using the video tape. It kind of got buried back there in D.C., and whenever I've had an opportunity to ask somebody about it, no one has seen it, no one knows what I'm talking about. That was really disappointing. And a loss on the Legation's part, on TALMS' part – back then in the early-to-mid 1980s, it would have been a really great way to fundraise for the Legation, in the absence of all the ways we have today. So who knows where it is.

ALBRECHT: I really hope I manage to track it down and find it. If I do, I will definitely let you know, because I would love to see that.

STAATS: Good! It not only shows exactly how the Legation looked at the time, but it captures really well how the Legation was being presented to the public at the time. But I also had my own 35mm camera, just black and white. I took a lot of photographs inside the Legation, because I just loved the space so much. I love all the artifacts, especially the maps, but also the historical posters and the works of art. I did my own still-shot tour of the legation. I have these photos in negative. When I went over there this August for about three weeks, I tried to have new prints made – have you ever heard of a contact sheet?

ALBRECHT: I don't believe I have, unfortunately.

STAATS: There's no reason why you would have, it's very old school by now. But with 35mm film, they would print all the strips of film on an 8.5x11 inch sheet, and it's called a proof sheet, or a contact sheet. You would see these little thumbnail images of each photo, although they were actually real-sized images of the negatives, and then you would have them printed up. So I took them over there, but they don't do it anymore. It's very frustrating. Well, I've got some great images. Part of the charm of the Legation for us, back then, speaking for my Peace Corps cohort and the couple years before and after me, is that Dr. Shea was legendary to us — as a source of knowledge and history, of local culture. He spoke French, *darija* — the Moroccan Arabic. He had Moroccan friends, European friends, and American friends. He was part of the lore, the legend, of all that. He was such a generous, kind host. Very non-judgmental, which can be hard with Peace Corps volunteers, who are often very full of themselves. He would take us to wonderful places we would never be able to go to otherwise. One of my Peace Corps friends and I kept pestering Dr. Shea — we wanted to meet the writer Paul Bowles, who was living there. Dr. Shea would say, "I know him, but we're not friends, he's a bit of a recluse..." We kept pestering him, we wouldn't give up. So finally he said, "Look. I'll drive you to where he lives, and I'll drop you off, but that's it." So we went to the flower market, this big fresh flower market, got arms-full of fresh flowers... Dr. Shea took us to the outside of Paul Bowles' apartment building, said "Good luck!" We ended up gaining admittance, and had a wonderful afternoon with Paul Bowles, and that was all due to Dr. Shea. He knew Malcolm Forbes, he knew the Voice of America people ... he knew literally everybody in Tangier. He was a very savvy diplomat — and I know he wasn't officially a diplomat, but it's how he interacted with other people. He was really sweet. The whole thing was very sweet. I didn't spend too much time in the library, other than maybe reshelving books one time. The library was smaller back then, and, you know, they had lots of books... It was the time of year where lots of folks were traveling outside of Tangier and outside of Morocco. So the library wasn't hopping when I was there. There was a tiny Legation staff, and I have some sweet photos of them. When you live in a place for six weeks, you really get to know the people. There was a married couple who lived on the top floor — they were sort of the caretakers. I was friendly with them, I have some photos. There was one guy who cleaned the entire place — now they have an army of people! I got to know the cleaner. A person who works there now as a guard worked part-time back then. He looks very different 30 years later, as do I. We could barely recognize each other when I visited... It's just a really special place, being in the old medina, in Tangier ... It's so walkable to everywhere. The water, the town, the market, the outdoor markets, hotels, cafes... [The Legation is] kind of in the heart of everything, but also tucked away in the medina. You really felt like you were in an idyllic enclave, in the middle of this small city. That's what it was like, back in the summer of 1984. Then of course, I visited more than once

again, before I finished my service in July of 1985. And then Dr. Shea and I remained good friends, he was a mentor to me. He died in February of 2001. I still miss him. I saved all his letters, he was a special person. I remember, on September 11th... Do you know anything about what Dr. Shea did after he left the Legation?

ALBRECHT: Not much. Most of what I've learned about him through these interviews has regarded his time at the Legation.

STAATS: He was a very devout Catholic. I remember every Sunday, he would go to mass. He was very quiet about it, but it was something very important to him, something he never missed. A few years after I left Morocco, he left the Legation and disappeared. There were maybe a handful of us volunteers who were closer to him, and we were all scratching our heads – “Have you heard from Dr. Shea, what’s going on, where is he, etc.” About a year after, I received a big packet in the mail, from Gibraltar. He was living at a Jesuit house in Gibraltar, and he had been in retreat for a year, after which he became ordained as a Jesuit priest, which is amazing! And then he moved back to New York City, where he had lived for a few decades before Morocco. He was an academic dean at Columbia, and had always loved Manhattan and New York City. He became the house priest at a Catholic worker house. When he died of cancer in February 2001, at the age of 82 I believe, I remember thinking – on the day of 9/11 – “Thank God Dr. Shea did not live to see this.” He would have been so devastated. He spent decades of his life trying to build Christian-Jewish-Muslim relations and understanding. This would have completely devastated him. He also would have been one of the priests who would have run to the World Trade Center and tried to help people. Anyway, that’s the coda to the story of Dr. Shea. As often happens with institutions, the key people at the institutions shape how the institution is perceived. I don’t have to tell you that Dr. Shea was a great part of that, for those of us that were at the Legation in the 1970s and 1980s.

ALBRECHT: That’s incredible. Thank you for sharing more about Dr. Shea. He’s been mentioned in other interviews as well, but it’s been very good to know what happened to him after the Legation, and getting more of a full look at his life. You said that you lived at the Legation for six weeks in the summer of 1984, and visited a few more times before finishing your Peace Corps service in the summer of 1985. What has your involvement with the Legation and the museum society been like since then?

STAATS: Well, very little contact, unfortunately. I don’t even know, for example, when the name changed from TALMS to TALIM. Really, it’s due to John Davison that I was able to connect in a very concrete way, because John was in my Peace Corps group, and

we've remained friends and in touch. And of course, the job is perfect for him and he's perfect for the Legation. I had sort of loosely stayed in touch – checking the Web site from time to time, maybe going to an event or two. But we're talking a period of 20 years or more. So really, John opened that door back up in a concrete way. And that was just in 2014. He took the job in 2013, if I remember correctly, so that was really the big reconnection. John and I usually email, and Skype, so he could update me on everything. I went there the next year, and I stayed there. Unfortunately, I couldn't stay in the very same room, because it's now an office. But it was really wonderful to be there again. Certain things are exactly the same, and certain things are different – both within the Legation, and the medina, and the city of Tangier around it. It was very fun to be back. I considered it my 30th anniversary visit. This year was the 30th anniversary of when John and I finished our service. It was a really fun time, lots of memories. I remember, when I was there in the 1980s, I would go way up to the top of the Legation, and look out over the medina, and would just see a sea of television antennae. At the time, I described them as sort of a leafy net of television antennae, kind of covering the medina. This fall, when I went back up there – it now looks like a field of poppies, because of the satellite dishes. They're everywhere! They're not all the same size, most a small residential satellite dish, and all different colors. Everywhere! So you look out now, and you see these round, colorful discs, they're like flowers. I mean, Tangier has just such a fabulous, rich history, you know as an international city as it was, literally the international zone in World War II... and the history between Morocco and the U.S. is so unusual. I really don't think there is any other pair of countries with that specific diplomatic history – you know, where Morocco was the first nation in the world to recognize the U.S. as an independent country after the revolutionary war. There have been a lot of things that would bear revisiting now. By that, I mean that they would be a good model for others to follow. We have a perennial peace and friendship treaty with Morocco that we always renew. It works beautifully. I wish it were more widespread.

ALBRECHT: You had mentioned that you have a lot of memories from this time. Do you have any particularly cherished memories that you'd like to share – either from your six week period in the summer of 1984, or from any of your visits since?

STAATS: I've talked about my working closely with Dr. Shea. That whole experience is very cherished. Our work making that video was really unusual at the time, so that really stands out. Now, it would be like "Oh-ho-ho, she shot some footage!" But back then, it was unusual. What I was trying to say when I was talking about how, with any place, it's the people who shape how you experience it. I was describing the impact that Dr. Shea had on my life, as a mentor, and what really became a lifelong relationship until he died. That's the special time for me. I'm sorry, because that's not really about

TALMS or anything. But, I do have some other photos, besides the black and white ones. I have a brochure, that was the existing brochure about TALMS at the time – some of which I've scanned and sent to John [Davison]. I don't know if you'd be interested in seeing anything like that...

ALBRECHT: Oh, absolutely! I would love to see that.

STAATS: Okay, I'll email you some files, some things that I've – I can't say I've digitized them, I've simply scanned them.

ALBRECHT: Oh, I'd call that digitizing. Close enough.

STAATS: *[laughs]* Okay. But, as far as special memories... I don't know. You're in college, so you don't have kids, I'm assuming?

ALBRECHT: I do not. That is a correct assumption.

STAATS: *[laughs]* Well, it's said that what sinks in most with children is just the one-on-one time with a caring adult. Of course, I was already an adult – I was already 28 years old when I joined the Peace Corps, I was 28 through 30 during the time that I was living there – but for me, the best, most special, magical memories are those times when I was going to lunch with Dr. Shea, or sitting in his living room, or sitting in the courtyard with him, maybe having a coffee, the fountains bubbling beside us, and we're just talking. And, the pleasure of showing other people the Legation itself, and the Legation's collection. Even today – I saw this when I was just there – even today, people are just floored by how beautiful the buildings are, and by how rich and interesting the collection it. It was really fun to get to do that. *[technical difficulties]*

ALBRECHT: I'm sorry, I think it's breaking up. ... It seems to be good now. I live in rural Texas, so it's probably on my end.

STAATS: Do you mind my asking where in rural Texas?

ALBRECHT: Not at all. I live in a town called Boerne. It's outside of San Antonio, in the Hill Country.

STAATS: That must be beautiful!

ALBRECHT: Oh, it's gorgeous. I just drove around a lot today with my mother, around Kerrville and Comfort.

STAATS: Did you say Kerrville? I lived in Austin for two years, and I was just in Austin in October for a family event, and my cousin's wife grew up in Kerrville.

ALBRECHT: Oh, I love Austin!

STAATS: You just have got to love the Hill Country. It's spectacular.

ALBRECHT: Oh, it really is. See, Boerne is about 30 miles south of Kerrville, maybe. So, right there in the same area.

STAATS: Anyway, if our conversation triggers any other memories, I'll shoot you an email, Emily. I'll send you a few things, in case they're of interest. Have you interviewed Lisa Abuhamad? Has that name been mentioned to you at all?

ALBRECHT: It hasn't, no. I might ask you to shoot me an email connecting us.

STAATS: I can connect you to Lisa. She was in the Peace Corps group before me, just one year before, and we were good friends. We're still good friends. She was my sister troublemaker when we pestered Dr. Shea. She also remained in touch with him, and visited him at the Leo house in Manhattan. I think she'd probably have some interesting thoughts and memories and insights, too. She was a three year Peace Corps volunteer, and she ended up going to the Teachers College at Columbia [University] after the Peace Corps, on Dr. Shea's suggestion. I think she had a similar experience that I did – that he was just such a great mentor, and supportive. Anyway, her maiden name is Lisa Dalferro, her married name is Lisa Abuhamad. She happens to live in Dallas, now. She spent most of her adult life living in places like Yemen and Madagascar and Paris, but they moved to the U.S. a few years back so that their kids could go to high school in the United States. Anyway, long story short, she's in Dallas for now. I'll e-introduce you two. I don't know if she'll have time or be interested, but you never know.

ALBRECHT: Thank you so much. I would really appreciate that.

STAATS: Sure, sure! Okay, well, I guess that's it for my side.

ALBRECHT: The one last question I would like to ask regards TALMS/TALIM, and its goal or purpose, but given that you weren't as involved with the society itself, it's okay

if you feel that you don't want to speak on that. But if you do have an opinion, I would love to hear it.

STAATS: I probably don't know enough about it to speak intelligently. So, that's a big caveat that I would put out there. But, I don't think enough people know about it. My impression is – and it could just be an impression – is that it's pretty East Coast centric, and maybe a little heavy on the representation of academia. I come from academia too, but if you're trying to have an NGO and get support – and I could be so wrong here, Emily – but I would think that the Legation's goal is to spread awareness of the actual place and its collections, but also of course, be a catalyst for increasing knowledge. They do have a bit of a reputation for being a bit of a small, closed circle, which is hard for people to penetrate. I don't know if that's based in reality or not, but there's a look from the outside.

ALBRECHT: I will say that you are not the only person to have remarked that it's very academic, and very academia-centered. Don't worry, I've heard that before. You're not off-base there.

STAATS: They could probably benefit from an infusion of people in your generation, and of people from outside of academia. I mean, it's such a great place, and more people should know about it and use it as a research center. They've got a much bigger collection of resources than they used to have. That's one thing that John has been doing really, really well – not just increasing the foot traffic, but also increasing involvement there, right there in the medina. And, also, he's really exponentially increased the kind of activities that the Legation hosts or is involved in. One of my favorites that I'm so excited about is that this fall, they hosted a community chorus right there at the Legation. It wasn't made up entirely of Moroccans, but was run by Moroccans. Totally amateur, and you know, that's nice. It's a step away from the dry academia, and I think that's really great. I think that John is trying to steer the ship in the right direction. They probably do also need some new and young blood.

ALBRECHT: Wonderful to hear, really.

STAATS: So, have you been able to visit?

ALBRECHT: I have! I actually did a study abroad in Morocco for two months, in the spring of 2014. And though I was based out of Fez, Dale Eickelman did take us to Tangier and to the Legation. We did a tour, and I met the then-Director, Jerry Loftus. That's how I first became interested in the Legation, and in doing some further research.

STAATS: Did you meet Mohammed Jadidi, the curator at the Legation, by any chance?

ALBRECHT: I think I might have, yes.

STAATS: He's a really, really skinny Moroccan, around 40-something, he wears his hair super shaved, almost to the scalp. The reason I mention Mohammad – he's a wonderful guy, I spoke to him when I was there this year – he's coming to the U.S. for a three week study program in curatorship in Tucson. You should try to connect with Mohammad. He's worked in the Legation for something like 14 years.

ALBRECHT: That would be incredible, I'll definitely reach out.

STAATS: So, Mohammad Jadidi. He'd be a great resource for you. I guess you'll be back at Dartmouth, after the holidays?

ALBRECHT: I will be. I'm heading back around New Years.

STAATS: So you won't be around Tucson, like you are now. But maybe you can Skype or something.

ALBRECHT: Yeah! With modern technology, distance is often irrelevant when it comes to these kinds of things.

STAATS: Okay, well, I've got my little to-do list here, Emily. Keep me posted on what you do with all this, I'd really like to know.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. I'll shoot you a copy of the transcript of this interview to review when I'm done with it.

STAATS: Great! That would be fantastic.

ALBRECHT: Thank you so much for speaking with me. I've really enjoyed hearing everything you have to say.

STAATS: You're welcome, Emily, and I've enjoyed it too, so thank you.

ALBRECHT: Well, have an excellent evening, and happy holidays!

STAATS: You too.

Evelyn Early Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht

Friday, 12/11/2015 — Boerne, Texas – via telephone

ALBRECHT: So again, thank you so much for speaking with me this evening, and thank you for sending the TALIM 2010 report. I have a few guiding questions to help us along the way, but really, these interviews have been very informational, very conversational. I just want to get a feel for your history with the Legation, your involvement with the Legation, some of your feelings about your experience with it, etcetera. So, to start off, how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

EARLY: I was trying to remember that, because I knew you would ask me. My first time in Morocco was from 1996 to 1999, when I was the Information Officer at the U.S. Embassy (the press attaché). Although, I visited Marrakech years before, and many of the researchers I met had working with AIMS and TALIM. So, I was kind of aware of the Moroccan research team and of the Legation. Sometime in that first three-year tour of Morocco, I remember visiting the Legation. I was up in Tangier for work as the press attaché, and at that point – I believe it must have been between Elena Prentice and Thor Kuniholm – there was another fellow whose name I can't recall, but I remember going up and meeting him, he was sitting in a chair in a back room. Years time, the whole Legation had been transformed, as we noted in our report. The Kuniholms did a lot of furnishing, especially in this room on the top, which had a great view of the Mediterranean. Thor was the first time I really encountered the Legation; from 1996 to 1999 I went to several Legation conferences and other AIMS conferences at the Legation. What I did was go up as the press attaché; thankfully, I could use that as an excuse just to be there for the conferences. At that point, I had a very young daughter, and had a nanny in Morocco who would stay in a hotel with her while I did my work with AIMS and with the Legation. Emily, actually, I don't remember where AIMS started. I don't know if it's just a research venue, or if it was actually officially AIMS at that point. The Legation wasn't called TALIM at that point, it was called something else. (**ALBRECHT:** TALMS, right?) TALMS, yes. But in any case, there were April seminars way back when – I'm not sure what other seminars there were. I'll send you a picture of my daughter hanging out at some social event at the Legation with the Chief Service Officer and it's really quite a cute picture. I know I sent that picture to Thor Kuniholm years ago, and he sent it to the Chief Service Officer, who was still alive at that time. That's kind of my memorabilia from that era. Excuse me, I said 1996 to 1999 – I completely misspoke. I was in Morocco from 1990 to 1994. (**ALBRECHT:** Oh, okay.) I just realized that my daughter would have been much older, by then. So, that was sort of "Era 1." "Era 2" was when I was the Public Affairs Officer in the early 2000s. I'll have to e-mail you the

exact dates. I think it was 2004 to 2008, or 2005 to 2008. I was the Public Affairs Officer then, and Thor Kuniholm was there during that period. He and I co-operated quite a bit on programming. One of my co-editors, Donalee Allen [sp], she was the head of AIMS. She and I co-operated on figuring out how the Legation could get various projects and various programs funded. I remember, that was when we just started teaching Arabic and teaching literacy programs. I remember funding some of those through the office. This was a different era, by then the Legation wasn't in such a bad shape. I would use the Legation as a way to meet people and make contacts. But I definitely didn't attend all of the events. I remember, one program that I really enjoyed was when one of those Fulbrighters gave a concert of medieval Jewish music. Emily, let me know if there's another term for that – I don't think there is, but let me know. It was one of our Fulbrighters who, later that year, gave a concert in my backyard. There was a Catholic from Spain and a Muslim woman from Tetouan, and someone who was studying Jewish-Moroccan music, and we had this huge concert exploring traditions in my backyard in Rabat. That was also a huge success. But there were many programs, and Thor and the Public Affairs section of the Embassy and AIMS would co-operate on various scholars talking and on various community outreach programs, which is really more of what Thor was doing. The April seminars and the AIMS conferences, which moves among three North African capitals – well, not capitals, Tangier's not a capital. There, I remember that one of the things I was very excited about doing were not only the events of TALIM, but also how they were a chance for North African scholars to talk a little bit. That was also a time when Libya was acting up, and I remember at one point, we said "Let's try to make the yearly conference something on history, where Libyan scholars can be there." I remember talking to the other Public Affairs Officers, particularly the person who was handing out money to Libya for travel plans for that conference. It was a good chance for scholars to integrate into the North African association. I also used Thor Kuniholm's introductions to people around Tangier just to do my own work, and I found it fascinating, the many people that he knew. Of course, that's one of the big benefits of having a Director of TALIM living there. Of course, the Deputy Director Yhtimad [Bouziane] knew people, and also had extensive contacts. That goes without saying. One of the events that I remember the best – and I'm trying to tell everything I remember to you, so you might not even have to ask any more questions – was going to a Kiwanis retreat. There was a fast-breaking meal at sunset during Ramadan. Thor would go to these, as would several of the local Christian representatives and other non-Muslims, and that evening, the person giving the presentation was from the same place in Tetouan. I met him and talked to him, and that was a very important introduction to me. I would continue to see him and his brother, who had a very important program on Moroccan television. That a good introduction to me and some of my work, which focused on discourse in Morocco. It also allowed me

to get the president of Tetouan to look at some of my own work on academic exchanges and dialogue. So that's just a primary stretch of "Stage 2" of my work with TALIM. "Stage 3" was when I returned to the U.S.. It was only when I retired from the Foreign Service that I felt like I could accept a position on the TALIM Board because it was no longer a conflict of interest. Just now I'm on a different side of the whole process. Before, I was a grant-giver from the U.S. government. But there have been enough times on the ethics board that I know that it had been enough time for me to sit on the TALIM Board. And that's where I met you, Emily. I think the thing I've said least about this is the election of the new Director, John Davison. He seems to be equally excellent as Jerry [Loftus], Thor [Kuniholm] and Elizabeth [Kuniholm], and before that, Elena [Prentice]. So that's been amazing to build up my experience with TALIM, and I hope to see you in April at the 40th.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. So, what were some of your most particularly cherished memories with TALIM?

EARLY: I didn't give you those? Oh, I'm sorry! I was jumping the gun on you, Emily, I was trying to give you my cherished memories. The concerts, and everything.

ALBRECHT: That's what I thought, but better safe than sorry.

EARLY: I can add one other thing. For me, it was just fun to be able to touch base with the Legation any time I was in Tangier. It was sort of like stopping by your favorite restaurant and seeing your old friends drinking coffee. It was a case where I could just tap in and find out the news of the day. Thor would always have coffee with me when I came. Of course, he's a personal friend, and I don't think the Director should have to have coffee with people every time they come to Tangier. I just enjoyed that. I enjoyed meeting the people that I ran into there. Once, I was meeting with Thor, and a bunch of teachers – possibly Fulbright, or maybe Moroccan students – came by. So those were great memories, just sort of sitting there and meeting people, and chatting about what's coming up – whether it's a film festival, or other cultural events, another festival in Tangier. Those are also good memories. I guess I really enjoyed the times I would drop by the literacy program and chat with the women in there. Occasionally I would even turn tourist and go look at the various art exhibits. Of course, one always has to go see the miniature soldiers at some point, and all of the wonderful exhibitions. I also worried about things that are now being resolved, thanks to all the great work of people like Michael Toler and Jerry [Loftus] and John [Davison]. I remember all of the glass frames, looking what was in them now, and thinking that this would be wonderful, wonderful research for people to learn about. We've now done. So, those are some other memories.

ALBRECHT: Wonderful! Now, this is a little more personal, so feel free to refrain. What are some of your least cherished memories from this time, or with the Legation?

EARLY: I can't think of least favorite memories. I can think of being concerned about the structural situation of the Legation. I'm very glad that Thor, as with all the directors of the Legation, is keeping in good touch with the Embassy office that oversees buildings – the OBO. I remember when new management came to the Embassy, who was very forceful and articulate, Allison Barkley, who happens to be rather short – that's irrelevant. I found her very interested in the Legation, and it was thanks to her – not that Thor wasn't doing the same thing – and a lot of work back in about 2004 or 2005. We started getting OBO's interest in various things, and they're even more excited now. By various teams and things you'll be reporting on, according to when we were in D.C. together not too long, there's been a lot of structural work done and a lot of steady support that needs to be done to keep the Legation together. The Embassy at one point stopped sending security guys, because someone didn't understand that was American property, and that the Embassy was supposed to send security guards. So those are some less salubrious memories – I was concerned about the Legation, and Thor and I would sometimes brainstorm. He did a really good job of keeping up with all of that, and that process. That was concerning. It's a memory that turned out all right in the end, but was troubling at the time.

ALBRECHT: Throughout these different eras and years that you've been involved with the Legation, how far would you have to travel to go visit Tangier?

EARLY: I don't know...

ALBRECHT: Were you living in Rabat during those years?

EARLY: Yes, I was. Except for the time I was on the TALIM Board, but I haven't been to the Legation since coming back to the U.S. I always visited the Legation from Rabat. Sometimes I would be in Tangier on other business, it had nothing to do with the Legation. So then, I suppose, I could visit it just a few blocks from the Minzah hotel! Then, I was really close.

ALBRECHT: In the report that you sent to me – which again, I am so thankful for – there's a section that talks about the five main goals of TALIM, as the authors of that report saw it. Do you want to elaborate on that more, talk about what you did and do see as the main purpose and goals of the Legation?

EARLY: Well, I think that the Legation is effective because the goals are so diverse. Everything from being a museum and a library resource to being a programming institution, to being the showcase for Moroccan-American bilateral relations, to being a good neighbor in a very low-income quarter. I think that the way that the Legation and TALIM has been successful has been playing to all of those strengths. I think there have been times when things are more successful than others, just because interests of directors and staffs, and also of donors and other people... I know there was a time period where Elizabeth was getting a lot of furnishings, donations of rugs and things to spruce up the place. We don't need that so much now. There were time periods recently where we were working on digitalizing even the collections and reports. We were deciding if we wanted to have a niche for researchers of Moroccan-specific, Tangier literature, and not be a general library. I think the programs have gotten off to a great start with the literacy classes, and those have kind of taken on a life of their own. I was of course probably more intimately connected with some of the programs that we were funding. Since I've been there, there have been some other really interesting programs being funded – things with youths and outreach to Moroccans. All of that should be in the report. I hope you do talk to the current Public Affairs Officer, see what their vision is. I didn't get into the nitty-gritty of any of these – I let Thor's staff and my staff, the liaisons, liaise on these projects. I know Yhtimad [Bouziane] was always unbelievably cooperative and efficient in our working group in the public diplomacy section on things like Thor's and mine's joint Andalusian music evenings at the Legation, which we always cohosted, but we couldn't always be there at the same time. Those were big social events, social-cultural events, but also a chance to reach out to the community and also to the expat community in Tangier, which is an important outreach group because of their ties to Tangier and also their generous support. There were also times where outreach has increased to the local population, which is critical – we talk about that in the report. So, I would just say that I didn't go into the details. I would just coordinate, and check with Thor's staff when we were doing giant projects. I've always contended that the Legation and TALIM deserved all the support we could give them, because they were sort of like a U.S. Embassy proto-branch in Tangier. Thor and his staff would do things that I would have had to send my own staff out to do if we were really doing the event ourselves. The Legation worked better or less better depending on the personnel. Personally, it seems to have been quite well-run, and quite symbiotic [with the Embassy]. I think I got off what you actually asked me, Emily. I forgot what your question was. But I did talk about my involvement in the goals. Is that what you wanted?

ALBRECHT: Yes, I really just wanted to hear about your perspective on what you perceive as the goals and purpose of TALIM. I think you got at the heart of that. Do you think that those goals will evolve or change in the years to come?

EARLY: Well, just as I've mentioned, there have been certain emphases in the years gone by depending on what was needed, and who was there, what the opportunities were. I think that emphases will rise and fall depending on the sort of programs that on-bearing in AIMS and in the Embassy community, and in other places, be it French or Italian, Spanish or Japanese, or other cultural groups – the Spanish are very important, especially, they have many NGOs across north Morocco. They're a very important element of the scene. So, when they have special events that TALIM may coordinate with, there may be things that are more emphasized one month than the next. I would say that overall, the main goals of serving as the museum, educational, research resource center for bi-cultural, bi-national, multicultural relations and programs sort of sums it all up. I know there's been suggestions, which we mentioned in the report, to try and have things like American culture corner type events, and those will happen depending upon the resources. You know, there's also been the suggestion that more Moroccans should have programming at the center, and I think John Davison is really doing both of the last two things. I see all of that as the product of what's going on and what's available that month or that year. I don't really see that the overall major goals of the Legation will change permanently. I think that the five are a pretty good core off which to judge TALIM activities in the future.

ALBRECHT: How would you say that you feel about these purposes and goals? It seems that you feel positively about them. Do you have any specific feelings?

EARLY: Really, I just feel positive about all of them. I think each of them plays... [*trails off*] yeah, that's about it. I have nothing more to say on that, just that I feel positively.

ALBRECHT: Is there anything else you'd like to share or recount? I'm here to listen, and I'd love to hear anything you have to say.

EARLY: Oh, I'm just glad that you're doing this study. I wanted to take this opportunity first to thank the Directors, from John Davison down the list, for everything they've done. The job of Director of TALIM is nothing that makes you richer, but it gives you a happy life. They're just wonderful people. I want to applaud the local staff, too – Yhtimad [Bouziane] and the rest of the staff, all of whom I've met at some point. I think it's quite commendable that John is doing the programs he is doing. Yhtimad is a very competent Deputy, and could be acting Director, and the rest of the

staff are an incredible resource for us. Without the Moroccan staff, TALIM would be worse off. I'd have to thank our Board chair, Dale Eickelman, along with the rest of the board – although I don't want to start naming everybody – for donating their time. I think that they all deserve a round of applause. I really don't have anything left to say. If you come up with any other questions, don't hesitate to email me.

ALBRECHT: Thank you so much for your time, and for speaking with me. I've really enjoyed listening to you and having this opportunity.

EARLY: I do hope you have a chance to talk to the Public Affairs Officer when you're in Morocco, or maybe one of the people who has been it before, since I was there, because they'd give you a nice perspective. And if you want me to look at anything you've written to see if you've got questions, and you want me to edit something, or if you quote me and I seem ungrammatical, please edit me.

ALBRECHT: I'll send you a copy of the transcribed interview when I'm done.

EARLY: Oh, you don't have to do that. If you just want to send me your report when it's done, or anything that you want me to make sure that you got right because I was talking fast, I'd be glad to read it.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. I'm sure we'll be in touch.

EARLY: I look forward to seeing you!

ALBRECHT: Thank you, and have an excellent evening.

EARLY: You too!

Jerome Bookin-Weiner Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht

Sunday, 12/12/2015 — Boerne, Texas – via telephone

ALBRECHT: So, the way that I've been conducting these interviews is very relaxed, very informal. It's really more like a conversation. I really just want to hear about your experience with the Legation and TALIM, about your involvement with it, and about your memories, thoughts and feelings regarding the organization. I do have some guiding questions to help us along the way, the first of which is: How did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Well, the first time I was there was when I was a Peace Corps Volunteer and I had friends who were training there. That would have been in the second half of 1971. During the time that I was in Morocco with the Peace Corps, it was used as a training center. So I was there two, three or four times, I'm not sure. After I got back to the United States, and was involved in the mid-1980s in putting on a conference on U.S.-Moroccan relations which coincided with the 200th anniversary of the first treaty, I got involved with TALMS and was asked to join the Board.

ALBRECHT: So, how long have you been with the Board, then?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Well, I don't remember exactly when I was on the Board, first. But I was on the Board from whenever that was (probably 1986) until the Board structure was changed. What had been a very large board became a much smaller board, with the Fellows having been created. I was a Fellow, then, for 20 years, maybe? I rejoined the Board maybe two or three years ago.

ALBRECHT: Have you been back to the Legation much since your time there as a Peace Corps Volunteer?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Oh, I've been there, I don't know how many times. It's been a while since the last time I was there. So not a whole lot, no. Tangier's not my favorite place.

ALBRECHT: Fair enough. What's your experience with both the Legation, when you were there as a Peace Corps Volunteer, and then just TALMS/TALIM? What's your experience with all of that been like?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Well, you know, it's all been very positive. When I was there as a volunteer, it was kind of interesting being there with the people who did the

renovations and discovered all kinds of things in the process, including the secret hidden rooms that had been used by the OSS during the war. When I've been back since, it's either been accompanying groups that I was leading on trips in Morocco – which I think happened maybe two times – or for conferences, which I think I've been to a couple.

ALBRECHT: What were some of your most cherished memories from all of this?

BOOKIN-WEINER: I don't know that there are any, really.

ALBRECHT: Fair enough. What about some of your least cherished memories, if you care to share those?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Well, there's nothing not-cherished. It's been really very heartwarming to see the way in which things have developed since Bob Shea stepped down as Director. After the very brief time that Elena Prentice was the Director, Thor Kuniholm just did amazing things and built, on a very flimsy foundation, a very solid operation. His successors have apparently built on that. I haven't been back since Thor retired.

ALBRECHT: I had the opportunity to interview Thor a few months ago, actually. Hearing him recount his experience with the Legation was incredible.

BOOKIN-WEINER: He arrived there and found that things were even shakier than he had realized.

ALBRECHT: What did you and do you – past tense and present tense – see as the main purpose or goal of TALIM? Has that purpose or goal changed during your time there?

BOOKIN-WEINER: I do think it's changed. I think initially, it was sort-of a last-ditch attempt to keep the Legation and the museum viable. That was really what was going on in the late 1980s and early 1990s, because the foundation was so weak. The finances were so weak. I can remember when, in order to make it look like there were assets, the supposed-assessed value of the collection was included. Since I've come back on the Board, I've noticed that that category has disappeared, because when you scripted away in the late 1980s and early 1990s, you were talking maybe 10 or 15 thousand dollars. That's all there was. I think the expansion of the mission by the affiliation with AIMS has been extremely beneficial. Having said that, I think that's something that has

happened largely because of one person, and with some of the people who became more involved with AIMS, came to view as being a one-man crusade, in which they had very little say. I know there was quite a bit of friction when Jerry Loftus was hired, for example. Shouting matches. I don't think very many people are aware of that because the officers of AIMS felt that they weren't being involved in a decision that technically, they should have been, because by that point, TALIM had become a constituent part of AIMS. There was a lot of resistance by that one individual to codifying the relationship between TALIM and AIMS, which I think has now happened – if it hasn't, it should. There were some pretty tense moments, there.

ALBRECHT: Do you feel comfortable sharing the name of that particular individual?

BOOKIN-WEINER: [*name redacted*]. I mean, what I'm saying about him is off-the-record. He has done things in a very imperial fashion. That's his M.O., and we all know that. I think that Dale has done his best to try and change that culture, and it is changing.

ALBRECHT: What's your involvement with TALIM like now? I know you're on the Board, and we met a few weeks ago in D.C. at the Board meeting. Just on a daily basis, what do you do?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Oh, on a day-to-day basis, not much. I retired in July. I had been the Director of Education Abroad at Emmett East. My direct involvement with both TALIM and AIMS has been fairly minimal over the last 20 years, really, because my career took a very different turn beginning in the late 1980s, when I moved away from being a scholar of Moroccan history into academic administration and particularly international education administration. I had much broader interests and involvements outside the region. Every now and then, something would come up around me. It was only when I began working at Emmett East that I began to have more involvement. To be honest, our involvement at Emmett East was in some ways competitive with what AIMS was trying to do, and with what TALIM was trying to do, in hosting study abroad programs.

ALBRECHT: So, I've gone through most of my guiding questions. Do you have anything more you want to share about your experiences with TALIM, or about memories regarding your time there? Really, this is a pretty relaxed, conversational thing. I'm just interested in hearing anything you have to say about your time at the Legation.

BOOKIN-WEINER: I think it's a really important institution, not just in Tangier but also in Morocco, because it is such a symbol of the relationship between the U.S. and Morocco. The relationship has had so many positive dimensions over such a long period of time. Unfortunately, the reasons for Morocco's recognition of the United States have become sort of mythologized, on both sides. If you read what I've written about it, which is based on archival research, it becomes clear that it all resulted from a lot of misunderstandings and an attempt by the Sultan to say "oh, to hell with it, let's get this over with so I'm not bothered by it again." But, having said that, it led to the first treaty between the U.S. and any country in the region. It's the longest-standing treaty relationship that the U.S. has with any country, and one of the longest-standing treaty relationships in history, period. There have been a number of different points where the U.S. relationship with Morocco and Moroccans has really been quite important – during the Second World War, of course. Tangier was outside of much of what was going on, other than the espionage. The U.S. involvement with Operation Torch and the American presence in other parts of Morocco into the 1960s were all very important. So, it's important that we've got this property in Tangier where that story is highlighted. Also, it helps to highlight the former role that Tangier played in Morocco's relationships with the rest of the world, because the permanent diplomatic representations in Morocco – particularly in the 19th century – were in Tangier. And before that, Sale and Rabat... well, really Rabat, not Sale. This was part of Rabat that was called Sale at the time. I think that gives the organization and its mission a very real importance, particularly during times when Americans forget about it – and we always have – but also when Moroccans may lose sight of that part of their history.

ALBRECHT: That's actually really good to hear. One of the narratives I've been noticing throughout these interviews is that people always bring up the historical relationship between the U.S. and Morocco, and they always bring up the treaty, and bring up the fact that Morocco was the first country to recognize the United States. You're the first person I've interviewed who has stated that as a mythologized subject, and then deconstructed that mythology a little bit. Would you mind pointing me toward your writing on that, the writing that came from archival research? I'd be very interested in reading that.

BOOKIN-WEINER: It was published in two places. There was an article in [foreign language]. I don't remember the year, it's been a long time. And an article in *The Atlantic Connection*, which is the edited volume that came out of the conference held in 1986.

ALBRECHT: I will definitely take a look at that, thank you so much for referring it to me.

BOOKIN-WEINER: I'll go very briefly into what happened. When the Declaration of Independence reached Britain, they cancelled the papers issued to ships benefitting from British protection, and then issued new ones because American ships had held those papers. They were called passports. There was a small fishing vessel that had left the port in Cornwall, headed for the Newfoundland banks – after the Declaration, but before word had reached Britain. They spent about a year there, fishing, loaded up their boats with codfish, and headed for the Mediterranean where they sold such things to the fish-eating Catholics of the Mediterranean basin. That was, at the time, when Catholics would eat only fish on Fridays. When that ship got off the coast of Spain, they were seized by a Moroccan corsair. The reason they were seized was that British Gibraltar had been hectoring the Moroccans not to let these American ships pass. They way the said this was by saying not to let ships with old, outdated British passports pass. And of course, this ship had one, because they hadn't gotten a new one. They hadn't had any contact with people back in Britain. So when these men were seized, the captain and crew protested vehemently that they were actually British, and not American, and attempted to make contact with the British garrison in Gibraltar, which they finally did. After a number of weeks, they convinced the Governor-General that they were in fact British, and that they should benefit from British protection. So the Governor-General and his people at the garrison intervened with the Moroccan court and the Moroccan authorities to get the ship released. Now, this all happened in the context of the Moroccan Sultan who was totally changing the economic basis of the *makhzan*, which had been the extraction of taxes from the tribes. He was shifting it from what he regarded as a more reliable and less risky source of financing – namely, foreign trade and taxing foreign trade. So, he had been negotiating agreements with and recognizing countries throughout Europe in order to benefit with trade from them. Folks, at that time, were preparing for recognition of a number of European states that they had not yet recognized, and were thus still technically subject to having their vessel seized by Moroccan corsairs who operated under license from the *makhzan*. So, at the very end of a long list of mostly-German and Italian city-states, the American states were added. That's how the U.S. got recognized.

ALBRECHT: I had no idea.

BOOKIN-WEINER: All of this happened between September and December of 1777. the published documents from the period, which consist of basically the letters of the French-Consul in Sale (really, Rabat), don't contain anything about this. But there are

notations of documents that weren't included, and there's one – I can't remember the date of it, but it's in November or December of 1777 – that is listed in the published volume just as 'various items' with no contents at all. So, I went looking for the documents that weren't published, in the French archives, and found a description of this, and then went back to the British sources knowing the name of the ship and the timing and everything, and looked at the British documents from Gibraltar and Morocco, and it was all there. My guess is that I was probably the first American to be aware of this. Even at the time, I don't think they were.

ALBRECHT: I definitely haven't heard this history before, and it's very interesting to hear.

BOOKIN-WEINER: What happened was, the Sultan appointed people to approach the various states that he had recognized in order to get treaties with them, and the person that he appointed to approach the Americans is someone who was very much out of favor with French authorities. He was French. And so when letters arrived from him to the American peace negotiators in Europe, they went to their French counterparts and said, "Look at this letter that we got. What can you tell us about this guy? Should we take it seriously?" And they were basically told that he was a scoundrel, and that they should ignore it. So nothing happened at that point. And it wasn't until 1785, when after more approaches were ignored, the Moroccans finally seized another ship with the express purpose of getting the American's attention, and to negotiate. That's what led to the treaty.

ALBRECHT: That's definitely a very different narrative than what I've heard before. I'm excited to incorporate that into my project.

BOOKIN-WEINER: Both of those ships – both the original British one in 1777 and the actual American one in 1785 – were taken to Tangier.

ALBRECHT: Do you know where in Tangier they're currently hosted?

BOOKIN-WEINER: At that time? I don't really know the geography of the port at that point.

ALBRECHT: I was just curious.

BOOKIN-WEINER: Probably near the medina. That's probably where the port was, down the hill from the Legation.

ALBRECHT: It all comes back to the Legation. That's really intriguing to hear, thank you so much for sharing that. Is there anything else you'd like to share?

BOOKIN-WEINER: Nothing else, really. I think it's because of that research that I did, and hosting the conference which was cosponsored by Old Dominion University, where I was at the time, and Mohammed V University, that I was asked to join these various things.

ALBRECHT: I'm out of questions. I'm very much willing to hear anything else you have to say in regards to Tangier and the Legation, but I don't want to take up too much of your morning.

BOOKIN-WEINER: I don't know that I really have anything else to add.

ALBRECHT: Well, you have my e-mail and my phone number. If you think of anything else you'd like to share, feel free.

BOOKIN-WEINER: Okay. And if anything else occurs to you, just get in touch.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. Thank you so much for speaking with me.

BOOKIN-WEINER: You're welcome.

Diane Ponasik Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Tuesday, 2/9/2016 — Hanover, New Hampshire – via telephone

ALBRECHT: So, the way these interviews have been taking place is pretty laidback, pretty informal. I really just want to hear about your involvement with the Legation, with TALIM, your history with it, how you feel about it, what you think about its work... I do have some guiding questions that I would like to ask you, but we can really just see where the conversation goes. So, to start us off – how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

PONASIK: Oh, when I was in the Peace Corps, we went up to visit a couple of times. That was in 1965 to 1967. Later, I was working on Peace Corps training – about 1970 – and the Legation was used as a training site for the Peace Corps at that point. My husband was also working for the Peace Corps at that point, and was in charge of a lot of the training. I was in Rabat, working on my dissertation. I would go up there every weekend to visit him. (**ALBRECHT:** That's wonderful.) Yeah, there are a lot of nice memories there because of that.

ALBRECHT: When did you start working with the Legation again, and with TALIM, after you left the Peace Corps?

PONASIK: Quite a bit after that – about 2000, something like that – I decided to write a novel about Morocco at the turn of the 20th century. And I based it at the Legation, because I knew the Legation pretty well, and I thought that Tangier was a good spot [for a story] because of all of the shenanigans that were going on at that time. I wrote the novel, and then I decided to go and visit [the Legation] when I went back to Morocco for my daughter's wedding in 2005. I decided I should go visit, since I had not actually seen it in years. When I went, I went with Susan Davis, who is another friend of mine. We met Thor [Kuniholm], and he invited both of us to become members of TALIM. So there was this big 30 year gap between when I had been there.

ALBRECHT: Did you know Thor before you went back to the Legation for your daughter's wedding?

PONASIK: No, no I did not. But it's very funny what they say about five degrees of separation, because we had been stationed in Egypt and got to know his daughter quite well! She had been teaching there with my husband. We sort of knew about Thor, long before we ever met him, from Lydia, his daughter.

ALBRECHT: Wow. It's a small world. (**PONASIK:** An amazingly small world.) Have you been able to visit the Legation since, in the past 10 years or so?

PONASIK: I haven't, actually. I haven't been back since 2005. I'm looking forward to going back this year for the 40th anniversary, I think it'll be fun to see it again.

ALBRECHT: When you were a Peace Corps Volunteer and visited back in the 1960s, and then later on when it was a training center, what were some of your impressions about the building, about its history and purpose? What was your experience like?

PONASIK: Well, I was always fascinated by the fact that it was such a gorgeous old building. It didn't look anything as elegant as it looks now. It was pretty run-down, the Peace Corps didn't really have nice furniture or anything. But I was always aware of its significance, historically, and in awe of that. There was a little bit more to it than there is now, too, because — if you're walking into the Legation, on the left, where the main little entrance is, there was a whole extra building to the left of that, which was at that point used as dorms for the Peace Corps. It was a really neat, old, very Moroccan house. It went up in a tower, and there were three or four rooms around the little central courtyard. I don't think that's there anymore, or that the Legation owns it anymore.

ALBRECHT: I'll have to look at that, talk to John Davison about it.

PONASIK: Yeah, he might remember that, though John was a lot later in the Peace Corps. Somebody you should talk to would be Jim Lawrence. He actually managed the Legation for quite some time when it was under Peace Corps control.

ALBRECHT: I'll have to contact him.

PONASIK: Yeah, you should try to contact him. He's very sentimental about it. He lived there for at least two years, in the early 1970s.

ALBRECHT: What were some of your most cherished memories from that time, working as a Peace Corps volunteer? Specifically, any involving the Legation.

PONASIK: Oh, none [regarding the Legation]. I wasn't stationed there, I was stationed in central Morocco. I was working on community development projects with women. There wasn't any connection. The Legation was just a place we went as tourists.

ALBRECHT: Doesn't TALIM now do some community development with women? Aren't there some language and literacy programs? I remember learning about that.

PONASIK: It's quite possible. You mean where, in Tangier?

ALBRECHT: Yes, in Tangier, at the Legation.

PONASIK: Yeah. I don't know, it's quite possible. I was living closer to Meknes, so I don't know what kind of programs Tangier has.

ALBRECHT: Throughout the past year, as I've been researching TALIM in its current state, I've been learning more about the kinds of programs TALIM offers. They do a lot on community development, specifically regarding female education and empowerment.

PONASIK: Yeah, they've really done a nice job trying to work with the medina, incorporating it. I like what they're doing a lot, in that respect. What I was going to say though, Emily, what I know a little bit more about – soon after I became the secretary of TALIM, the previous secretary [Winnie Weislogel] had all of these documents that went back to the beginning of the foundation of TALIM, or TALMS, as it used to be called. I think it was founded in about 1980? Something like that? I went through all of that material with her, and Tim [Resch] helped. I think I did the first part alone, and then he came in. Among other things, I was just trying to sort out what needed to be kept, and what didn't. I hope I didn't have too heavy of a hand, I'm a big thrower-away of things. There were all of these interesting documents and correspondence. Has Tim talked to you about any of this?

ALBRECHT: He has not, no.

PONASIK: It started with this guy whose name will eventually come into my head, who worked for USIA. In fact, a lot of the guys who were around in the beginning [of TALIM] worked for USIA, the information service. They were transferred over by Peace Corps, during that period. They were floundering around in a way. They decided to make it into a museum, so that it would really have a cultural emphasis. It was called "Tangier American Legation Museum Society." Those guys – I'll get their names for you, I can't think of them now – one of them was Eastman, Hal Eastman.

ALBRECHT: I have actually interviewed Hal Eastman, he's a very nice man.

PONASIK: Very nice. Maybe he mentioned the name of this other guy, whose name I'm blanking out on. But I'll find it for you. So they started trying to collect some of the old furniture and paintings. Then, there was a lot of talk at the beginning whether Moroccans should be a part of this. At the beginning, they were very active in the museum as it was at that time. There came a point – and this was all in those archives – when maybe the Americans were a little bit afraid that the Moroccans would take it over, and then it would become something other than what they wanted. There was quite a power struggle. After that, it really became mostly American. For a long time, there were no Moroccan members at all. There was a thought at the beginning that it could be a more scholarly – well, there's always been a hope that it would be more scholarly – and there was also a hope that it could be for the Moroccans as well as the Americans.

ALBRECHT: It is really interesting to hear of the development of it, like that. What would you say is the main goal or purpose of TALIM today, as you see it?

PONASIK: That's a really good question. I know that Bill Zartman really wanted it to be a scholarly institution. AIMS and CAORC would fulfill part of that. It wouldn't be just Moroccan, but cover the Maghreb, and have Algeria and Tunisia involved, at least. And they do that. They do have this April seminar every year, though quite honestly I don't know that it has much of an influence, if you want my personal opinion.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely, I want your personal opinion. That's why I'm doing these interviews.

PONASIK: Because I know that was always Bill's dream, that we would have this important conference every year, like some of those that they have in Italy and everything. That it would have this big relation to the government, and give them ideas about where they could go in higher education. My suspicion is that it was not taken nearly as seriously by the government as it was by us. So, I think that really has been kind of the goal, at least under Bill and probably under Dale. I can't think of Dale actually having said that, though, exactly that way. But they still have kind of that museum quality. I know that it was really very upsetting to some of the old-timers when we changed the name of it, from the Tangier American Legation Museum [Society] to the Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies. They felt at that point that the museum part of it was dropped. I know Hal Eastman felt very strongly about that. And, this other guy whose name I just can't remember... I have to get it for you. He actually ran the Legation for a long time. Ben, something or other? Hal must have mentioned it to you.

ALBRECHT: Ben Dixon?

PONASIK: Dixon! That's it. There is a lot of correspondence going back and forth... He wasn't a very good manager, then they'd get mad at Washington, then there was never enough money, etcetera. I think finally, he was eased out. We should check the weather on that. Certainly, Hal Eastman would know that. And so would Carl Coon, if you've talked to Carl.

ALBRECHT: I have, yes. Wonderful man.

PONASIK: They really have not had much to do with TALIM since its name was changed, to be honest. Which is really too bad. But on the other hand, they're all getting on in years, and they have other things to think about. But I thought all of that was quite interesting. There's a lot of varying back-and-forth for a long time – what would be its goal, etcetera. We really need to preserve this wonderful old building, but then if we do, what are we going to do with it? How academic should it be, how much should it just be a museum... I guess in a way, I feel that they've found a happy medium on it, with the reservation that it's really not – I don't think, at least, and maybe I'm entirely wrong – I don't think it has much influence on the thinking of the Moroccan government.

ALBRECHT: Have you personally seen much of a decline in the museum activities with that name change, or do you think that TALIM still functions as both an academic institution and community development organization, and a museum?

PONASIK: I think it still does. I think it definitely has that goal in mind, to do all of those things. I haven't said anything much about the medina activities, but I think that's also very important, as a matter of fact. I think it would be hard for it to be as well-incorporated into the community if it didn't do that.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. What do you see as TALIM's purpose, going into the future, given that you're the secretary and have been able to witness a lot of what it's been working with?

PONASIK: The part of it that I never understood very well, and that's partially because I'm not very involved in it, is the CAORC and AIMS thing. That's probably going to continue to be important, which means that in some ways, as well as being academic, it's also going to be sort of a training institution. People will come there to study Arabic.

It entertains scholars from those other countries who are in Morocco to do research and that kind of thing. I think that will probably continue to be an important role. I think academically it's always going to be a great place for students like yourself who are studying about Morocco to come. It's got a good library, and it's getting better and better, I think. Where else can you go in Morocco? Really, it's one of the major sources of information that has a lot of English as well as French and Arabic. I continue to see that as an important role. To me, those are probably the more important things. Hopefully, it will continue to generate think pieces about Morocco, which may or may not get a lot of attention from the government. I just don't know what more they can do on that.

ALBRECHT: I completely agree. Honestly, when I visited Morocco and studied abroad there in the spring of 2014, visiting the Legation was definitely a highlight. It really centered our trip to Tangier, and I think really opened us up to a new world, which was really exciting.

PONASIK: When I was doing my research there, which was in the 1970s, there really wasn't anything like that. And if there was, I certainly didn't know about it, and no one else seemed to be talking about it either. You could go to the library in Rabat, but as far as I was aware there wasn't that source that exists now where you could really get quite a bit of material. Not to mention, you know, just coming into contact with other students, of course. I mean, the Fulbright office never really did that. Maybe it does it better now, I don't know.

ALBRECHT: I had a friend who was going to do a Fulbright in Morocco, but the situation changed. I wish she had, because then I'd be able to answer your question.

PONASIK: It'd be interesting to know nowadays what people think, because at that time the Fulbright functioned through USIA. It was just one of many things that they did, and they maybe had one dinner party during that time for us. It was not a big deal, let's put it that way. We did all get to know each other, one way or another. I think it's nice if there is kind of a place, however, where you can learn who else is studying there, and how you can maybe contact them. All of that would be easier these days of course, with e-mailing and iPhones. It's just amazing. It wasn't like that, when we were there.

ALBRECHT: Is there anything else that you would like me to know, or that you would like to touch upon? About the Legation, about TALIM, memories, recollections, your perceptions and experiences?

PONASIK: No, I think if you had a chance — and maybe Tim can also read some of this stuff — now that we've combed through some of that material, if you have a chance to simply get a hold of the files on correspondence and read through them. If you haven't been able to do that, you should really do that. It wouldn't be that hard, because I threw out thousands of these things. I think you can get a good idea of it without spending more than maybe a couple of hours on it.

ALBRECHT: Where would I find those files?

PONASIK: Tim has them.

ALBRECHT: Ah, okay. So that is what he has sent to me previously, I think.

PONASIK: He's somewhere in Senegal, but he'll be back in early March. You might ask Dale if that material ever got transferred to AIMS, because it could be in the AIMS office, which would make it easier for you. Tim was trying to get it all on CDs of some kind. You might ask Dale if that ever actually happened, or you could also contact Mary-Ellen Lane.

ALBRECHT: I'll absolutely try to do that.

PONASIK: It would be really worth it to read through it, if you're trying to do kind of a history. Because I threw out so much, there's really not that much there to read through. I threw out memos, stuff that didn't have any information on it. Just the core is there. A lot of back-and-forth with the Moroccans. Then, you know, Elena [Prentice] ran it for a while, too. You should probably talk to her.

ALBRECHT: Elena! Yes, I've spoken with Elena. We had a very nice interview.

PONASIK: Good, because she's a fountain of information, I'm sure.

ALBRECHT: Oh, absolutely. And of connections, people to talk to.

PONASIK: Absolutely. Are you going to come to the meeting in April?

ALBRECHT: I am! I actually just sent the information to my advisor to book the flights today. I should be there for the first 10 days of April.

PONASIK: Oh, that's great! You're going to go a little early, that's really good. How are you going to go? Are you going through Madrid?

ALBRECHT: It looks like I'll do Boston to Philadelphia to Madrid to Tangier, then on the way back, Tangier to Lisbon to Madrid to Boston. It's a bit strange.

PONASIK: It's kind of a drag, but it seems like that's the way to do it. I've looked at everything I could, and until you get way up into the 1,000s of dollars, you have to do it that way.

ALBRECHT: I find it kind of fun! Exciting, you know?

PONASIK: I guess so. I have a connection — I have to go to Casablanca before I come back — and I have to leave Casa at 5:00 AM to Madrid, where I have to sit for 5 hours. So that does not sound so thrilling.

ALBRECHT: That is less thrilling, absolutely.

PONASIK: I couldn't find any way to get around it, so I guess that's what I'm going to have to do.

ALBRECHT: I guess so. Sometimes you just have to do what you have to do.

PONASIK: But that's good, I'm glad you'll be there. I'm looking forward to it, I think it'll be fun.

ALBRECHT: I'm very much looking forward to it as well. Is there anything else that you'd like to add?

PONASIK: No, I can't really think of anything, except that I think it really might be fun to talk to Jim Lawrence, because he was there during those critical years right before it turned over to the State, and I think that might be fun to find out more about the early Peace Corps days.

ALBRECHT: I will definitely try and reach out to him, thank you so much.

PONASIK: Good!

ALBRECHT: Thank you so much for chatting with me, I've really enjoyed hearing what you've had to say. If there's ever anything else you want to talk about, or add, just shoot me an e-mail and I'll be here.

PONASIK: Okay, great. Something might come to mind. If not, I'll see you in April!

ALBRECHT: See you in April! (**PONASIK:** Okay, bye.) Bye.

Michael Toler Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Tuesday, 2/16/2016 — Hanover, New Hampshire – via telephone

ALBRECHT: These interviews have been really laidback, and conversational. I have some guiding questions but really, I just want to hear about your memories regarding the Legation and your time with TALIM. Just to start us out: how did you first become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

TOLER: I was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco. It's kind of a long story. I did two years at the Faculty of Letters in El Jadida, and I wanted to extend — in part because my service had been interrupted for a few months because of the Gulf War. I had visited the Legation, visited with Thor Kuniholm (the then-Director). He had a lot of interesting and good ideas. With the Peace Corps, we worked out a deal where I would be teaching at the King Fahd School of Translation, and working at the Legation. Basically, it was kind of a dual-assignment. That was in 1992. I was there for two and a half years, and then I went to Al Akhawayn to teach, and then after that I went home. At a certain point, I'm not quite as clear on... I remained involved, however. Pretty soon, the first thing I did after coming home to the United States in 1996 was setting up [TALMS/TALIM's] first website. Eventually, I was made a Fellow, and put on the Board. So I've been involved since 1992.

ALBRECHT: Have you spent much time at the Legation in Tangier, or has most of your work been from abroad?

TOLER: Well, for the two and a half years I was in Morocco, it was at the Legation. I catalogued the library, I set up a small little resource center that is now sort of redundant with Internet access, but it was for teachers and students learning English. In the 1990s, Morocco didn't have Internet yet. I set that [resource center] up in the galleries off the side of the courtyard. I worked in the cataloguing of collections, guided some visitors, etcetera. At that time, there was only the Resident Director, and then he had hired two maintenance people. He gradually expanded the staff.

ALBRECHT: So, what's your experience with the Legation been like? Both while you were physically there, as a Peace Corps Volunteer, and in the years since?

TOLER: It's been great. It's such an important site. Not a lot of people — myself included — who are into Morocco are aware of the history of U.S.-Moroccan relations. I think, especially in this day and age, that's so important, because Morocco is a 90-some-percent Muslim country, and the mythology that people are putting forward now is

that the West and Islam are bound for an inevitable clash of civilizations, and that's just not true. There's no better evidence of that than the long relationship between the U.S. and Morocco, symbolized by the Legation. So, it was good. There have been frustrations, of course, but it was great working there. It was great living in Tangier. It's been rewarding to be involved since. It took us a long time – other than setting up the website – to come around to using technology, and that's something I was pushing for from the beginning. So, that's rewarding. It's just been good. I like going to the meetings, even though it's a bit of a trip for me.

ALBRECHT: What have some of your most cherished memories from this time been?

TOLER: Probably from working there, from the students I worked with there. We set up and ran this English language resource center. At that time, too, the American Language Center wasn't anywhere near as active as it is now. So, we set up this English language resource center, mostly thinking of college students studying English. During the year, it was only open on weekends, when they weren't in class. During the summer, we ran courses that were related to and prepared them for their university program. Morocco has a – or at least had, I'm not sure if this has changed – a fixed program where everyone who is a first-year does these classes, everyone who is a second-year does these classes, and then third and fourth year you can divide off into either Linguistics or Literature. Depending on what you divide off into, you do certain courses. So there's not a lot of... So we knew exactly what they were going to be studying, at least the topics. The professor has some leeway in the syllabus, but we knew that they would have courses in American Civilization, British Civilization, Introduction to Literature, First-Year Composition, Second-Year Composition, etcetera. So we set up these courses that we taught during the summer. I had a friend who helped me out with some of them – Rashid Anani, who actually got his Master's degree there at Dartmouth. He helped me out with. That was probably the best. I felt like the students really appreciated the effort.

ALBRECHT: I'm sorry if you said this, but when did these classes start?

TOLER: I'm not sure when we did them. I think we started them... The first thing I did was build the library, and that was thousands of books. Probably about three thousand books, or something like that, that were all donated from the United States and shipping was paid for by donors in the United States, mostly through my activities, and the activities of my family. My mother and father were very supportive. So we set that up. It was set up before we started the classes. We must have started them my first year

there, or my second year there. I think we must have started them my second year there, in 1993.

ALBRECHT: That's the year I was born. How have those classes developed over the last 22 years? Are they still up and running at the Legation, have they evolved?

TOLER: Yes and no. The English language resource center is more-or-less no longer existent, but it was transformed into – when they started the women's literacy program, they started using the books that were relevant to that to support that, and then they took over the classroom. So the women's literacy classes are right out of there. As I mentioned, once the Internet came to Morocco, – which happened actually (or started) while I was still in Tangier in 1996... It really didn't get going for another two or three years, or more, maybe – the general-interest English library wasn't as important. It didn't have very much that they couldn't get online somehow. And if they just wanted to practice, they could do that reading text online. You'd have to ask Thor Kuniholm or Jerry Loftus. I'm not sure who was the Director when it was discontinued. I'm not sure how long it stayed open. I know it stayed open until at least... The first time I went back was... I'd have to double-check that. But I think it was 2003, and it was still open, the library was still open. It's relatively recently that they shifted over to the women's literacy program. So, it was the same Director, Thor Kuniholm, who started the women's literacy program. But I'm not sure what year, I'd have to look at my records.

ALBRECHT: Now, what were some of your least favorite memories from this time?

TOLER: I don't know. Maybe it's nostalgia, but from that time, while I was there, I don't have many unpleasant memories. There was an incident where a book disappeared, a book that was very popular and very useful – a linguistics book – to the university curriculum, and I was ticked off that this person had taken it. I sent him a message, and he came in, and was just outraged that I would – even though I said, I was very diplomatic, and I said "it has been said that you have it, and if you do, please return it" – he was outraged, he was really upset. So that was unpleasant. He thought I had accused him of theft when really I was just trying to follow up on a lead. He was a great student, a very nice guy. I wish that hadn't happened.

ALBRECHT: That sounds difficult.

TOLER: I think I may have been caught in a personal rivalry between him and the young man who told me it was him. In fact, maybe it was the man who told me it was

him that stole it. Who knows? But it stayed disappeared. That's really it. Well, and it was a lot of work, especially gathering together all the books and shipping them over there and setting up the library. There was a local woman who helped us to catalogue them. It was a lot of work, and a lot of hours. But, you know, I was young and didn't have anything else to do. That's what I was in Morocco for, so. It wasn't so bad. In the years since, again, most of my memories are good. I don't think I've had any kind of a really unpleasant memory. Sometimes the meetings go a little long, and are a little boring. But that's the nature of meetings. I've met some great people, I've really enjoyed it – like what you have been doing now, speaking with Hal Eastman, and Dale [Eickelman], and all of the people who have been involved in the Legation for a long time, like Bill Zartman, etcetera.

ALBRECHT: I've spoken with all of them, and it's been really interesting thus far. So, when your Peace Corps rotation was completed, how did leaving the Legation make you feel?

TOLER: Well, my term was completed after my 4th year, but I stayed on for another year and a half in Morocco – half a year at the Legation, before I was lured away to Al Akhawayn. The Director of the King Fahd school took me on as an adjunct, and I used that money to support myself in Tangier. And then he recommended me for the job at Al Akhawayn University, and I went there. That was tough, a little tough. I don't think Thor was thrilled to see me go. He had depended on me for a lot of things. I think that was a little tough. I left Morocco a year and a half later. I do have one other bad memory, now that I think about it. Thor had gone to the States – Directors go a couple of times a year, three times a year or something like that – and my good friend Rosemary DuBarry was put in charge as sort of Acting Director. Thor was coming back, and I was sent to the market with 400 dirhams to buy supplies – food, other things, I don't remember what it was to be honest – to buy things for the Legation. These two kids teamed up. One of them was trying to sell me a plastic bag, and the other one pickpocketed the 400 dirhams. I caught the kid who was trying to sell me the bag, the other kid had gone away. I took him to the police station, which was just above the hill. Somebody helped me, this other man helped me. The kid was sort of begging along the way – “please don't take me there, please don't take me there.” As soon as we got in, the officer that was listening to the complaint, smacked the kid really hard – he was probably about 12 – really, really hard on the head and said “Where's his money! Where's his money!” and that just, that was awful. It had to be reported, though. It wasn't my money, so I didn't have the luxury of saying “Well, I can just eat that loss.”

ALBRECHT: That's always a really rough call.

TOLER: Yeah, that was not a pleasant experience. The next day, or later that day – the next day, I think – his mother came to me in the streets and said “Please go talk to them, get them to let my son go.” But I couldn’t, they wouldn’t allow me to do that. They never did get the money back. They said they got the other kid as well.

ALBRECHT: I can’t even imagine what I would do, or how I would be feeling in that situation. I imagine that you’d be really conflicted.

TOLER: It’s just one of those things that happens, and I did what I could.

ALBRECHT: So it goes.

TOLER: I also got pickpocketed another time in Tangier. This is just a funny story. Two other Peace Corps Volunteers, a husband-and-wife team, were staying in Rosemary’s house. I was keeping them company, because Rosemary was in Rabat, doing the Peace Corps training. Jenny and... I can’t remember his name. Anyways, her husband was taking a shower, and I had somewhere to be, so I told Jenny I would take her out and show her how to get out of the medina and into the Grand Socco. We were walking along, and – I talk with my hands, you know, I’m Italian – I was explaining to her that you have to be very careful about pickpockets there, because the streets narrow quite a bit. There’s never much violent crime, but at least then, there was a lot of petty crime. I didn’t feel like she was really listening to me, or taking me seriously. So, in the way I do, I took my hand out of my pocket, and I pointed to her and I said, “I’m serious, Jenny, you have to be really careful.” And then I put my hand back in my pocket, and I said, “Aaand my wallet is gone.” And she of course thought I was joking, and said “Okay, I got the point. What are you going on about?” And I said “No, Jenny, my wallet is gone.” So literally in that three seconds, somebody got my wallet. I used to keep it in my pocket and keep my hand on it the whole time. But I pulled it out to make a point. Someone gave me back my ID card, but I never got back my wallet, which caused me trouble coming back home. All I had was a passport and a Moroccan ID card, so they were a little suspicious.

ALBRECHT: Pickpocketing is always the worst, honestly. You never think it’s going to happen to you, and then, what do you know.

TOLER: Tangier has a reputation, even more so then – it’s a little better now – for being very violent and dangerous, but I never had a problem. I lived in the *Kasbah*, at the top of the medina, and the Legation is down at the bottom of the Legation, close to

the harbor. I would walk home late at night, come down in the morning when the streets were basically empty, and I never had any trouble – except for, you know, the pickpocketing.

ALBRECHT: Now, just to sort of steer the conversation back to the Legation: what do you see as the main purpose or goal of TALIM and the Legation?

TOLER: That's a very good question. And I think it's many-fold. It's become, increasingly, a research center, and a center for learning. We have an excellent – small, but very specialized – research library there that I've been trying to promote as actively as I can. We have a collection that has grown considerably from its original origins from Donald Angus in 1976 of photographs, artwork, various antique items, and things like that. It's important, there are some very important things. I think, arguably, that it's most important function goes back to what I said earlier. It's a National Historic Landmark of the United States and it's in Morocco, so it's this monument to the possibility of peaceful relations – like I said, it really undermines the whole narrative of East versus West, “they're out to get us,” etcetera, etcetera, that you hear all the time from the right-wing in this country and from the religious radicals in that part of the world. It's also important architecturally, it's a significant building. Well, I should say set of buildings; there have been at least three construction phases. *[counts out to three]* Yeah, at least three. So, it's important, I think, as a monument to the power of diplomacy, the power of peaceful relations, and the power of good contacts – George Washington writing a humble letter back in the 18th century.

ALBRECHT: Did that goal change from your work with the Legation back in the early 1990s to your time with TALIM now? Have you seen an evolution of that goal?

TOLER: The biggest change I've seen – and it started with Thor when I was there, and Jerry did it a little bit, but John has really run full-on with it – for example, we're digitizing the glass negatives, I continue to work with the Legation on a lot of things with ARCHNET that we're doing... So the biggest change has been, I think – this was all before my time – before Thor, at least, it was sort of this precious little hideaway in the medina that didn't really have much to do with the community. It's gone on to become essential to the Medina Foundation of Tangier. They've gone on to do these literature classes. John has really, really opened things up in terms of events, cultural events, to the wider community. I think that's so important, and a little brave, as well. In a time where it seems like you can't do an event in the U.S. without massive security, he has more-or-less flung open the doors. I'm very proud of that, and very happy about that. So that's probably it's biggest change, is its involvement in the Moroccan

community. Other changes have come through, for example AIMS, when they started the exchange program that takes the scholars from one country in the Maghreb to another country in the Maghreb. That was an AIMS initiative, but the Legation Director coordinated that for Morocco. So that has also made it better-known within the Maghreb – within Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria. I suppose potentially also Mauritania and Libya. The annual conference... there have been a lot of changes. When Thor took over, he had a huge amount of refurbishing to do – the place was a mess! An absolute mess! And that never stops. Tangier is a seismically unstable area, built on what's essentially rubble, so the repairs and rebuilding never stop. But Thor got the worst of it, so that was really his big effort. He got most of the furniture and all of that when he was there. And then towards the end, when he had done all of that, he began to make it much more accountable to the community. And that's the biggest change that's been useful and important.

ALBRECHT: That's a really valuable perspective, that's really interesting.

TOLER: Thank you. I hope I'm right in characterizing it that way. I can't really say what happened under which director, just because in part I don't remember, and – especially once I left – there's a period where I didn't get back to Morocco for a long time, maybe eight or nine years. The first time I went back to Morocco recently was when Jerry [Loftus] first took over, and then I never got back while he was still Director after that. So all of that is to say that I can't really tell you who did what without going back and looking at the newsletters or something. But, there's definitely been a major shift in our service to the community.

ALBRECHT: How do you think your presence has impacted the Legation over the years?

TOLER: *[laughs]* That's a good question. I hope positively! I certainly work very hard to promote it whenever I can, I'm very active online. Like I said, I set up the web presence. I used to maintain – now, it's been taken over in Tangier – all of our social media presences. And then just talking it up, bringing my friends to the receptions, and just trying to make sure that people are aware of it. The other thing is, the work and the financial support – I set it up, I pay the bills, and everything like that, and maintained it most of the time. There were a few years where there was a local web developer who was maintaining it, and then when Thor left, he stopped getting paid, and that ended up causing us a big problem. He wasn't very cooperative with turning over the log-in information, which he had changed, so now we insist on doing everything ourselves. Those are probably the biggest impacts I've had. And then also, you know, I can't take

credit for this – our program head and Rashid Anani are really equally able to take credit for it – but getting the Paul Bowles recordings into ARCHNET and digitizing, cataloguing, and uploading the glass negatives. Which are an amazing, amazing set of images from a period that is not very well documented, you know, from when Tangier was an international zone. So I'm very proud of that. And that continues. That's been a big, the two of those have been big projects. Jerry [Loftus] originally had the Paul Bowles recordings digitized with the Library of Congress, and then we worked with the Library of Congress and the MIT Archives – the Aga Khan documentation center at MIT – and Wellesley College to send interns for two summers. A third group is going this summer, to digitize and catalogue. I trained them both summers. So that was a pretty major undertaking, and one that I think will be extremely useful to scholars. I'm always very pleased when we undertake work that supports or allows for other scholarship. Just a brief note about the glass negatives – glass negatives are extremely fragile, and extremely volatile. These ones date from the late 19th century to probably about 1940. They're not in the best of shape. I want to say they're 4" by 5", but I'd have to check the negatives. They're not big. You really can't have people handling them, because every time skin oil gets on them they degenerate, and there's a chance of breaking them, etcetera. Even if you do handle them, by holding them up to the light, you don't see very much. Digitizing them has made these images come alive; you can see them in more detail than you could with your naked eye, unless you enlarged them.

ALBRECHT: That's really cool that you managed to digitize all of those materials. I know that I'll be looking at them for this project, and I look forward to spending some time at the library when I'm in Tangier.

TOLER: That's good, yeah. That would be great. When are you going?

ALBRECHT: In April, for the 40th.

TOLER: For the meeting, yeah, that's what I thought. I think I'm going as well, it'll be very nice.

ALBRECHT: That'll be wonderful. I am all out of questions; is there anything else that you'd like to talk about, or that you'd like to say? I'm just interested in any of your memories or experiences regarding the Legation.

TOLER: I'm sure others will come to mind, but I can't really think of any offhand. I can tell you a little bit about my aspirations and dreams. I would like to see the library developed a lot more, and see more of the collection digitized. Tangier is relatively out

of the way, especially for Moroccans – although now that the rails and highways are so much better, it's less out of the way than it used to be. But still, if you're a researcher, you would still have to go over there. And we don't have enough to warrant a major trip. So, I think the more that we can do to make our materials available to the public, the better. So, that's one of my aspirations. And maybe even bring some of the artwork online, etcetera. My other big aspiration is that I'm very concerned about the glass negatives. Ideally, they wouldn't be in a place where the climate varies as much, and is as humid as Tangier is. Ideally, they'd be in cold storage somewhere, and people would only be using the scans, unless they absolutely needed the negatives for some reason. John has made a lot of improvements in that area. He put the rare books into a rare book room, where they're locked up, as opposed to being on the shelf where anybody could just take one and walk away. And we've had that happen. He's made progress on locking those up. But I'm concerned about... I wish we could climate-control and humidity-control the whole library, and major parts of the museum. There's just a major issue with mold. I've seen paintings and maps almost destroyed by mold growing on the back that nobody even knew was happening until they were taken down for a repair to the wall, or something like that. Then, they notice these problems.

ALBRECHT: I think that those are wonderful aspirations, and hopefully we'll be able to see some of those changes in the coming years.

TOLER: I hope so. I think the more people become aware of our mission, the more willing they are to support it. I think that's a hopeful sign. Not just because he's your professor and you're working with him, but I'm thrilled that Dale [Eickelman] is our President. I think he's really got us on-mission, looking at the things we need to look at, and then that John [Davison] is our Director. No reflection on the previous presidents or directors, but I do feel that they're both exceptional, and will advance our cause considerably. That's really all I have to say. Do you have the addresses for the Paul Bowles music collection and the glass negatives?

ALBRECHT: I don't, no.

TOLER: I'll send you those. Is there anything else you need from me in terms of things or information? Just let me know.

ALBRECHT: I don't have anything on my mind right now, but if anything comes up, I'll be sure to e-mail you. Thank you so much for your help, and for spending some of your time tonight speaking with me. I really appreciate it.

TOLER: Thank you, thank you. I'm sorry that it took us so long to get it together.

ALBRECHT: Oh no, that's quite all right! That's life.

TOLER: I hope this was helpful. The really interesting people are the ones that you've spoken to, the ones who were there in 1976. I took a group of friends, we had organization a panel formation, and I invited them to the reception. It was a year that the reception wasn't all that well-attended. There were six of us, and we got Hal Eastman in a corner, and he just told the greatest stories, and kept us spellbound for an hour or more. They're the most interesting people to talk to, the ones who actually got things taken care of.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely, yeah. They're incredible.

TOLER: All right! Unless you have anything else, I guess we'll finish this call.

ALBRECHT: Have an excellent night, Michael. Thank you for speaking with me.

TOLER: You too. And thank you for calling.

Lisa Abuhamad Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Friday, 2/19/2016 — Hanover, New Hampshire – via Skype

ALBRECHT: Thank you so, so much for talking with me tonight – I really appreciate it. I want to hear about your insights and experiences in Morocco, and specifically, with the Legation. These interviews have been really laidback, and conversational. I have some guiding questions which I sent you via email a few days ago. Really, I honestly want to see where the conversation takes us, and hear whatever you have to say. Just to start us out: how did you first hear about or become involved with the Tangier American Legation?

ABUHAMAD: I was in Morocco from 1982 to 1985. In 1983, there were other [Peace Corps] volunteers in Tetouan. Tetouan is outside of Tangier. We didn't have volunteers in Tangier, but we had volunteers in Tetouan. But they were close enough that they would go into Tangier. It was one of those volunteers who brought me into Tangier and introduced me to Dr. Shea, who was the Director [of the Legation] at the time. It was probably 1983 the first time I went, and met Dr. Shea. In 1984 was when Valerie Staats went up there to work for the summer, and I visited her when she was there. I also visited with my parents; I have a photo album here from when we went up to visit Bob Shea. I toured the Legation. So, I went several times. It is one of my favorite places. I also stayed in touch with Dr. Shea when he became Father Shea. I'm back here in Dallas, and he actually had a twin brother who lived here in Dallas. His brother had passed away, but his sister-in-law was still alive and he came to visit one time, and we got together in Dallas. I also saw him in his position in New York City, running one of these Catholic Hospitals.

ALBRECHT: Earlier, before I had started the recording, you had mentioned that you are going to Morocco in a few weeks. Is that the first time you've been back since that period?

ABUHAMAD: I COS-ed – close of service – in 1985, but I returned in the summer for a few weeks in 1987 and 1988. So my last trip back was in 1988. That didn't have anything to do with the Peace Corps – it more visiting friends, seeing friends going through weddings. It was just vacation.

ALBRECHT: Did you visit the Legation in 1988?

ABUHAMAD: I don't remember. I don't know. I was definitely there in 1985. When I went back in 1987 and 1988, I can't remember if I went back to the Legation.

ALBRECHT: What was your experience like with Dr. Shea and Valerie and at the Legation overall?

ABUHAMAD: Well, I didn't work there. I wasn't employed there, or even volunteering there. Whenever I went, it was just as a visitor.

ALBRECHT: As a visitor, how was your experience?

ABUHAMAD: It was just wonderful. Dr. Shea was a very traditional, older man, but he was very cool. There are things that I think Valerie may have told you. He wasn't too fond... Not that he wasn't too fond of me. He just certainly wasn't in the same circles [as me]. The man who introduced me to Bob Shea was Valerie's other friend, who was also very interested in Paul Bowles. But even he, they were in different circles. Valerie and I — and she told you this story — actually got to see Paul Bowles. It was because Bob Shea said "Okay, I'm not going to go, I don't really condone it, but go ahead and go. Here's the address of his house." He didn't make the introduction, but he facilitated it by letting us know the time of day and the location.

ALBRECHT: What was meeting Paul Bowles like? To be honest, he's one of my favorite authors. The *Sheltering Sky* is a work of art. I can't believe you got to meet him! What was he like?

ABUHAMAD: He was a very unassuming man. He was living with his partner, his partner opened the door. I was more impressed to meet him, though I can't remember his name. Paul Bowles translated his work, and I had read his work in translation. I have that book — give me a moment to go find it. (**ALBRECHT:** That's incredible.) So that was great. One thing that struck me is that we didn't really talk literature while we were there. We mostly talked music, because Paul Bowles was a composer. That's what he was more interested in at the time, his music and composition. I didn't really know that, though Valerie knew that. It was like a salon. We were sitting there, and because we brought flowers, they knew we weren't dangerous. He let us in, we sat down and had tea, other people came and went. there was another guy that came in, he was a bit of a flashy New Yorker. We were there for a couple of hours. We realized we should not overstay our visit, but it was great. I can't remember everything we talked about, but I know that Valerie used the excuse that she was teaching and wanted to bring up one of his works in class, to get us in the door. It was fun.

ALBRECHT: This might tie into the Paul Bowles meeting – what are some of your most cherished memories from this time?

ABUHAMAD: The thing that always sticks in my mind is the first time I went to the Legation, I was with this other Peace Corps Volunteer – Tony, he was big and burly, he brought me all around Tangier. Other visits... Tangier is one of the places where, at that time, you got hassled and harassed. Tangier was there for all of these Europeans who just wanted to say they stepped foot on the African continent. They would go over there, land in the port, and want to maybe just spend the day or overnight, and then go back. So they were prime game for all of these young Moroccan guys who were just proficient in many language, because they made their business in hitting on the tourists and trying to show them a good time. Most of them were harmless, but you did have to be careful. I just remember one time, just going up to Barcelona – I went up to Spain a couple of times, and then we came back, landed in Tangier – I remember arriving one day... It was probably late afternoon, early evening. I got off the boat with all of the other tourists, walking by myself, with my little backpack or whatever, and you just see the sea of guys coming up to get everyone. I just threw a couple of words of *darija* at them, to show them I knew where I was going. It was quite a walk, more than half an hour walk. But I did it, I made my way. I thought wow, that was pretty good. It was just great to feel part of the city. I always felt so bad for the tourists, going into Tangier. It's just a very bad introduction for most people going into Morocco, because that's all they got to see of it. And these poor guys are just trying to make a living.

ALBRECHT: Yeah, exactly. It's a rough situation, all around.

ABUHAMAD: It's really fun when you've been there enough, you feel like you're a native, and you feel like you can just walk around. I also had, from 1984 - 1985, I lived in Rabat and shared an apartment with a British guy. He was actually married, and his wife was in Tangier. They were posted in different places. We were both in these kind of leadership positions – he was in a British organization, I was with the Peace Corps – where we needed to go visit other volunteers. We never saw each other, because I would be gone most of the week, and every weekend he would go up to Tangier to see his wife, who was very beautiful. We hardly ever saw each other, we were constantly traveling. But he got a great deal, because one time I was finally able to get up there and see the British woman who was posted up in Tangier, and they had a beautiful little place looking out over the water. I always wanted to live there.

ALBRECHT: Personally, around Tangier is one of my favorite areas of Morocco. Asilah, especially, I just adore. Hopefully you'll get a chance to see it, when you visit.

ABUHAMAD: Actually, the first time I saw Asilah was when my parents were visiting Bob Shea, and we were staying in Tangier. He drove us for a day trip, and then went back.

ALBRECHT: It really seems like Dr. Shea had an impact on the lives of people who visited the Legation.

ABUHAMAD: I mean, he was the Legation, pretty much. It was hard to separate the two, at the time. I don't know who he succeeded, I don't know... You must know that history, if there was someone before him, who got it started. But he seemed to be the one who really kept it going. I remember him being afraid that it wouldn't continue, but it seems like it has.

ALBRECHT: It's thriving, I would say.

ABUHAMAD: Well yeah, obviously. I'm already in contact with John Davison, so I'll be visiting when I go up there. I'll be there for the Friday night seminar. What I think is so funny is, I was on the website, and isn't there a Paul Bowles room? (**ALBRECHT:** Yes, I visited it.) I thought that was so funny, because of Bob Shea's opinion of him!

ALBRECHT: And now there's a whole room for him. That's actually one of the first places where I learned about Paul Bowles, when I visited the Legation and went to that room. That's what encouraged me to read more of his work.

ABUHAMAD: Can you see these? *[showing images on Skype]* That's me with my mother, and Dr. Shea. And that's my mother sitting in the Legation. This is the courtyard with my dad. This is the famous one — this is Dr. Shea showing us the secret room. Did you hear about the secret room, and the whole story with the radio, during World War II?

ALBRECHT: Yes. That was Coon, right, Carleton Coon?

ABUHAMAD: Dr. Shea, the way that he would tell you the story after getting you in that room... I had heard it a bunch of times, because he had done it before. My dad was very good about keeping notes. I just wanted you to read my dad's notes about that visit — do I have time?

ALBRECHT: Absolutely, yes.

ABUHAMAD: *[reading from father's notes]* "Arrived at Tangier at 1:00 PM, and Dr. Bob Shea from the American Legation was waiting for us with his car. He drove us to El Minzah Hotel, we checked into two beautiful adjoining rooms, had iced tea..." He talks about everything. "Dr. Shea picked us up at 3:30, and we went to the Legation. A 41-room complex in the heart of Tangier, it is the oldest U.S. Legation in the world and is now protected by the U.S. as a national site. It is the only one outside of the United States. Dr. Shea spent almost two hours telling us about the history of the building, and the people who were involved in it." That's how dedicated he was. "He runs a museum with only one security guard. He showed us the room where the 12 O.S.S. spies worked out of, and where coded messages were sent during the preparation of the invasion of Italy in World War II. They did this without the U.S. Consul knowing it, and were called the 12 Apostles. Dr. Shea drove us to one of them, still living in Tangier, 84 and looking 74." So I'll get to that later, because I have a picture of that. "They live on a cliff overlooking the Atlantic with Venetian tombs hewn out of rock, right next to the house." Did you ever see those Venetian tombs, when you were there? In one of the cliffs on Tangier, there are these little cutouts, and those are Venetian tombs. See, Dr. Shea knew about that. I don't know how they are now. They're from 1000 B.C.E. "Gordon and Eleanor Brown." Gordon was one of the 12 Apostles. Have you heard of them yet?

ALBRECHT: I believe I have. Did he work with Carleton Coon?

ABUHAMAD: I don't know, these are the notes of my father.

ALBRECHT: I believe the two of them worked together, yes.

ABUHAMAD: "A delightful couple, married 56 years and have lived all over the world, including Thailand, etc. Last 19 in this house, with the same maid, Zohra. Beautiful, comfortable home, filled with memorabilia. Still know many influential people. Harvard grad. Vacations in Woods Hole, Massachusetts." Then, he mentions that Reverend and Mrs. Kirkendon [sp] dropped in. "He is a Baptist minister, and have been out of the U.S. since 1963. 4 children, 5 grandchildren – all in United States, mostly. Left there at 9:00 p.m., went to the hotel and met Dr. Shea." I would have never remembered all of that if my father hadn't written it all down. But that man, Gordon Brown, was 84 at the time. So he's not around anymore. Who knows when he left, how long he stayed. This is the next morning, a Sunday: "Bob [Shea] picked us up at 10:45 a.m., and we went to mass at the cathedral, in Spanish. There were about 150 people. Archbishop said the mass, had a professional singing voice. Met with Franciscan father after mass." You know, Bob was very devout. He became a priest, you know that. He was probably in the seminary before he started his career in the military and then the

State Department. Anyways, so he talks about how Bob Shea offered to pay his airfare. This was kind of joking because – this priest also conducted this *crisios*, these retreats, and my parents were talking to him about that, and talking about getting him into the church where my parents go, and Bob Shea was joking about paying the airfare for this priest if he wanted to do that. Anyways, so, that was that. [Dr. Shea] drove us all to Malcolm Forbes' estate in Tangier, and provided himself as a tour guide. He took us to Asilah, about 30 minutes from Tangier – mostly Portuguese houses, white with bright lines. That night, my dad says again: "We met Dr. Shea for dinner, at MS BBC." It was one of those old restaurants, one of those great places. So, that was it. And there was another great picture here, of Dr. Shea. *[shows picture on Skype]* Can you see it?

ALBRECHT: Wow, look at that.

ABUHAMAD: My mother and Dr. Shea were looking over the wall. So, that was some of the bonding that I had with him, and always stayed in touch with him. I knew when he was in Gibraltar, and becoming a priest. Oh, there are more pictures of Dr. Shea. So, I have a lot on him, if you ever need more. *[shows more pictures on Skype]* That's just a bit of background I have on that. So, after that, I don't remember the next time that I went back. It'd be interesting to know if his sister-in-law is still here in Dallas. I don't remember when he passed away.

ALBRECHT: He passed away in 2001, if I remember correctly.

ABUHAMAD: His brother had passed away before then... I'm sure the wife is no longer alive.

ALBRECHT: Do you have any least favorite memories, or least cherished memories about the Legation at this time? Or were they all pretty positive?

ABUHAMAD: Are we talking Tangier, or...?

ALBRECHT: Tangier and the Legation, mostly.

ABUHAMAD: No, I don't remember any. Tangier in general, as I said, you had to be very careful. It was kind rough, the first couple of times we went. But no, there was nothing bad. Another great thing I remember, though I don't remember the name off the top of my head, there was a tea place at the port... There was "Rick's American Bar," if you can imagine that. Because you know in Casablanca, the guy is Rick. It was one little bar with a red velvet curtain. There was a woman in a wheelchair, who was next to

the bar every single night, because she owned this place. And in the day, it was probably amazing. The days in Tangier, they had this great port. The movie Casablanca, when you see it, it was really more like Tangier or Algiers. Tangier was probably more like that. So when we were there in the 1980s, there were still little remnants of that time. And those people at that time were quite old. I don't know the name of the woman who owned it. I think it was called "Rick's American Parade," or something like that, actually. She had a shoe – there was this big, platform, bejeweled shoe at the bar – and that belonged to some famous dancer from Hollywood. They came by, and left that little token. So you would go by, and see this little old woman sitting in her wheelchair, not saying much. I'm trying to remember what it was like back in the day. I love it.

ALBRECHT: It's certainly one of my favorites, as well.

ABUHAMAD: I want to show you the tombs, from earlier. *[shows pictures of Venetian tombs on Skype]*

ALBRECHT: Wow, I would have remembered that, definitely. Unfortunately, I don't think we saw them.

ABUHAMAD: Before, you could just walk around them. I mean, Gordon Brown lived right by there when we were there. But I wonder if they're blocked off now.

ALBRECHT: Well, when I go back in April, I'll try and search those out.

ABUHAMAD: Oh, so you're going to be there in April?

ALBRECHT: Yes, thankfully. I haven't been there in 2 years, and I miss it.

ABUHAMAD: We stayed at the El Minzah Hotel. Where do you stay when you go?

ALBRECHT: Last time, I stayed at the Hotel Continental. This time, I'm actually going to be staying at the Legation.

ABUHAMAD: Okay, great. I've looked up a couple of cheap little bed and breakfasts, one I really want to stay at. Later on, John [Davison] recommended one, but it was already booked.

ALBRECHT: You can check Airbnb, too.

ABUHAMAD: I kind of want to stay at some place with a front desk.

ALBRECHT: That's fair. Do you have any thoughts or feelings as to the goal and purpose of the Legation, and TALIM?

ABUHAMAD: Honestly, I've lost contact with it since that time. I'm really excited to see it, and I'm sure John [Davison] is doing a great job with it. But, I don't know any of the people between Dr. Shea and now, John Davison. I don't know any of those directors, or any of the story of that. I'm really looking forward to seeing it again. But if I didn't have these pictures, I'm not sure I would have remembered it. My dad wrote 41 rooms – is that even right? 41 rooms?

ALBRECHT: I believe so, yes.

ABUHAMAD: It could be, yes, with all of those little small rooms. But all of the artwork was fantastic there, and that was part of it. Having the history and the art, and the architecture. I'm just so relieved that it's working. Is it still being maintained by the private foundation?

ALBRECHT: Yes, it is. And the State Department, as well.

ABUHAMAD: So the State Department does actually put in a little bit?

ALBRECHT: A little bit I think, yes, from what I've learned. But TALIM runs most of it.

ABUHAMAD: I think what Bob Shea didn't like about it, he didn't like the fundraising part of it.

ALBRECHT: I could see that, from what I have heard.

ABUHAMAD: But he was a very good caretaker of the place, and of course he was extremely knowledgeable.

ALBRECHT: Well, I certainly wish I could have gotten to meet him. I've heard the best things about him.

ABUHAMAD: Do you know how many people have come between him and now?

ALBRECHT: After Bob Shea, there was Elena Prentice, Thor Kuniholm, Jerry Loftus, and now John Davison. So I think probably about 3 or 4. Thor Kuniholm was there for a long time.

ABUHAMAD: Were they all State Department people?

ALBRECHT: Not all of them, no. Most of them were either State Department or Peace Corps, but Elena Prentice, who was actually –

ABUHAMAD: Peace Corps is State Department.

ALBRECHT: True. I just meant to differentiate between Peace Corps Volunteers and the rest of the State Department. Elena Prentice was neither, she's a very interesting case. She's more of a scholar, socialite, and artist. Especially artist, she's a very good artist.

ABUHAMAD: When was the first time you went there?

ALBRECHT: The first time I went to Morocco was March of 2014, and I went to Tangier in April of 2014. I was there for about two, two and a half months, on a study abroad program during my sophomore spring.

ABUHAMAD: John wasn't there then, was he?

ALBRECHT: He was not. That was still Jerry Loftus.

ABUHAMAD: That's good, that you got to see it.

ALBRECHT: I'm looking forward to meeting John Davison. I've communicated with him via email, but we haven't met in person.

ABUHAMAD: So are you going to spend a month there in April?

ALBRECHT: Closer to a week and a half. So not too long, unfortunately. I'll be there from about April 1st to April 11th.

ABUHAMAD: So what's the title of this? Is it your senior project?

ALBRECHT: Yes, it's my senior honors thesis. I'm still working on the title, but tentatively it's "Mapping Memories."

ABUHAMAD: Is it just the Legation?

ALBRECHT: The Legation, and specifically the private foundation that runs it. Originally, while you were there with Bob Shea, it was TALMS – the Tangier American Legation Museum Society. In the 1990s, it changed to TALIM. So now, it's the Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies.

ABUHAMAD: Okay. It was a very small group maintaining it back then. It was all retired Foreign Service people. Bob Shea was very concerned about its maintenance and the money.

ALBRECHT: Well, he had a reason to be concerned about the money. I think they're still fairly concerned about the money, but, aren't we all?

ABUHAMAD: I think that they've been lucky, staying off the beaten path. They didn't advertise it too much in Bob Shea's time. It was there, but it wasn't really known. It kind of seemed to me like it wasn't put out there as a tourist attraction. You had to know about it.

ALBRECHT: Exactly. I think they're trying to work on that.

ABUHAMAD: I would think it gets more traffic now.

ALBRECHT: It does. They organize community development programs, school field trips... It's become more well-known, absolutely.

ABUHAMAD: So, how is it now? When I get off the train in Tangier, am I still going to be surrounded by a bunch of guys?

ALBRECHT: A little bit, yes. It is not the most fun.

ABUHAMAD: Did you take trains when you were there?

ALBRECHT: I took trains, yes.

ABUHAMAD: In Tangier, did you just walk, or take taxis?

ALBRECHT: In Tangier, I think we just walked. But in Fez, we took a lot of taxis. Most of the time it was fine, but sometimes it was frustrating. Honestly, most of the cab drivers were fine. It when you were waiting on the sidewalk trying to get a cab that there would be some issues.

ABUHAMAD: Yeah.

ALBRECHT: Is there anything else that you'd like to talk about or recollect?

ABUHAMAD: If you have any other questions, or let me know if you want me to scan in any materials. Like I said, the Legation is Bob Shea. When Valerie was there, it was fun, because I was able to go. I know I stayed at the little pension right down the street, three doors away [from the Legation]. I don't know if it's still there anymore.

ALBRECHT: I'll have to check it out and let you know. I'll be there in not too long.

ABUHAMAD: The whole thing with Paul Bowles is just a fun one-off. Hold on just one second. [*leaves the room, brings in old copies Paul Bowles's works*] This is probably worth big bucks these days.

ALBRECHT: [*viscerally impressed*] Wow. That's so, so cool. It's hard for me to believe sometimes that these authors — whose words resonate with me so much — were real people.

ABUHAMAD: This isn't a first edition, because it's copyright 1962. This is a seventh printing, October 1980.

ALBRECHT: Still, that's incredible.

ABUHAMAD: Did you learn much about his wife?

ALBRECHT: Not about his wife, unfortunately.

ABUHAMAD: I'm trying to remember if Valerie mentioned if we brought her up.

ALBRECHT: I mostly just heard about the meeting with Paul, not so much about his wife.

ABUHAMAD: Well, she was dead.

ALBRECHT: That's why it didn't come up, I suppose.

ABUHAMAD: She died in an insane asylum, in Maine. If you read William S. Burroughs, you can put it all together, get that whole story. That's why Bob Shea didn't like them, they were beatniks.

ALBRECHT: Exactly.

ABUHAMAD: Totally opposite end of the spectrum. But it was fun! That's what Tangier was all about, there were all kinds of characters, the most amazing kinds of characters. Of course, Valerie has other great pictures, I'm sure she's given them to you.

ALBRECHT: She has been so, so kind and generous in sending me files. I'm so grateful to her, and to you.

ABUHAMAD: There was someone else there, when she was there. Who was it, interning while she lived there?

ALBRECHT: I'll double-check with her, but I don't remember her mentioning anyone.

ABUHAMAD: I thought there was someone else. Maybe they came before or after her, maybe they split the summer. So, she should give you that name, if you don't have it.

ALBRECHT: I'll check in with her on that. Thank you so much for this interview, I appreciate it!

ABUHAMAD: Is it cold up there [in New Hampshire]?

ALBRECHT: Very. It's warmed up a little bit today, but for a weekend there, it was -15 F, wind chill of -30 F... It was pretty brutal, for a while. For us Texas ladies, that's pretty darn cold. Is it warm in Dallas?

ABUHAMAD: Oh, it's beautiful, it's ridiculous. It's in the 70s.

ALBRECHT: That sounds like Dallas.

ABUHAMAD: I'm a New Englander, so I like a little bit of snow.

ALBRECHT: It's seasonal. Well hey, at least you have Bluebell and Whataburger, all of the good stuff.

ABUHAMAD: Bluebell is back on the shelf! Doesn't bother me one bit.

ALBRECHT: My family and I, we were in line to get it the first day it came back to San Antonio.

ABUHAMAD: So are you coming back to Boerne?

ALBRECHT: I might go back in the summer to visit my parents after I graduate, but I have no current plans of moving back to Texas.

ABUHAMAD: Okay. Well, if you're in Dallas, I'm here.

ALBRECHT: New England in the summer is amazing, so I've spent my past two summers here. Well, thank you so much! I don't want to take up any more of your evening.

ABUHAMAD: You're welcome! It was nice meeting you, good luck.

ALBRECHT: It was nice meeting you too. Have a wonderful night.

John Davison Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht

Monday, 4/4/2016 — Tangier, Morocco – in person

This interview does not follow the format of the other ones, as Mr. Davison jumped in before I had a chance to elucidate the structure. By the end of it, he had responded to all of my documented inquiries, but the flow may not be as immediately discernable as the other interviews.

DAVISON: [*showing pictures*] These pictures are from when the Peace Corps was doing a lot of renovations. There's the medina. It's just a book of theirs. Not all of the Peace Corps Volunteers are there. These would have been some of the Moroccan Peace Corps Staff who were involved in actually doing the renovations; they actually had Peace Corps Volunteers doing things.

ALBRECHT: I bet this was a really exciting time to be in the Peace Corps. Actually, one of my friends from high school is joining the Peace Corps. He's shipping out in May to The Gambia.

DAVISON: Oh, good. It's interesting, this slice of Peace Corps history. In the 1960s, the language training was all done in the United States, for Peace Corps volunteers. They discovered that people would get sent overseas with language training, but they were not at all psychologically prepared to be put into a village situation. They decided to set up regional training centers, and the one in Tangier wasn't only for Morocco. It was for Francophone Africa like Tunisia, and other Arabic-speaking Peace Corps countries like Oman or Yemen. They taught Arabic and French, and it was taught year-round to different groups of volunteers. That system really only lasted a few years, before Peace Corps made it to where all language training was done in the country of service. It was just an experiment on the part of Peace Corps to do language training outside of the U.S., which was then followed by the decision to do language training always where the volunteers were going to serve. But the director in Morocco was Richard Holbrooke, who had dissented from the State Department over the Vietnam War. He was the Peace Corps Director in Morocco for a couple of years. He was one of the people in these photos. Here he is, in this photo, and this photo.

ALBRECHT: These are really incredible records.

DAVISON: Just by coincidence, the company had won the contract to re-do the pavilion. The work has started; they've gone as far as they can in this stage, but the guy – Jim Wenzel – will be coming for this [conference]. He needs to approve the work that they've done before they go onto the next phase, which he'll be doing this week.

But the company who got the contract is a Spanish company, and there's an American who works for them who was a Peace Corps Volunteer who was trained at the Legation. *[showing more photos]* You get a sense of how the building looked. Here are the official letters, thanking them for the work. I don't know if Tim Resch trained here or not, when he was a Peace Corps Volunteer.

ALBRECHT: I think he might have.

DAVISON: This is from Valerie [Staats], I don't know if she told you about it or not. It's Chris Stevens.

ALBRECHT: He was the [later] Ambassador to Libya, correct?

DAVISON: Yes. Chris, Valerie and I were all in the Peace Corps together in 1983. In 1984, Valerie and Chris, and another guy named Jeff South (?), did summer projects at the Legation with [Dr.] Shea. They were all working on different aspects on archives. I think Chris and Jeff were working on making a video of the Legation – (**ALBRECHT:** And Valerie, too.) – but I've never [seen it.] Nobody knows where the video is.

ALBRECHT: That was one of the points that Valerie and I talked about, in our interview – the making of that video.

DAVISON: Where is it? Is it somewhere in the library?

ALBRECHT: She doesn't know, but she doesn't know either.

DAVISON: There are videos in the library, but nothing that anybody has identified as being that.

ALBRECHT: Yes, it seems that it's disappeared. Quick question on Dr. Shea – do you happen to know when he started his tenure as Resident Director?

DAVISON: No! That's what we're trying to find out. We just put photos downstairs, but I can't find his starting dates. I was going to put everyone's dates, but I can't put everyone's dates except for his. [Bill] Zartman was going to tell me, but maybe he forgot. So maybe he can help.

ALBRECHT: I'm working on constructing a timeline of all the Resident Directors, the Presidents, etcetera, and so far, the closest I've gotten is knowing that it had to have

been before 1983 – before you, and Valerie, and Lisa, showed up as Peace Corps Volunteers. So it was some time between 1976 and 1983.

DAVISON: I don't know when it was either, but I'm guessing that it was about 1980 or 1979. But I don't know that.

ALBRECHT: Maybe Zvereff will be able to help, since he was one of the earlier directors.

DAVISON: I don't know if [Dr.] Shea was still the director of the American School [in Tangier], when Zvereff was here, or not. He had been a teacher at the American School. It was interesting; last summer, they had their 65th anniversary. Somebody wrote me an email saying that they were looking for Robert Shea, and all of this stuff in connection with him. I didn't know he had taught at the school, and I said, "The Robert Shea who was here was a Director. You're talking about somebody at the school." Turns out it was the same person. But it was from the 1960s or the 1950s, or something. [Dr.] Shea might have even been O.S.S. during the war, or something. Then he was a teacher at the school, then the headmaster. There's a photo of him that I've seen at the school with him and King Mohammed V, as the headmaster of the school introducing himself. His niece sent some photos to us and to the school. Most of the photos were related to the school, I think, though we just put some photos downstairs in the entrance way, of the four directors that we have pictures of. At some point, I have to get Zvereff's picture blown up, so that he can get on it too. But I want to talk to Dale [Eickelman], because there are some other ones who were non-Resident Directors that he knows about more than I do.

ALBRECHT: Do you know much about Harland Eastman?

DAVISON: He was the Consul.

ALBRECHT: He was the Consul. I know that he had a large hand in the formation of the Legation as well, and acted as the director/pre-director as it was opening for the bicentennial.

DAVISON: That's right, and all of these acknowledgements of receipts of gifts at the Consulate, he was the one (as Consul-General) who would notarize all of that. I think he was very much behind getting people to donate [to the Legation].

ALBRECHT: Oh, he was. He was actually the first person that I interviewed for this project, back in August of 2015.

DAVISON: I think his wife has a separate story. You can ask Elena [Prentice]. Without the tape recorder, of course. I think, at least, because I don't know her – but [Elena Prentice] would have known her, and she might have had her own personal things going on with Margaret McBey. It's interesting, because Margaret McBey was giving all of these things to the museums, and he was the one notarizing it. Another guy – again, I don't know how much he would know about the Legation – is named Christopher Gibbs, who is probably in his late 70s... He would definitely come on Thursday [to the conference] if he were in town, but I think he's in the U.K. He was going to get knee surgery or something, but I don't think he's back yet. He lives in Margaret McBey's house, he bought it from the estate. That whole part of Tangier is going to be honored in June by Madison Cox and Rob Ashford. Last year, they did a play of "Suddenly Last Summer," and it was at Pierre Bergé's house. This year, they're doing a play called "After The Dance," by Terence Rattigan, who was a British playwright, but whose father was assigned to the British Legation in the 1920s. Terrance would have already been in boarding school at the time, but he would come back to visit the family. But he didn't live or study in Tangier, but his father was assigned here. And his father also had wild affairs, and I think had a run in... if you Google "Terence Rattigan," you'll find as much about his father's affairs and conflicts with Churchill that happened after he left Tangier – not while he was in Tangier. The play always starts with a reception at the Legation, and then the play itself. There will be a lunch at Rob and Kevin's house, which is called Villa Mabrouka. It still belongs to Bergé, but Rob and Kevin rent it. Before that, it was some Kuwaiti princess who owned it. It's in the Marshon, right outside the Kasbah, overlooking the water, with beautiful gardens that Madison designed. But then the play itself will be in Margaret McBey's mother's house, which then was Joe McPhillips house, which then has been purchased and completely redone by a British designer and his partner David, who greatly expanded the house. This will be the sort of first event that they're hosting for the Tangier society to welcome themselves to Tangier permanently. Then, the after party will be at another house that belonged to Margaret McBey. And then, they people who paid for the very expensive tickets (the 1200 dollars tickets), they will have a lunch the following day at Margaret McBey's house which Christopher Gibbs owns. They're all up from Elena [Prentice]'s house, across from her house. This year, all of the play is honoring that old mountain set [of elites]. It's appropriate, because McBey was both a big donor to us [the Legation] and the American School. She gave a fortune to the American School to build the gym and the soccer fields. She gave her mother's house to McPhillips when he was headmaster. She and Bowles were the two social magnets of the American community

in that time, going back to the international zone. There were others connected to the British community, and I am sure also to the Spanish and the French. The two American ones were Margaret McBey and Paul Bowles — two very different people. They were good friends with each other, but she was very much of the old mountain with money and a patron of things and an artist, herself, where he did not dictate or organize anything about society the way he might have. He was just sort of the one that everyone wanted to see when they came to Tangier. But he lived up there [in the mountain], though not in “those houses.” There was this other little house, right below the house where this play is, where he rented a cabin, a large property. The French built the port of Tangier in the early part of the 20th century, and the company that built it owned a quarry, and the quarry workers lived on this property above the quarry. That property, in one of those buildings, Paul Bowles lived there for a year. He and Jane lived in Tangier the whole time. He moved to Sri Lanka and lived in Ceylon, he bought a house there. They were always coming back to Tangier, but they were always living separately when they were in Tangier. In the end, they were living in apartments above each other, in the same building, until she was hospitalized in Spain. There were other periods where he lived completely separately from her. She also had large periods of time where she was back in New York. I think she ended up staying here longer than he did, while she was alive, before she was hospitalized. It’s a shame, I don’t know anyone who knew her when she was well. Everyone I know who knew her knew her when she was already very ill, and very mentally not in a good place, and very much caught up in alcohol abuse and all of that. So the people who would have known her when she was young and creative, they’re not alive anymore. The ones who did know her knew her when she was very, very old. There are a lot of people who knew [Paul] Bowles who are still alive. Some of them will be at the events this week [during the 40th anniversary celebration]. He lived until the late 1990s. They both died around the same time — I think she died a little bit before he did, but she was older than he was. She was in her 90s. It might have been 1999 [that Paul Bowles] died. It’s almost like they didn’t want to live to the millennium, or something. But the connection to the Legation... I know it’s always kind of hard to know which consulate they were talking about. But Burroughs, when he was living in Tangier, in his letters to Ginsberg would write about having to pick up money that his mother had wired him — American Express — at the Legation. Burroughs had a trust fund that his mother administered. He often would write complaining about how cheap she was, because his trust wasn’t enough to fund his drug habits. He lived very rough, in Tangier. Even then, it wasn’t enough. He would write to Ginsberg asking him to send money, or complaining that his mother wasn’t sending enough. I think she knew exactly what she was doing. Kept him alive, anyways. So, he had some connections. But, they would have had to use any sort of consular services. They all would have, either he or she, at the consulate. He lived here from

about 1954 to 1960, off and on, but quite a lot in Tangier before he moved on. He was one who stayed beyond the international zone times. Even though Independence had happened, the legal and banking structures of Tangier were not fully consolidated into Morocco for several years after Independence. The priority of the government was to merge the systems of Spain and France, and this little international hybrid up in the north was very complex and doing well on its own. So instead of worrying about how to fold it in at the beginning, they folded in the Spanish and the French zones, and then they folded in the Tangier zone. That's when you had people who were getting expelled and people who were fleeing over sex scandals or something like that. It didn't happen in 1955, it happened in like 1960. That's when Jane Bowles had to leave, and she couldn't come back. There was a period when she felt like she had to leave. [Ahmed] Yacoubi, the painter, had to leave over similar kinds of scandals, when they started cleaning up the medina. Certain things continued after Independence, in terms of banking. Tangier continued to be a playground and a banking center for the wealthy of Europe, and for the artistic set, and the LGBT artistic set. I've never read the research, but I would guess the fact that Tangier was so rich explained a lot of its appeal to the artistic community. It wasn't just the personal freedom, it was also that it was a comfortable place to be free. But certainly, there was a lot more freedom in 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s Tangier than there was in New York City or Europe for LGBTs. So that set, whether it was [Patricia] Highsmith or whatnot, there was very much an appeal, well beyond the Anglophone set. It's a shame that you won't be here in May, because the [intellectual salon] is about Tangier. I think it's called "Myth and Reality" or "Fantasy and Reality," and they'll have panels on both modern Tangier and contemporary authors or writers and also a little bit about the history. I think our exhibit downstairs about the music, we'll take the photos out to the palace for the salon.

ALBRECHT: When did you first learn about all of this pre-TALIM history?

DAVISON: Probably a lot of it here, [at the Legation]. I first learned about the Legation because I was visiting Chris. I guess I had a sense as a Peace Corps Volunteer, like everyone else, about Bowles and the Beats. I wasn't one of the ones who made the pilgrimage up to see Bowles, like Valerie [Staats] did. I think if I had been less shy, I would have. I wanted to, because I really liked Bowles. Back in the 1980s, that was a must-read for Peace Corps Volunteers. But also back in the 1980s, *Le Panous* was able to buy in France and Morocco. There was a Bowles translation. I think the Bowles translation was the first publication of the book in English. My students in the Peace Corps used to read *Le Panous*, and they didn't read. It was not a typical thing for a Moroccan kid from the country to have a book to read, and when I asked why, they said it was because they heard that it was going to be banned. When it was finally published

in Arabic, it was banned. It was just too scandalous to be out in Arabic. It was okay if the elites read it in French, but King Hassan II banned it. It wasn't until Mohammed VI came to the throne that the ban was lifted. So you knew about Shukria Marabat, or at least Peace Corps Volunteers did. I didn't know anything about Margaret McBey, or the old mountain, or anything like that. I don't think I knew that Tennessee Williams or [Truman] Capote and [Gore] Vidal had been here. I think I thought that Joe Orton and the Beats — the ones for whom Tangier was more important, although it turned out that for Tennessee Williams, Tangier was important. For Capote and Vidal and Highsmith, it was more of a vacationing place. It didn't show up in their writing as much as it did with some of the others. With Orton, there was a biography of him writing. It turned out that his murder by his lover was very much connected to things he had been doing in Tangier over the summer. The guy was just furious, incredibly jealous, of [Orton's] playing around in Tangier, and murdered him, bludgeoned him to death, back in London. There's a book by the son of Burt Layer from *The Wizard of Oz*, John Layer wrote the book. I think it's called *Prick Up Your Ears* or something, and it's a biography of Orton. And then Tangier elements of Orton's life played a part in his death. That was the early 1960s, when Orton was there, before all of this happened. So I kind of knew that chunk of literature, and then when I came up to visit Chris, because he was here and I was down the coast, and then I knew about the Legation and the diplomatic history. I would not have been aware of it, I think, because my time in Peace Corps was after when the training center had been closed. And I think it was [Dr. Robert] Shea who sought out Peace Corps Volunteers as trainees for a specific project. It was as though they were here every summer.

ALBRECHT: I think it was just the summer of 1984.

DAVISON: Yes, the summer of 1984. Everyone was very jealous of all three of them [Valerie Staats, Lisa Abuhamad né Dalferro, and Christopher Stevens], because they got to live up here. We all sort of discovered the Legation through those three volunteers. It was funny, because when Valerie and another volunteer who visited her have come back, they don't recognize — they recognized the building, but the things were all in different places. And one of the things in the photos, you can see where the Perdicaris painting was. It's now in the conference room, but it wasn't in the conference room when Valerie was here. And Valerie, I know she gave you her notes?

ALBRECHT: She gave me a lot of photos. I don't believe she gave me any notes.

DAVISON: I'll have to find them for you, because she made a photocopy of it for me. She gave tours of the Legation, and she had index cards of the tour. She gave me a copy

of them. It was interesting, because there wasn't as much in the museum at the time. A lot of it were prints and maps. The Perdicaris story, her version of the story has him being kidnapped out of Tangier, when he was kidnapped out of his villa outside of town. It's fascinating. Everything she wrote was Dr. Shea's notes of his tours of the Legation.

ALBRECHT: I think had mentioned that in our interview, but she didn't pass them along.

DAVISON: No, I have them here somewhere. She brought them last summer.

ALBRECHT: I'd like to read them, if you find them.

DAVISON: I have them, it's a photocopy. She was here, and then she kept in touch with Shea. I think that's one of the major reasons to talk to her, because she became friends with him, and kept in touch until he died. He went to become a priest. Lisa, the other volunteer who visited Valerie, also kept in touch with Shea. But she didn't work here the way Valerie did. Her knowledge of Shea was more after he left, because she moved to New York City and she kept in touch with him as a priest. Her daughter was here with her, and she kept calling him "Father Shea." And Lisa called him "Dr. Shea," which is what he was known as here. I think the people who know him here — I don't think he came back to Tangier. He went to Gibraltar and became a Jesuit.

ALBRECHT: Yes, and then to New York City, and worked at either a Catholic worker's house or Catholic hospital there. I've gotten two reports.

DAVISON: Something like that. Lisa thinks that he had started in the seminary as a young man, and then the war happened or something, and he went to work for O.S.S. briefly. I think he then got a doctorate at Columbia [University], or some place. I can give you Lisa's email as well, Lisa Dalferro.

ALBRECHT: Oh, I've interviewed her.

DAVISON: Good, because she's got another knowledge of him that I don't, and that Valerie probably doesn't have either. I think Valerie moved on to a different part of the States, and Lisa has more knowledge of him from his New York times.

ALBRECHT: They were both incredible to speak with, Valerie and Lisa.

DAVISON: About him. Now, the other one, Zvereff, will be very helpful to talk to.

ALBRECHT: Good, because I really want to make a timeline of all of time. I think I'm going to divide it into Interim Directors and Resident Directors to differentiate between their roles.

DAVISON: Some of that is in those files [that I gave you], it's just a question of... Those files are the Embassy, the Consulate files. They're not explanatory files, the way that book it. They just happen to be about whatever that thing was. So if ever there was an event and the Embassy sponsored it, then there's a file about that seminar. It's the Embassy's file. You get very interesting details about some things, but how you put it all together is a little more challenging. Who could you speak to about it? I'd guess that [I. William] Zartman is the one. Or Dale [Eickelman]. Because they knew some of them, too.

ALBRECHT: He did. I still need to sit down and have a formal interview with Dale. It's an interesting situation, give that he's also my thesis advisor.

DAVISON: I think the other thing too, with him, is that with him, you can draft the questions before you interview him, so he can gather his own recollections. And Tim Resch is also a very good one to go back to. He's got a lot of archives in his house. It's almost a dissertation, if anyone ever wanted to do it, for the whole transition of the Legation. It would really be a dissertation, because it would really require a lot of research. We have things in banker's boxes of Shea's and [Thor] Kuniholm's, their monthly reports. No one has ever collected them all and put them in a coherent structure.

ALBRECHT: So, thank you for all of that incredible background information. Honestly, I haven't been able to get that sort of historical information on the mid-20th century parts of Tangier and the Legation. That was really interesting. But, how did you first become more involved with the Legation? I know that you visited it in the 1980s to see Chris, when he was working here, but what brought you back into its sphere?

DAVISON: Well, Chris and I continued to serve, and we were very good friends. We served together in Egypt as diplomats, and also in Tunisia as diplomats, and had stayed in touch throughout our careers, and would talk about this as being the perfect retirement job. It was sort of in my mind, because it was in his. It just happened that I was traveling at the time, and notice that the State Department — who has a listserv for jobs when people retire — had a posting for this job on it. I had just finished a job with

the United Nations in Cape Verde, and I was traveling around the world, and saw this one, and I said “Yes!” This is the job I had always wanted, and for me, it very much marries my two careers: as a diplomat, but before that, my connection to Morocco as a Peace Corps Volunteer. What we do here, and I think what I’m trying to do here, is very much in the Peace Corps world of expanding the literacy program to include hopefully an English program for kids from the medina who are studying sciences in high school to get them through a four-year English program at the American Language Center with a sort of STEM component. We’re doing kids craft workshops, and try and open up the museum both as a space to the Moroccan and Tangier public by hosting events that may be less academic and more popular, sometimes involving performance and popular concerts that appeal to younger Moroccan audiences. And then specifically, in the medina, trying to work out ways to help. Because this part of the medina, historically, it was always the farthest away from the Kasbah. The closer you were to the Kasbah, the higher status you were. The Sultan gave us land as far away from the Kasbah as you could be without hitting the cemeteries, staying inside the walls. And the neighborhood has always been a stressed neighborhood, because it was the closest to the working part of the port, and had all of the issues that are connected to port cities: drugs, and crime, and prostitution. That all was in this part of the medina, because this part of the city of Tangier – until the beginning of the 20th century, there wasn’t much outside of the walls of Tangier. It was a small town, I think it had 40 or 50 thousand people in 1900. 40 percent Muslim, 30 percent Christian, and 30 percent Jewish. Most of the people were living inside of the walls. So you have a medina unlike other medinas of Morocco. You have a medina with churches inside. You have a medina with synagogues in different parts of the medina, because you didn’t have a Jewish quarter. You didn’t have any quarter; people just lived in the medina. And, unlike the other cities in Morocco, where you had the European quarter physically outside of the medina, in Tangier it was all together. I think that had the wonderful effect of bringing people together and bringing a certain level of tolerance, but it also had the effect of concentrating poverty within one section of the medina – and that was this part, the Beni Ider neighborhood. When you read about the part of the medina where there were the brothels and the bars, and other parts, that was this part of the medina, from the Socco Chico down to the port. Not so much up where we were, but especially going from the Socco Chico down to the port, which is still the Beni Ider neighborhood. The Beni Ider neighborhood goes from the Irish ramparts, which is in the northeast corner of the medina, down to the port. And it was very much a Spanish neighborhood in the 19th and 20th centuries. When you read Burroughs, a lot of the people he was misbehaving with were Spanish. They had Spanish names, not Moroccan names. You had Spanish day workers, Spanish domestic servants, Spanish criminals and prostitutes. It was very much, as Spain was, a poor country, under Franco. So were the Spaniards, many of the

Spaniards, who lived in Tangier. This neighborhood, for example, in the 19th century, had the Legation. But across the street from the Legation was a theater owned by the Corrientes family, who were a Andalusian-Jewish family, who still live in Casablanca. It was a theater, and then it was a bank. But next door, legend has it, was a brothel that was purchased by the Legation. And that's now where the research library is. It was a small building that was a brothel, across the street was a theater, and then further on down were some pretty bad neighborhoods. And they're still bad neighborhoods, going down. There's drug trafficking, there's still hotels coming up from the port and pensions that probably rent by the hour. To give you an example, one of the kids' workshops, the people who were running the workshop were using aluminum foil for some reason, and two of the nine year-old boys, one of them said to the other "That's what they sell heroin in." Nine year-old boys should not know that heroin is sold, let alone that it's sold in tin foil. But in this neighborhood, in the back streets, you have that kind of thing going on. And the literacy program was set up very much to fight that kind of poverty. When you talk to Yhtimad, she'll tell you. The other thing that we've all been trying to do – [Gerald Loftus] in particular was spectacular at it – is getting the building itself into better shape. It's never going to stop, because it's a 150+ year-old building, depending on which building you're talking about. And the foundations of the museum would be 200+ years-old. But the fact that the museum and the Legation were built in different phases, you'll see when you go downstairs in the back part of the museum. I hope [Gerald Loftus] can walk you through his changes, because there are too many to talk about. But he really expanded the museum part, and he made it much more coherent than it had ever been. And the fact that it is less coherent now, I'm to blame, and that has to do with, because we had to shut down the [Moorish] Pavilion for serious renovations. And the Bowles exhibit was in the Pavilion, and the Bowles exhibit is certainly the most popular aspect of the museum tours for Europeans. For Moroccans and Americans, I think they care a lot about the history of the Moroccan-American relationship. But for the Europeans, and for a lot of Americans, the rooms about Bowles are why they come. And they were in that pavilion. So I had to improvise and had to find space in the rest of the museum to move that. But it also took away the coherence of [Gerald Loftus]'s vision. [*phone ringing*] You're family now, so they can interrupt.

ALBRECHT: [*laughs*] Well, isn't that wonderful.

DAVISON: Well, sometimes it's nice when they don't interrupt. Anyways, the room where you see the Bowles exhibit now, it would have been an extension of – it kind of moves from diplomacy into art, and that room where the Bowles exhibit is would have had the Perdicaris history, and a lot of prints. It was the last of the diplomatic rooms. So what we moved was, we moved Perdicaris into the conference room, because it's

important, and we moved some paintings – five generations of Americans in Tangier, who started with the consuls – and we moved that into the dining room. Neither of them should be in those rooms. They should be in the rooms where the Bowles exhibit is. But you have to make do, because if we converted the conference room into the Bowles room... That's where we have conferences, and it closes for events, and [the Bowles exhibit] is what people want to see. When we get interviewed, or when people come to film, that's usually what they want to ask about. I think that's kind of the case with Tangier in general. The International Zone period of Tangier is so unique that you could do a museum on the International Zone.

ALBRECHT: You really could. Now, I think that you've answered this partially through your recollections, but what would you see as the main goal of TALIM? Both in general, and then what is your main goal here as the current Resident Director?

DAVISON: It's kind of a three part goal. It's telling the story of the Legation in the form of the museum, in particular. It's supporting scholars who study mostly Moroccan and North African history. And then, outreach to the community. And outreach to the community could take two forms. It could either be through using the museum space for performances and events that bring people in, who wouldn't normally come to the museum. Or, it could be actual educational programming that would be restricted to women, and I hope now, young people and children from the medina itself. We don't have the space and we don't have the ambition to do that. For my own personal goals, I would say bringing people into the museum – into the Legation, not just the museum. But bringing people in is what I'm challenged to do. The museum itself was very well conceived or re-conceived by [Gerald]. There isn't a lot of major curatorial work in the museum that remains to be done. If people want to donate things to collections, that would be fine, but he's really done an excellent job on that side. We are continuing to restore the library, with Grecia [Àlvarez]. That's a very challenging job, too, because to do it correctly requires knowledge and skills and resources that we don't actually have. She is, by training, a library scientist. So she knows about putting the collection [online] and using metadata to make it more coherent. But it's not something that an average person could do, without library training. And it's also very, very time consuming. It's something that maybe interns could do, but even interns who are interested in library science or history probably wouldn't find it so interesting. I think most of the interns that we get applications for here, unfortunately the thing they are most interested in is the community work that we're doing, but their time is only summertime. And we don't do a lot in the summer because the women are home with their kids. They do all of their classes during the school year. During the summers they have to be with their families. We might be doing a couple of things this summer, hopefully, with English

training to get kids in, but it will be the first time, if we get the budget to do it. To use it for community activities in the summer. Also, Tangier goes on vacation in the summer. And it's even an issue for researchers. I'm surprised how many people apply for research grants only over the summer months, including research grants that contain themes which require access to archives or require interviews with the government. The topic being researched is related to the government. This is a country where [the government] goes on vacation in August, and universities really shut down from early July to mid-September or early October. So that kind of research, the summer is the worst time to do it. But people, especially professors, don't have semesters that they can take off. A grad student could, or a Fulbrighter certainly could. But post-docs, very often their ideal time to do research is over the summer, and it's tough. For our purposes, our library is – it's well-defined for what it is, but it's a Moroccan Studies library, very much focused on the Protectorate period and before. There are parts of the collection that date from after 1960, there are a lot of books. But what they're talking about tends to be historical Morocco, or sociological Morocco, rather than contemporary political issues. We don't have very much at all in Arabic, and even with literature, I'd like to see if I could work with someone who could give me advice on how to assemble a collection of books about Morocco, either literature or society, that bring us up to 2015. We don't have an acquisitions budget for books, but it's not enough to have a budget. Even with a budget, you have to have a sense of what's important. What's something that, if you came to Morocco to do research, you couldn't read it elsewhere? Because nowadays, nobody comes to see things that they can read online through their own institutions.

ALBRECHT: You have to make it a worthwhile trip, a necessary trip.

DAVISON: What makes it worthwhile are either the Tangier Gazettes, which are fascinating, or – less so – the rare books that belonged mostly to Malcolm Forbes, which go back to the 1600s and 1700s. They tend to be in Portuguese, English, French, a little bit in Spanish, and they're about those periods. There are pamphlets and things, and the pamphlets are actually very hard to catalogue, I was surprised to learn. Dale [Eickelman] was telling me as well, probably the most important thing from a researcher's point of view are the pamphlets from the Independence movement. Or, publications that were published only in Morocco about Independence, or even about the Protectorate. If it's a book, and it was published, it probably is available somewhere else. But if it's something that isn't a book – and those are the hardest, because then you have to have people with the languages, and with the library science background, who can look at a book, do a little bit of research, or a pamphlet, if it's available, and come up with a one-paragraph description of what the work is using a keyword system

so that people can research “Spanish Protectorate,” “women’s literacy” type things. That doesn’t exist yet. If we had the money, and if Grecia were free (which she’s not), it’d be wonderful to have her here full-time. To have a real library science person. But in the meantime, we’re doing pretty well. We’re trying.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely. Even just in the two years its been since I was last at the Legation, I can see how much has changed, and how much work has been done. You answered one of my follow-up questions, which was about the evolution and development of TALIM’s goals, but I think you outlined those pretty fairly.

DAVISON: Yeah, I think it’s fair to say that when I first got here, I called on the *wali* [governor] and his message to me was “open the place up.” It’s a very nice place, but there are many people who don’t know anything about it. I learned that. Even when we host Christmas markets, and then our public is upper-class Moroccan and European, for the most part. You talk to people who you would expect to go to a Christmas market anywhere, and you talk to people who are in their 50s and from Tangier, women more than men, and this is the first time they had ever been to the Legation. Because for a lot of Tangerines, the medina was just Socco Chico and the Kasbah. It wasn’t modern Tangier, it wasn’t where you went. Even it was a museum, even if it was the Kasbah, you would only go once. Because you don’t go to museums a lot. So now, I’m getting people to come in, and giving them memories about the place as a place to go. Maybe in 30 years, one of these young people who went to a concert will be rich, and will want to give us a donation. I don’t know that visiting someplace on a school place is – it’s impressive. And one of the things that Grecia [Álvarez] has been working on is lesson plans for students who come to the Legation. They’re in English, but the American Language Center has offered to translate them into Arabic as well. And the very first lesson plan she’s worked on is about how you visit a museum. She pointed out, and Erica Tebow from the Embassy also pointed out: in America, schools teach kids how to visit museums. It’s not something that people know, instinctively, what they’re doing in a museum and what to look for. So we’re trying to open that up so that people who visit have a sense of what is this thing that they’re coming to, and so that teachers can prep them before they come and give them homework on the basis of what – on things that they should look for while they’re visiting the Legation museum so that when they get back, they can have follow-on work. That was an idea from someone from the Embassy, to have us set that up. Just coincidentally, somebody from the Fulbright program – who’s a high school teacher in Idaho, of all places! – was visiting Tangier. He got a grant for three months, and he’s working on a high school curriculum based on the literary aspect of Tangier as a city for American public high school kids in Idaho. But he’s going to put it, we’ll have it on our website, hopefully. I hope the American

Language Centers here can also distribute that. There is something about American literature that owes a great debt to Tangier, and I'd love to say it's because of Paul Bowles, but it's really because of William Burroughs and the Beats — who were influenced by Bowles. But in terms of the movement, the literary movement that has as part of its core Greenwich Village and San Francisco, it had Tangier as part of its core. And that moved into rock and roll, and hip-hop, and whether it was Ginsberg and poetry or punk rock... You can really see in both American and English pop culture, but also in European popular culture, that the Beat generation changed a lot of things.

ALBRECHT: They really did.

DAVISON: With hippies, it sort of came out — it wasn't all Tangier, but it was something very specific to that. I think more and more you see scholars coming here with that in mind. It's hard because when those guys lived here, they were living. They weren't making archives, or anything like that. They weren't even known, in the case of Burroughs. I mean, he was known, because he'd shot his wife. And the Beats were getting started. I think his *Naked Lunch* had not been published, and it wasn't until the 1960s until he really exploded. By that point, he was out of Tangier. Although he stayed in touch with Bowles, they had a lifelong friendship. I know that Bowles saw him in New York, because there's a documentary about Bowles, I think, going to New York. And he's not reuniting, because they kept in touch, but there's a filmed reunion of him and Burroughs. To the extent that Bowles was bemused that the Beats sort of adopted him as a spiritual godfather, when he wasn't of that time. He was an upper-middle-class suburban composer, and his ties were literary, but they weren't... I don't know if he was a Communist or not, but he wasn't politically active in the 1930s. He may or may not have been a part of the Communist Party, you'd have to look it up. But he was much more artistically active, whereas the Beats were a combination — their artistic work, but I think they were involved in the anti-war movement and things like that, where Bowles was above all of that, as was Jane [Bowles]. Then, I read somewhere that Burroughs was equally bemused that the punks adopted him as a godfather, because he didn't really get the punk movement, even though it's pretty clear from our perspective what the connection is. And then even with LGBT and queer theory kinds of issues, that is not something that the people who lived here — they lived it, but they weren't theorizing about it. And so it's sort of like, to study them is sort of like speaking a language that isn't understood by the people still alive.

ALBRECHT: I think that's pretty common to a lot of anthropology. We're making theory out of people's lived experience. I'm pretty familiar with that conundrum. That's ethnography.

DAVISON: Yes, and people will talk about it. There's a guy who's sometimes here named Philip Raimi, who's a composer and who has — I think he controls the major Paul Bowles website. It's interesting, because he controls this website as a person who was maybe a protégé of Bowles — definitely a friend. Probably a protégé to some extent, because he was composing contemporary music in the 1960s and 1970s and 1980s. But for him, when you talk to him about it, he's very — I don't want to say jaded, because that's not the right word. He's all about preserving Bowles. But the analytical side doesn't really interest him. It's more "No, I just really want to compile it. It's other people's jobs to think about. I can't think about it, because I'm part of it."

ALBRECHT: I think you have to have some distance to have that analytical perspective.

DAVISON: Even the people here who knew Bowles, most of them knew him socially. They knew he was a writer, and they knew he had friends who were writers, and they certainly read him and all of that. But their interactions with him didn't have anything to do with his writing. They had to do with going out to dinner together. They went to the same parties, and visited each other's houses. There were a few who were connected to the writing side of him — Marabat is still alive. Rachel Moyal was sort of funneling journalists and people who wanted to see him to him. But for most people, it was just "Well, we're going over to Paul's for tea" or "He's coming up here for dinner" and that's how they knew him. It's very interesting to hear about, but from a critical point of view, they don't feel they have a lot to add excepting knowing him. And as I said, most of them didn't know Jane, because she was already not doing well or dead. So that aspect of the relationship wasn't there. I think his relationship with Marabat — he sort of had a compartmentalized life, so that his Moroccan friends were one part of his circle, the artistic ones, and then the mountain ones were — he moved between different circles, in a way that people in those circles didn't move. Does that make sense? He's at the juncture of them, but they didn't know each other.

ALBRECHT: It does. Like the middle of a Venn diagram.

DAVISON: Yes. Even with Williams and Vidal and Capote, I don't know — I've never done any research — I don't know that they knew Burroughs and Ginsberg in the 1950s. They probably knew each other in the 1960s, once Burroughs and Ginsberg had become famous. But in the 1950s when they were completely unknown and in Tangier, they weren't in the same parts of town that Capote and Vidal and Williams were, up on the mountain. Or they were in the Marshon, and even the bars they went to were — and even their preferred substance abuse vices — not the same. If Williams was out

drinking until three in the morning and being poured home, Burroughs was out injecting something or smoking something in a different part of down with different sets of people. Burroughs was pretty scathing in comments about the people on the mountain, and the Americans who lived here. He didn't want to have anything to do with them, and they didn't want to have anything to do with him. I don't even think they knew who he was.

ALBRECHT: Do you think that all of this history that you've been telling me about (which is incredibly interesting, by the way – I can't believe that you have all of this at the forefront of your mind) is part of the reason why you've been enjoying your time here in Tangier, as the Resident Director of the Legation? Does all of that history and how the Legation is kind of wrapped up in some of that mythology, is that part of what draws you to this position?

DAVISON: Part of it is, yes. And part of it is to get to know the younger Moroccan artistic community here. One of the comparisons that a Moroccan friend gave to me was, he said, using French expressions, that Marrakech for Moroccan art is very "bling bling," and Tangier is very "boho," which is Bohemian, or hipster. And you see it, trying to connect with the young artistic community here, who don't see themselves as heirs to the Beats. Because that was very much an American phenomenon that didn't necessarily take root in Tangier. But there is something that is very street and urban and hip about the art scene in Tangier, where you have young artists coming up here for the sake of art, who are struggling because they are not commercializing it. They don't really know how to commercialize it. But then maybe what they're doing is maybe more – I shouldn't say authentic. But the biennial Marrakech, there's sort of established European and American money in the art scene in Marrakech. Of course Scorsese is involved in the film festival, and Coppola, and well, Pierre Bergé and the foundation. And some serious French and some serious Casablancon money, Moroccan Casablancon money, is involved in the art scene in Marrakech. And Casablanca. But in Tangier, that money isn't here. It's sort of an interesting scene. I'm enjoying that a lot, too. That's not why I came, but I think it's kind of... And for them, this space, we're going to have an open mic group come and we had a dancer do rehearsals here. If they can either use this space or see something in the space that is very historic, it's not street stuff. The art spaces here are sort of lofts in old buildings. It's nice that they can sort of have something they can envision that's historic, either to perform or in their own creation, if they see something in it that inspires them. That's sort of become the pleasant surprise that I wasn't expecting to get here. I think that it's the job of a museum to open up to folks like that, and the arts scene – whereas the Marrakech arts scene, it'd be different people. And I would like to turn the second floor of the pavilion into a

contemporary exhibition space, for contemporary Moroccan or other exhibitions. I wanted to recreate the first exhibit – it's not at all ready, because this building isn't ready. But it's an easy thing to recreate that doesn't need to be done now, which is to take this "Tangier: Then and Now," which was Zvereff – who will be coming. I found out in an email, I didn't know it, but he took the photos for it. He took some photos based on some of the glass negatives collection in 1976 and 1977, and he did an exhibition called "Morocco: Then and Now." We have the negatives to that. Michael Toler has sort of painstakingly identified the photos to match the ones from the glass negatives collection, and now I would like to just hire a couple of young – not necessarily artistic – photographers to kind of recreate, in black-and-white, the same setting. For some things, like the port, it's going to be completely transformational. In other things, they'll discover what's there, what has gone. And so we can do a "Tangier: Then and Then and Now" exhibition. But it will be over there, in the top. So the first exhibition, when that reopens – they tell me it'll be June, but I suspect it'll be more like August or September because they're finding problems. I'm telling them to take their time, find problems, fix it. But that means that they'll have to make adjustments, and find budgets to fix things. That would be exhibition space, almost gallery space. We can get you over there, it's all shrouded in paper and plastic now because of the work that's going on. But as long as – I don't think they're working on it this week – you'd have to wear a hard hat. But you could go over there and take photos. Actually, please do take photos. Because you can take photos of the process of it being transformed.

ALBRECHT: Absolutely, I would love to take photos of that. [*recording ends*]

John Zvereff Interview: Conducted by Emily Albrecht
Thursday, 4/22/2016 — Hanover, NH – via Skype

This interview does not follow the format of the other ones, as Mr. Davison jumped in before I had a chance to elucidate the structure. By the end of it, he had responded to all of my documented inquiries, but the flow may not be as immediately discernable as the other interviews.

ZVEREFF: Did you talk to John [Davison] about the previous name of TALMS? How did that work out? I've been reflecting on it, and there was no other name [than ASMAR] for the Legation at the time. There was just ASMAR. But then, I was not sure whether ASMAR was conceived in some other structure, which could have been TALMS. But at the time, the only name that was being used was ASMAR – the Association for the Study of Moroccan-American Relations.

ALBRECHT: I found through talking to John Davison, and doing archival research through the incorporating documents and early Director's reports, that originally the structure was such that TALMS was basically the U.S. arm, and ASMAR was the Moroccan arm. They were two separate organizations that were going to work in tandem, but ultimately, that relationship did not work out and ASMAR dissolved fairly soon after. I would really love to hear about your early time with the Legation and ASMAR, any memories from that time.

ZVEREFF: There really is not much. I was involved for about a year. I went to Tangier not for the old American Legation, but for thesis research. I was working on a thesis about Arabic influence on Italian literature in the 13th century. The idea was to do some language training in Arabic, and then go to the library in Fez and do some research there in Arabic. That was my first stop in Tangier, but not with the Legation, because I was not aware it existed at the time. My mother also was at the American Consulate, working for the Consul-General, Hal Eastman. When I was in Tangier doing research and learning Arabic, I was teaching at the American Language Center. I met my wife, who is French-Hispanic, and I wanted to get married. So I left Tangier for a year and went to Saudi Arabia to make some money, so we could get married. I got back, and we married in Tangier. While in Tangier, the previous Director of the American Language Center resigned, and I was offered his position. So I took on that position as Director of the American Language Center. Hal asked me to get involved with the American Legation space. At the time, it was just a Peace Corps space in disuse. You know the history of its use. The Peace Corps had stopped using it by the time I got there. It so happened that when Tangier had lost its international status in 1956, American residents in Tangier feared that all of their property would be confiscated. They

donated what they had, so as not to risk having Customs take their belongs. They deposited it at the American Consulate, with the eventual idea of trying to retrieve it. They donated it to the State Department, but it remained in Tangier at the Consulate General. There were beautiful antique book collections, prints, artwork, carpets. Everything you see now at the Legation, which has been enriched by donations. I'm not sure what the process was, because I was not involved. But since the space was there, and you had to restore it because it was a property of the United States, etc., etc., why not use it as an exhibition space for the objects that had been donated to the U.S. government? The idea was then to restore the Legation building, have it host activities relating to Moroccan relations, and then have other cultural activities and exhibitions, using the artwork. At the time, [Eastman] gave us the flat to live in – John [Davison] lives in it now, completely different condition. It was nothing [then] like it is now. It had leaks all over the place, no central heating. It was a mess. I remember that one of the guards had a chicken coop and some other animals downstairs, and whatnot. But, it was interesting. We lived there for about a year, close to a year, I think it was. We started doing a number of things. Our first project was to go over the glass-plate negatives that we had. So I gathered a group of expatriates who lived in Tangier, both British and American, and with them we went over all of the glass-plate negatives – the ones dealing with what we defined as Tangier. The idea was then to set up an exhibition called "Tangier: Now and Then" with the glass-plate negatives, and then actual photographs of the same spaces. That went on for quite a bit of time. At the same time, they started some restoration work in the building. There was also an issue of funding; there was no funding to dedicate to the project. The State Department did not have the money. In the mean time, they were then setting up this non-profit, the 501(c)(3). They did some fundraising, got some resources to actually launch the whole thing. When they had the money to do that, that's when they recruited Phillip DiTommaso.

ALBRECHT: Could you tell me more about Phillip DiTommaso?

ZVEREFF: Phil was a wonderful man. He had been Cultural Affairs Officer when the State Department had something called USIA. USIA was the United States Information Agency, and abroad it was called United States Information Service, or USIS. Under Carter, it changed its name to USICA – United States International Communication Agency. The name didn't mean much success, and they went back to USIA. Anyways, [DiTommaso] during that period had been Cultural Affairs Officer and a number of other positions. From what he told me – I'm not sure if this is actually true or not, but I think it is, because it was confirmed by the Public Affairs Officer in Rabat at the time, whose name was James Rentschler (I'm not sure, but I think Jim is still working for the

State Department, but he might have retired) – [DiTommaso] was C.A.O in Athens, I believe, and he signed a manifesto against Richard Nixon's foreign policy and use of culture to promote foreign policy issues. He and others then resigned from the State Department, and had a place in Florence. His kids went back to the States. He was in Florence at the time of his recruitment by Jim Rentschler. He was of Italian origin, and I say that because I was born in Rome, and I lived in Rome for eighteen years. His wife was of Italian origin, but I think she was a naturalized American. I don't know what generation of American Phil was. So we had a cultural connection there, and we hit it off very well. He was a wonderful man, very cultured and very capable. His frustration in the beginning was of course the lack of funding to do things. The lack of funding to do things, the lack of funding to restore the [Legation] apartment... At the time, my wife and I were 25 or 26, and so I could put up with that situation. Not [so, for] someone who had lived in a foreign service residence abroad. That made it difficult for him. When he was recruited, that's when I left the Legation itself. I was still working full-time for the American Language Center, so my connection to the American Legation was part-time. I was just overseeing some restoration work, and just being there. I tried to organize this first cultural program, the exhibition.

ALBRECHT: How long were you in Tangier?

ZVEREFF: I was there for two years, that year and another year. The reason I left is hard to believe when you explain it to someone my age, now, of course – I'm almost 65, now. At the time, I was 25, and life in Tangier was just much more than someone economic and professional ambitions could want. It'd be perfect for someone who was retiring. I used to check in at work at regular hours, but for lunchtime we had a couple of hours, so we'd go to the beach and then back to work, and then you would check out again. I had to check out again at about seven or eight o'clock to go to cocktail parties – there was tennis, there was golf. I said to my wife "If we don't get out of here in two years, we'll never leave."

ALBRECHT: That does make sense.

ZVEREFF: I wasn't ready for that, I wasn't ready for such an easy life. I wanted to do things. I knew that even though I would have a good time, it wasn't going to be good. So, when the second year was up, incidentally I was offered a job in Barcelona to run the national center here. We had the two years that we had given ourselves, so we left. But then we would go back occasionally, because my father-in-law still lives in Tangier. My sister-in-law lives in Ceuta, so we're frequently there. We have business in Tangier still, as well. We go back about once a year. Last year, I was there in September, because

my youngest daughter decided she wanted to get married in Tangier – my eldest daughter had gotten married in Tangier as well, because we were married in Tangier. It has become a sort of tradition. We're there quite frequently, yeah.

ALBRECHT: Whenever you go back to Tangier, do you visit the Legation?

ZVEREFF: Yes. I wasn't there this past time – setting up a wedding from a distance is a nightmare, and even when you're there... Everything that could go wrong, did go wrong, up until the very last minute. After that, it was fantastic.

ALBRECHT: That sounds like a wedding.

ZVEREFF: You give them instructions, and they say "yes, yes, yes" but then they do whatever they want. They are very creative... They create problems, in the meantime. So we were just trying to solve problems. Some of them had to do with the hotel room availability for a guest, because the King of Saudi Arabia – who was vacationing in Nice – left Nice in a huff because he wanted his beach to be a private beach, and he wanted no women in his security retinue that the French government had assigned to him. The French government said no to both, and the King of Saudi Arabia has a palace in Tangier. So he moved to Tangier, with 1,500 civil servants and whatnot whom he was vacationing with, and he sort of commandeered all of the hotel rooms in Tangier. We had to fight to make sure that one of our rooms was secured. We solved everything, and the wedding went off very well, and in short we just did not have time – I did not have time to see John [Davison] this time. I had, on the previous one. Or did I? No, of course I did! Because I took a group on a visit of the Legation. Absolutely, absolutely. I almost forgot.

ALBRECHT: Since you were there at the inception, and you still go back and visit and have seen its development – what do you see as the main purpose and goal of the Legation, and has that purpose or goal changed during that time period?

ZVEREFF: Well, I can't even say. I haven't followed it that closely. I see what John [Davison] is doing now, and he's very active. He's very active in cultural life, there. I don't know how much is being done in the fostering of understanding Moroccan-American relations, whether researchers are invited for stays to research at the old American Legation. I don't really know the activities of that place, in that sense. In a sense, at the time, it was not born as a real project. We had this building, we had this artwork – what were we going to do with this simple collection, and so forth? Since we had the building, [we thought] why don't we put it all in there. It wasn't as if from the

State Department or this other source that we needed to create this dialogue platform between the two countries. Morocco is a country that has this strongest and best and longest relationship with the United States, in North Africa. There was reason for doing that. I guess once it was decided that they would restore the building because – it finally got the status from the U.S. agency that handles buildings, what is it called... Anyway, it finally had someone for restoration purposes. I think it built up from there. As I said, I don't know how much of this research has been carried out to delve into the history of Moroccan-American relations, but one would think that it would be the main purpose of the association now.

ALBRECHT: Interesting. It's really good hearing your perspective on that. So, do you have any particularly cherished memories from this time at the Legation that you would like to share? Or least cherished memories?

ZVEREFF: No, it was great. It was a great experience. I was young, we were young. Everything is very positive at that age. It was a luxury to be in a historic building, even though it was almost falling apart. It was very special. We would sit in the dining room upstairs – not in the main room – and just having dinner, you could see burglars jumping from rooftop to rooftop. That was fine, it was normal. You live with it. What I always found very surprising – actually, amazing – the respect with which the community always treated the premises. There was no vandalism outside, no graffiti, nothing. In fact, it was an integral part of the medina, and a part of the history as well. It was treated with respect. That's why it was so important, especially nowadays, when we have these tensions with some Islamic radicals and whatnot, to be able to develop this very special relationship with Moroccans. It's a platform for cooperation and understanding. Or, it could be. I know it's very integrated right now with the community – it has courses for women, to empower women, which is very good. I believe it has some literacy courses as well. That's all very wonderful. It's very good, it's community engagement, which is essential. But I think that, if it's missing, it could certainly use this other label of cultural involvement as a result of possible research projects and so forth.

ALBRECHT: Interesting. Well, we've gone through all of my questions. Is there anything you'd like to share, or tell me? Really, just anything about your time with the Legation or in Tangier, what's kept you interested and involved with it... anything.

ZVEREFF: Well, as I've said, it was something very new. Morocco is a wonderful country, Tangier is very special. It's less special now than it was back then, even though

before I had arrived it was even more special – you know, with [William S.] Burroughs, with Allen Ginsberg, and others. The one who died, not so long ago...

ALBRECHT: Paul Bowles?

ZVEREFF: Paul Bowles, of course. That was very interesting. The place is very, very special. And the old American Legation was part of this special environment in Tangier. So, a lot of my memories are very positive, despite the tough conditions that we lived in for a year. It's wonderful to see that it has been restored. It's a very livable, and I would say almost comfortable, very comfortable, space compared to what we had experienced ourselves. I would say in general it's a very comfortable space, in comparison – not just in Morocco. In Tangier, it's exceptional. I believe that a very good job is being done in terms of adding to the collection, I don't know at what rate they're managed to do that, but it's good. It's very good, that this is happening. I remember the time that Malcolm Forbes was alive, and he had the Mandoubia Palace [Sidi Hosni], which was this beautiful villa that now belongs to the Moroccan government, which is where the soldier collection comes from. There's a room with the lead soldiers in battle, I forget which battle it is. But he had an incredible amount of those set-ups in his villa. I'm glad that his children donated that particular one to the museum. Really, there's not much else. It's a wonderful place to retire.

ALBRECHT: Well, maybe you'll be back there one day.

ZVEREFF: It'd be very nice. The only problem would be health services. It's difficult. It's difficult in Tangier, it's very Spartan. Patients have to go there with their own linens and forks, and stuff. Sometimes even with their own folding bed. They just don't have the space or facilities.

ALBRECHT: I can't even imagine.

ZVEREFF: No. There's something they used to say – the best medicine in Tangier is the airplane. Or the ferry. It's not politically correct, but that's what people would say.

ALBRECHT: It makes sense.

ZVEREFF: So, what is your project? You will be producing a history of the Old American Legation? Going back to when?

ALBRECHT: I'll briefly touch on the period from 1821 to 1976, just explaining the physical transformations it went through and the different groups that used that space. But the bulk of my history will be over the past 40 years, really dealing with TALMS and TALIM.

ZVEREFF: So it was TALMS, yes, you're right. It was TALMS and ASMAR, absolutely.

ALBRECHT: Yes. So I'm writing an oral history of the NGO and its work.

ZVEREFF: Will you be able to illustrate it with some of the glass-plate negatives?

ALBRECHT: Possibly. I'm not quite at that stage yet. Once I get to that, I would like to.

ZVEREFF: What is the projected deadline for this?

ALBRECHT: May 26th.

ZVEREFF: What? May 26th? That's around the corner!

ALBRECHT: Yes. But, I'm not taking classes right now – I finished up my classes, so this is all that I'm working on. It is my sole dedication.

ZVEREFF: Wonderful, sounds great.

ALBRECHT: It's been a good ride.

ZVEREFF: It's part of U.S. history, so I think it's a very good project. It's good that someone is writing this down. Most Americans are not familiar with it. There's no reason why they really should be, because it didn't have such an impact on foreign policy – though, with the early stages, yes [it did]. The Legation was set up as a sign of the collaboration that the U.S. government had received in the Berber war, with the pirates. Okay, well, Emily, if something else comes to mind, just let me know. Shoot me an email, and I'll fire a response and let you know. Either way, I'll let you know. I can't come up with any more clippings. I don't know if the one that I sent was in decent quality, or if there was any need for you to receive it in photocopy format. Just let me know, and I'll see what I can do, if it's necessary. If you need it only for reference, then what you have might be sufficient.

ALBRECHT: Yes, I'd appreciate that if it becomes necessary, and I'll certainly let you know if that's the case. Well, thank you so much for speaking with me, and taking some time out of your day to have this conversation.

ZVEREFF: My pleasure. Good luck on your job hunt, as well.

APPENDIX B: PHOTOS FROM THE LEGATION



Pictured above: AMIDEAST Student Group visits the Legation. February 27, 2009. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: Andalusian orchestra Performance at the Legation. 2006. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured to the left: then-TALMS President I. William Zartman speaks during an annual April Seminar on Port Development. April 2007. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: women's literacy (Arabic language) class at the Legation. 2007. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: former President of France, Jacques Chirac (left), visiting the Legation. Also pictured: then-Resident Director Thor Kuniholm (right). October 2008. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan (left), visiting the Legation. Also pictured: then-Resident Director Thor Kuniholm (right). 2007. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



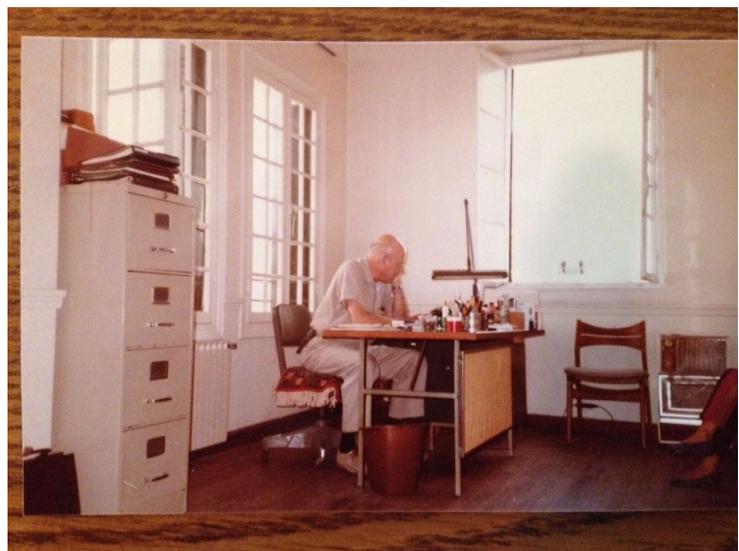
Pictured above: then-Resident Director Thor Kuniholm receiving the decoration of Knight, Order of Ouissam Alaouite, from Ambassador Aziz Mekouar. 2010. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: women's sewing class at the Legation. January 2006. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured to the left: Glass plate negatives of the Legation in the 1980s. Image provided by Valerie Staats.



Pictured above: former Resident Director (1983-1989) Dr. Bob Shea. 1984. Photo provided by Lisa Abuhamad.



Pictured above: Thor and Elizabeth Kuniholm, then-TALIM Resident Director and Associate Director. January 2006 Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured to the left: Bachir Skiredj, an actor and one of the first Moroccan members of the TALM Board, visits the Legation. Date unknown. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: the Temeli Brothers (Ahmed, Mustapha, and Abdelleh) as waiters for an evening function. The three brothers work as repair specialists and custodians at the Legation, as well. Photo provided by Thor Kuniholm.



Pictured above: John Davison, current Resident Director of the Legation (2014 – present). Photo provided by John Davison.



Pictured to the left:
Ambassador Dwight Bush
in August 2015 at the
Legation. Photo provided
by John Davison.



Photo provided by Gerald Loftus. Former Resident Director Gerald Loftus (2010-2014) and his wife in the Legation's Paul Bowles exhibit. Photo taken by photographer Cherie Nutting. Photo provided by Gerald Loftus.



Pictured above: the Moorish Pavilion in the Legation. April 7, 2016. Photo taken and provided by Emily Albrecht.



Pictured above: an urban gardening children's workshop at the Legation on a Saturday morning. April 9, 2016. Photo taken and provided by Emily Albrecht.



Pictured above: the Legation courtyard and surrounding neighborhood at night. April 9, 2016. Photo taken and provided by Emily Albrecht.