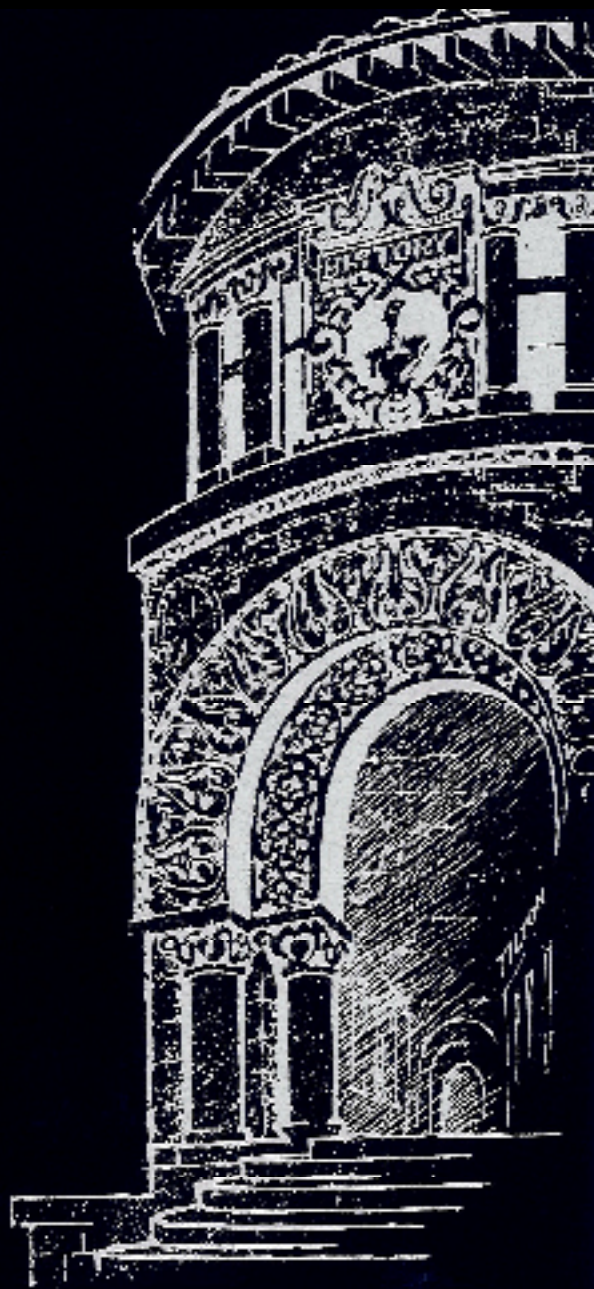


HERODOTUS



Volume XXIX

Spring 2019

Stanford University Department of History

HERODOTUS

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Department of History
Stanford University

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Herodotus is a student-run publication founded in 1986 by the Stanford University Department of History and the History Undergraduate Student Association (HUGSA). It bears the name of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the 5th century BCE historian of the Greco-Persian Wars. His Histories, which preserve the memory of the battles of Marathon and Thermopylae, were written so that “human achievements may not become forgotten in time, and great and marvelous deeds . . . may not be without their glory.” Likewise, this journal is dedicated to preserving and showcasing the best undergraduate work of Stanford University’s Department of History. Our published pieces are selected through a process of peer review. As a final note, *Herodotus*’ volume numbering system erroneously begins at 1990 rather than at 1986. We have, however, chosen to retain the existing numbering system for the sake of continuity.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

In 1986, members of the now-defunct History Undergraduate Student Association (HUGSA) collaborated with Stanford's History Department to create a journal dedicated to publishing the university's best undergraduate history essays. Undergraduates would serve as the journal's editors, selecting papers using a process of peer review. Faculty would provide the editorial board with guidance when needed, with the History Department funding the journal's expenses. By spring of that year, Stanford had a new student publication in circulation: *Herodotus*.

Thirty-three years later, *Herodotus* remains a forum through which Stanford undergraduates can publish their finest work in history. Until this volume, however, *Herodotus*' first four years had been lost to the historical record. With 1990 erroneously listed as its founding date since that decade, the journal's volume numbering system is also, as a result, incorrect. HUGSA, disbanded in the early 1990s, was gradually forgotten, as was its crucial role in creating the journal. As much as *Herodotus* values historical specificity and accuracy in the papers it publishes, for over two decades, it has gotten its own history wrong.

The purpose of *Herodotus* is to publish papers that disrupt the dominant historical narrative, that alter our understanding of human history and allow the voices of the past to reach into the present moment. We dedicate this volume to the "forgotten" first publications of *Herodotus* to affirm our commitment to the standards to which we hold our authors. By replicating the original 1986 cover design, reprinting the first editor's note, and recognizing HUGSA's role in the journal's creation, we hope to carry the voices of 1986 into 2019. We could not have done so without the help of former editors Pam Ballinger '90, Rob Borthwick '87, and Beth Cheng '87.

We have not yet found a suitable answer for the discrepancy in *Herodotus*' founding date. Nor have we discovered why, over the years, HUGSA's involvement in the journal's founding was forgotten. However, our effort to correct the record of our journal's story should serve as a reminder that to study history is to be willing to override previous assumptions. Easy answers, we have learned in this process, rarely do justice to history's inherent complexity.

As historians and editors, we must recognize that we cannot change the past. However, we do have the power to change how we look at it.

HERODOTUS

SPRING 1986 EDITOR'S NOTE

Herodotus—named for the fifth century B.C. Greek historian known as the father of history—represents an effort by the History Undergraduate Student Association (HUGSA) to expand students' historical awareness through the publication of undergraduate work.

We thank the Department of History for its financial support and confidence in our ability to publish *Herodotus*. Additional funds were provided by the School of Humanities and Sciences. In particular, we would like to express our appreciation to Professor Paul Robinson, History Department Chair, and Professor Harold Kahn, HUGSA faculty sponsor, for their encouragement and advice. We are also indebted to the History Department secretaries, Maeve Collier, Priscilla Williams, and Amy Marchetti. Finally, we thank the graduate students who commented on submissions.

The flaws that undoubtedly remain are solely the responsibility of the Editorial Board. However, the Board assumes no responsibility for the opinions and facts contained in the essays.

All inquiries concerning editorial and business matters should be directed to: *Herodotus*, Department of History, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305.

The Editorial Board

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"RACE-BOUND": HISTORICAL SHACKLES IN THE HILL-THOMAS HEARINGS

Introduction by Theresa Iker

The shadow of Christine Blasey-Ford's testimony in Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation hearings loomed heavily over our seminar in the fall of 2018, leading Matt Bernstein to write his insightful examination of Anita Hill's similar role in Clarence Thomas's 1991 hearings. Attentive from the start to the intersections of racial and gender politics in the Hill and Thomas incident, Matt grappled with the monumental historical task of saying something new about such a recent, media-saturated event. Drawing on the deeper context of the history of lynching, intraracial rape allegations, and longstanding suspicions of "scorned women," Matt performs an attentive close reading of Thomas's remarks and Hill's treatment. In his conclusions about Thomas's "racial transcendence" and Hill's relegation to its opposite, being "race-bound," Matt certainly found something new to say, and he said it incredibly well.

"Race-Bound:" Historical Shackles in the Hill-Thomas Hearings

Matt Bernstein

In 1991, the Anita Hill hearings exploded into the national spotlight and captivated Americans nationwide, who suddenly found themselves caught up in a public trial involving two Black Americans: Anita Hill, then a law professor at Oklahoma State University, and Clarence Thomas, President George H.W. Bush's newest nominee to the Supreme Court. Hill had accused Thomas of sexual harassment. By almost all accounts, the committee dismissed Hill, and treated her with a cold, perfunctory indifference. The hearings at once drew shock and criticism from those who supported Hill and praise from those who supported Thomas. The senators of the judiciary committee ridiculed her, accused her of living in a "fantasy world", and invalidated her at every turn; Thomas, on the other hand, enjoyed comparatively lighter questioning and greater trust. Why did the committee treat Hill in this way and how did Thomas, as someone accused of repeated sexual misconduct in graphic detail, come off as a martyr?

It is easy to attribute the reaction both from the judiciary committee and the public to deep-seated historical biases based solely on the gender of the accused and the accuser. Given larger historical patterns in United States history involving gender relations, it makes sense that the male accused would experience greater leniency than the female accuser. But the race of both parties, specifically the fact that this tense, public hearing centered on two Black Americans, created a complicating wrinkle. More specifically, Thomas's repeated comparison of the trial to a lynching ironically clinched his victory. One might expect that this invocation of lynching, a racially charged word that represents a shameful blot on the American past, could very well backfire on Thomas. It could easily dredge up an image of a hypersexual Black predator and thus affirm his guilt. By closely examining the language and tone of the hearings and providing historical context on the intersections

of race and gender, this paper will argue that Thomas's repeated allusions to lynching ended up working in his favor because his analogy relied on a post-racial interpretation of lynching in the color-blind 1990s political landscape. Hill, on the other hand, could not set the terms of the debate in the hearings due to both her status as a witness and her status as a Black woman. She faced a hostile panel of white male interrogators and, implicitly, a long history of powerful white men's disbelief in Black women's allegations of sexual misconduct and harm.

From the outset of the hearings, Thomas positioned himself as someone who has had the privilege to live in what was essentially a post-racial society until these hearings. He said:

“Mr. Chairman, in my 43 years on this Earth, I have been able, with the help of others and with the help of God, to defy poverty, avoid prison, overcome segregation, bigotry, racism, and obtain one of the finest educations available in this country. But I have not been able to overcome this process. This is worse than any obstacle or anything that I have ever faced. Throughout my life I have been energized by the expectation and the hope that in this country I would be treated fairly in all endeavors.”¹

Thomas's word choice, including “able,” “defy,” “overcome,” “expectation,” all point to the alluring and comforting notion that Thomas had been able to overcome adversity in an America that no longer sees race as it once did. At the same time, by emphasizing his “expectation” of fair treatment, Thomas suggested that the hearing itself was a disgrace because it underscored his precarious status as a Black man facing sexual misconduct charges. To that end, he said, at the conclusion of his opening statement, “I will not provide the rope for my own lynching or for further humiliation.”² At the end of this opening statement, Thomas set up a dark historical reminder of the atrocities that had been committed against Black men from the Reconstruction period, and

1 *Nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary*, 102nd Cong. 9 (October 11, 1991) (statement of Clarence Thomas), <https://www.loc.gov/law/find/nominations/thomas/hearing-pt4.pdf>.

2 *Ibid.*, 10.

brought critical attention to the optics of the room itself and its role in a larger public theater.

However, the implicit definition of lynching that Thomas used at the end of his opening remarks is one that is radically different than that of the Reconstruction period. Thomas referred to the very process of his confirmation as a lynching, emphasizing how the spectacle of the process has harmed him. He listed every negative effect of the trial on his life, affirming his victimhood throughout: "I am a victim of this process and my name has been harmed, my integrity has been harmed, my character has been harmed, my family has been harmed, my friends have been harmed."³ He continued, "I am proud of my life, proud of what I have done, and what I have accomplished, proud of my family and this process, this process is trying to destroy it all."⁴ When he then said that he would not provide the rope for his own "lynching," Thomas used the word to refer primarily to his victimhood and the injustice he had faced from the process, a definition seemingly unrelated to race. However, an historically accurate definition of "lynching" in the Reconstruction era evoked a very specific racial connotation. It was almost always white women, not Black women, who were the accusers when Black men were charged and lynched on the basis of sexual assault.⁵ By using the word "lynching" while ignoring half of the word's racial connotations—that his accuser was not a white woman—Thomas unconventionally affirmed his victimhood as a Black man, while nevertheless working within a societal framework that had supposedly moved beyond race. Thomas thus successfully played on the concept of an ideal post-racial society while highlighting how this accusation and hearing had upset that very ideal.

This subtle invocation of a "post-racial" America in the 1990s was not new at the time, and it served Thomas an important purpose in establishing his credibility. In a 2007 paper, twentieth-century historian Matthew Lassiter remarks that "Most white Americans want to believe that they now live in a 'color-blind'

3 Ibid, 9.

4 Ibid.

5 Estelle Freedman, *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 96.

society.”⁶ The 1990s, he argues, saw a wave of discontinuation of race-conscious policies. He writes, “In 1999, a federal judge appointed by Ronald Reagan ordered Charlotte to discontinue the use of race-conscious assignment policies for purposes of integration, described in the ruling as a policy of ‘standing in the schoolhouse door’ in reverse discrimination against white students.”⁷ This kind of political color-blindness mapped onto Thomas as the nominee, as well, even in his personal life. Toni Morrison, award-winning author and contemporary public figure, says, “The nominee could be understood as having realized his yearning for and commitment to ‘race-lessness’ by having a white spouse at his side.”⁸ Morrison refers to this phenomenon as “race transcendence”: Thomas transcended race by ignoring certain racial conventions in his life by marrying a white woman. This same phenomenon emerged in his rhetoric during the hearings, as Thomas ignored important racial connotations surrounding lynching while at the same time bringing his race—and consequently, victimhood—to the foreground.

In spite of Thomas’s post-racial use of the word “lynching,” the word and its history still held significance for Anita Hill, who did not have the privilege of transcending her race. Allegations of sexual misconduct within the Black community have been held to different standards than white sexual misconduct ever since Reconstruction.⁹ A close examination of the historical racial tensions and ideologies deeply embedded in the American conscious explains why the committee treated Hill so coldly. The white Senators in the hearing drew on those stereotypes and a misguided belief in a “race-blind” society to paint Hill as unchaste and immoral. The dismissal and mistrust of Hill’s accusations on the part of a white male jury was a contemporary manifestation of historical disregard

6 Matthew D. Lassiter, “The ‘Color-Blind’ Inversion of Civil Rights History,” *Revue Française D’études Américaines*, no. 113 (2007), 67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20875759>.

7 Ibid, 68.

8 Toni Morrison, “Introduction: Friday on the Potomac,” in *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power*, ed. Toni Morrison (New York: Random House, 1992), xxi.

9 The history of intraracial sexual misconduct allegations dates back to before Reconstruction, but the Reconstruction period marks a watershed moment when documentation of such allegations and the practice of lynching began in earnest.

for and subjugation of Black women.

Before discussing the mistrust that Hill endured, it is necessary to trace the history of racially-specific sexual violence. Intraracial sexual violence allegations (i.e. one in which a Black woman accuses a Black man of sexual assault or harassment), like the one we see in the Hill hearings, were few and far between when rape accusations involving Black women first emerged. Historian Estelle B. Freedman states that “These accounts remained rare at the end of the [nineteenth] century, for pointing them out could reinforce stereotypes about black rapists.”¹⁰ Freedman argues that lynch law, or the extralegal execution of supposed criminals, was a result of white racial and sexual anxieties surrounding the expanded rights granted to freed Black people. Thus, Freedman concludes, the manufactured association between Black men and rape justified the prevalence of lynch law; and increasing lynchings only served to prove this association—that all Black men are rapists or potential rapists.¹¹ It was this prevailing stereotype that made it difficult for Black women to come out with accusations against Black men, for fear of demonizing their own race, contributing to lynch violence, and unintentionally setting back the cause of civil rights.

But when these allegations did emerge, however rarely, courts almost always held women to a high moral standard. “Like non-elite white women, who found it hard to win rape convictions, these black women had to meet community standards of morality,” argues Freedman.¹² An intraracial rape case was stereotyped two-fold: Black men may have been seen as rapists, but Black women were also seen as sexually immoral. This particular stereotype can be traced back to long-held beliefs cultivated by slavery apologists, who asserted that Black women were sexually promiscuous and therefore impossible to truly rape.¹³ Black male assailants benefited not only from Black women’s reluctance to make intraracial accusations, but also from what Freedman coins the “chastity” or “character requirement”: Black women had to be outwardly chaste in her actions to earn both trust and a moral stamp of approval

10 Freedman, 84.

11 Ibid, 97.

12 Ibid, 85.

13 Ibid.

from her community. In the end, in many of these intraracial rape cases in the South during Reconstruction, “Southern appellate courts often overturned guilty verdicts against black men accused of intraracial rape.”¹⁴ As Freedman says, often “the character requirement for victims overrode the racialization of black men as rapists.”¹⁵ The “chastity requirement” signaled an almost insurmountable barrier for women to succeed in intraracial rape cases, and constituted a deeply-entrenched mistrust of black women who accused black men of rape. Even during the racially charged reign of lynch law, when Black men were instantly assumed guilty when accused by white women, longstanding mistrust of Black women’s sexuality meant that their accusations—even against Black men—were met overwhelmingly with disbelief.

This same mistrust and “character requirement” of Black women reemerged in the Hill hearings for Hill herself. The senators’ questions painted Hill as a jealous, lying woman. Senator Heflin, for example, asked Hill if she was a “scorned woman.”¹⁶ Senator Specter questioned Hill’s credibility when he asked, “[H]ow reliable is your testimony in October 1991 on events that occurred 8, 10 years ago, when you are adding new factors, explaining them by saying you have repressed a lot... how sure can you expect this committee to be on the accuracy of your statements?”¹⁷ Senator Leahy asked if Hill has “anything to gain by coming here?” suggesting that she was operating on behalf of someone else, and had an ulterior, ostensibly political, motive.¹⁸ The senators’ questions highlight that, while Thomas had the privilege to transcend race, Hill could not escape the very real implications that persisted from the history of lynching and intraracial rape.

Hill also faced senators questioning her sanity, enduring general gender stereotypes on top of the historical prejudice she faced as a Black woman in an intraracial allegation. After evidence emerged that Hill had passed a polygraph test, Senator Simpson quoted lawyer Larry Thompson, saying, “I understand, based on information from reliable scientific sources... that if a person

14 Freedman, 85.

15 Ibid, 86.

16 *Nomination*, 87 (Senator Howell Heflin, questioning Anita Hill).

17 Ibid, 84 (Senator Arlen Specter, questioning Anita Hill).

18 Ibid, 116 (Senator Patrick Leahy, questioning Anita Hill).

suffers from a delusional disorder he or she may pass a polygraph test.”¹⁹ Simpson here implied that Hill had some kind of mental illness. Julie Berebitsky, author of *Sex and the Office*, notes that senators similarly developed “A more exotic explanation—erotomania—a rare delusional disorder” for Hill’s behavior.²⁰ “In suggesting that Hill had fantasized Thomas’s come-ons,” Berebitsky argues, “Republican senators were merely adopting psychological views that had been around in some form with regard to sexuality in the workplace since at least the 1930s and embracing the distrust of women long codified in rape law.”²¹ Hill thus suffered ongoing gender stereotypes regarding women’s instability in addition to the tradition of chronic mistrust and unattainable character requirements that Black women specifically faced in allegations of sexual harassment and abuse.

Thomas juxtaposed his and Hill’s startlingly different relationships with race when he insinuated that Hill’s accusations came from a place of jealousy. Specifically, at the prompting of Senator Specter, Thomas suggested that Hill had accused him of sexual misconduct because she was jealous of and upset by Thomas’s marriage to a white woman. As Morrison puts it, “Professor Hill, he seemed to be suggesting, harbored reactionary, race-bound opinions about interracial love, which, as everybody knows, can drive a black woman insane and cause her to say wild, incredible things.”²² Though sarcastic, Morrison touches on a key point: Thomas’s suggestion, on which senators harped, compounded the contemporary American commitment to an idealistic color-blind society while simultaneously playing off of racially charged accusations, just as his use of the word “lynching” did.

However, even though he invoked lynching early on in the hearing, Thomas did not have to suffer through any attacks on his character or credibility. Despite—or perhaps because of—the long historical tradition of lynch law painting Black men as hyper-sexualized and predatory, senators consistently assured Thomas of their respect for him. In fact, before Thomas’s opening statement, Sen-

19 *Nomination*, 373 (Senator Alan Simpson, questioning Anita Hill).

20 Julie Berebitsky, *Sex and the Office* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 266.

21 *Ibid.*

22 Morrison, xxi-xxii.

ator Thurmond said, “Not one of these witnesses, even those most bitterly opposed to this nomination, had one disparaging comment to make about Clarence Thomas’s moral character. On the contrary, witness after witness spoke of the impeccable character, abiding honesty and consummate professionalism which Judge Thomas has shown throughout his career.”²³ Hill would soon face the opposing side of Thurmond’s testament to Thomas’s character, as the senators made “disparaging comments” about Hill, dismantling any semblance of “abiding honesty” and calling into question her “professionalism.”²⁴ As a man, Thomas had control of the narrative throughout the hearing in a number of respects. He gave both the opening and closing statements for the hearing, and even directed what he would allow and what he would not allow in terms of questioning: At the end of his opening statement, following his invocation of lynching, Thomas said, “I am not going to engage in discussions, nor will I submit to roving questions of what goes on in the most intimate parts of my private life or the sanctity of my bedroom. These are the most intimate parts of my privacy, and they will remain just that, private.”²⁵ Through his strong choice of words here, particularly the definitive use of “am” and “will,” Thomas claimed a certain amount of authority over the hearings. In this statement, write Christina S. Beck, Sandra L. Ragan, and Lynda Lee Kaid in *The Lynching of Language*, “Thomas subtly challenges the power that the senators possess to direct the hearings.”²⁶ Indeed, by positioning this statement just after his discomfiting allusion to lynching, Thomas wielded this discomfort to drastically heighten his agency over the hearing and preemptively strip the committee of its ability to ask certain questions. In doing so, just after potentially opening the floodgates for attacks on his character, Thomas immediately prohibited any such attacks, affirming his simultaneous victimhood and moral high ground in the same way he did when refusing to provide the “rope for his lynching.”

It is not just his challenge to the committee’s power that is

23 *Nomination*, 5 (Senator Strom Thurmond).

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Nomination*, 10 (Clarence Thomas).

26 Christina S. Beck, Sandra L. Ragan, and Lynda Lee Kaid, “The Doing of Gender through Cross-Examination,” in *The Lynching of Language* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 36.

crucial to dissecting the results of the hearing, but also the relative power Thomas had in the room compared to Hill. Put simply, Hill very explicitly did not and would not possess the kind of authority throughout the hearings that Thomas expressed at the end of his opening statement. For example, whereas Chairman Joe Biden responded to Thomas by saying “Thank you, Judge. You will not be asked to [submit to those kinds of questions],”²⁷ he later repeatedly asked Professor Hill to repeat, in detail, the lewd comments and actions that she accused Thomas of, and in doing so appeared to make her very uncomfortable. C-SPAN footage of the hearing shows that, when Biden pressed Hill to recite in detail what Thomas said to her, she paused and sighed before continuing. Hill’s reaction indicates her discomfort with the question, and points to how differently the committee treated Thomas and Hill.²⁸

Thomas may have known that his invocation of lynching was not quite historically accurate; but he nevertheless used the word to great effect, wielding the discomfort he evoked to command the hearing while affirming his own victimhood. The claim to the victimhood he faced as a Black man, combined with his subtle reference to the post-racial climate of the 1990s, allowed him to transcend his race and avoid the attacks on his character that the reminder of “lynching” might otherwise have invited. However, the historical shackles of racial and gender stereotypes that weighed on Hill were too heavy for her to overcome. In the end, the combination of Hill’s race and the long history of intraracial allegations made “racial transcendence” impossible for her. She was too “race-bound.”

The hearings provide a fascinating look at how language and history—in particular, warped representations of racial history—can affect how Americans interpret accusations like the ones Hill leveled against Thomas. Could the same case involving two African Americans play out in the same way today? It is hard to say. Certainly, America has a better understanding of sexual harassment and racial and gendered stereotypes than it did during the 1990s. And it is worth noting that, in the wake of movements like

27 *Nomination*, 27 (Chairman Joe Biden).

28 “C-SPAN: Biden questions Anita Hill during Clarence Thomas confirmation hearing,” filmed October 1991, video, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4750436/hill-grilled-embarrassing-details>.

#MeToo and Black Lives Matter, Americans are now more aware than ever of how race affects present-day America. But, as seen in the Hill-Thomas hearings, the justice system seems to reward those who can manipulate historical perception in their favor as Thomas did. Still, it is promising that after both the Thomas hearings and the more recent Kavanaugh hearings, both of which dredged up discourse about American history, gender, and race, record numbers of women were elected to Congress (more than 100 after the Kavanaugh hearing), including women of color.²⁹ Perhaps these public spectacles are good for something other than proclaiming victimhood: they galvanize those undercut by the hearings to try to remove those historical shackles themselves.

29 Grace Panetta and Samantha Lee, “This graphic shows how much more diverse the House of Representatives is getting,” *Business Insider*, <https://www.businessinsider.com/changes-in-gender-racial-diversity-between-the-115th-and-116th-house-2018-12>.

CALIFORNIA BLACK PRESS RE- SPONSE TO CHINESE CITIZEN- SHIP, 1865-88

Introduction by Herodotus Editorial Board

Tinuola Dada's engaging paper analyzes how black newspapers in Northern California advanced Anglo American narratives of Chinese racial and moral inferiority at a time when California and the federal government denied Chinese immigrants citizenship rights. Analyzing black newspapers in operation from the Reconstruction era through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Dada challenges the notion that, in her words, "racial oppression necessarily produces racial solidarity." Rather than advocate for a fellow racial minority, African Americans, Dada shows, saw Chinese immigrants as a threat to the political rights they had recently acquired and were struggling to preserve. Ultimately, Dada's paper demonstrates that anti-Chinese sentiment of the nineteenth century crossed racial barriers, at times aligning an oppressed racial group with its oppressors.

California Black Press Response to Chinese Citizenship, 1865-88

Tinuola Dada

Introduction

The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified July 9th, 1868, invalidating the Supreme Court's ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that determined that African Americans could not be citizens of the United States. Section I of the Amendment defines United States citizenship as applying to "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof."¹ While the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to provide citizenship for former slaves and their descendants, the broad language of Section 1 soon became relevant to other groups arguing for citizenship rights. In 1898, the Supreme Court's decision in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* solidified the concept of "birthright citizenship," in this case confirming citizenship rights for an American-born child of Chinese immigrants. Superficially, the Supreme Court cases that bookended this period suggested a progressive movement in ideas of citizenship, especially for nonwhites. However, these years saw powerful anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation resulting in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first law to prevent all members of a specific ethnic or national group from immigrating to the United States. These anti-Chinese policies were often rooted in white supremacy and therefore also impacted African Americans. Although 30 years after its adoption the Fourteenth Amendment ensured Chinese-American citizenship, in the interim, anti-Chinese attitudes threatened the rights the amendment guaranteed to African Americans.

This paper will investigate how the California black press responded to the question of Chinese-American citizenship between 1865 and 1888. In 1860, 4,086 African Americans lived in California, a population that grew slowly until the twentieth century. Comparatively, California's Chinese population grew rap-

1 U.S. Const. amend. XIV, § 1.

idly in the 1860s, with nearly 60,000 Chinese in the state by 1870.² Despite the small black population, by 1865 two black newspapers, the *Elevator* and the *Pacific Appeal*, were operating in San Francisco. Black newspapers like these helped establish a sense of collective identity among African-Americans, for they regularly received correspondence from writers across the country and printed news relevant to the black community. They also aimed to produce narratives of black racial progress and condemn anti-black legislation and policies.³ The *Elevator*, for example, sub-titled itself "A Weekly Journal of Progress," with the slogan "Equality before the law." Similarly, the *Pacific Appeal* called itself the "Official organ of the People of Color in the State of California, and of the American Colored People on the Pacific Coast." Thus, the black press not only created a space for black public discourse but was also central to black identity.

This paper begins with Reconstruction, when African-American and Chinese civil rights were directly and comparatively debated, and ends just after the Chinese Exclusion Act. Although Chinese-American citizenship was contested up to the *Wong Kim Ark* decision, only the *Elevator* and the *San Francisco Vindicator*—another black newspaper—were operational through the 1890s, with later issues of the surviving journals not well preserved. Nonetheless, the period this paper examines includes the crescendo of the anti-Chinese movement and demonstrates how African Americans' struggle for civil rights had to emphasize its place within the racial and cultural barriers to citizenship anti-Chinese advocacy had erected. Rather than produce interracial solidarity, the concept of citizenship following the ratification of the fourteenth amendment forced racialized groups to manufacture particular—and often conflicting—images of themselves and others in the struggle for inclusion.⁴ Once the exclusion of the Chinese from citizenship began to impact black political rights, nineteenth-century black newspapers both rejected attempts to conflate black and Chinese rights and employed the logic of the

2 Arnold Shankman, "Black on Yellow: Afro-Americans View Chinese Americans, 1850-1935," *Phylon* 39, no. 1, (1978), 2.

3 Helen Jun, "Black Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Race and U.S. Citizenship," *American Quarterly* 58, no. 4, (2006), 1053.

4 *Ibid.*, 1049.

anti-Chinese movement to craft a narrative of Chinese moral inferiority. That narrative coexisted with an emphasis on black moral, political, and cultural development explicitly aligned with white American values.

Disconnecting Black and Chinese Citizenship

At the end of the Civil War, Chinese and African-American civil rights became increasingly legally and discursively connected. While national politics primarily focused on the Freedmen, western states like California became concerned that the broad language of the Reconstruction Amendments would grant civil rights to Chinese immigrants. In 1867, for example, Governor Henry Haight opposed granting suffrage to blacks out of fear that doing so would lead to Chinese enfranchisement. In his inaugural address, he declared that Californians would never allow either group to vote or hold office as they were both “inferior races.”⁵ Two years later, as Congress was debating the Fifteenth Amendment, Senator Eugene Casserly of California rejected the Amendment during a speech in San Francisco on the basis of its implications for Chinese suffrage.⁶ Californian legislators’ challenges to the Reconstruction Amendments were especially dangerous given the state’s significant electoral power. According to Mary Roberts Coolidge’s ‘California thesis’ for the Chinese Exclusion Act, “the struggle on the part of both parties...to carry California became fiercer and fiercer and gave her demands for legislation a prominence in the national legislature out of proportion to their normal value.”⁷ White newspapers also disseminated this connection between African-American and Chinese suffrage. An editorial from the California-based *Democratic Standard* in 1867 argued that “a vote for those who stand on the Congressional reconstruction platform is an expression of opinion in favor of allowing negro and Chinese suffrage.”⁸ In 1866, the *Weekly Colusa Sun* challenged African Americans to prove themselves as comparatively worthy of citizenship, writing, “We have not deemed it at all necessary to

5 Shankman, 6.

6 “A Party of Broken Pledges,” *Sonoma Democrat* (Santa Rosa, CA), Aug. 21, 1869.

7 Mary Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Holt, 1909), 179.

8 “Negro Suffrage,” *Democratic Standard* (Healdsburg, CA), Nov. 14, 1867.

show the better qualities of the Chinese. Let the negroites attempt to show the meritorious exploits of the negro, and we will tilt against them with bit of Chinese history.”⁹

In response to these legislative debates and changes, black newspapers in California challenged the idea that the Reconstruction Amendments could extend rights to the Chinese. In the late 1860s, black newspapers sought to discredit politicians connecting the Reconstruction Amendments and Chinese political rights. An article from the *Elevator* on gubernatorial-candidate Henry Haight’s opposition to black suffrage responded, “Mr. Haight, the great apostle of the Democracy, in his recent speeches continually intermingles the question of negro suffrage with Chinese immigration...There is no analogy between the cases.”¹⁰ After Henry Haight won California’s 1867 Governor’s race, the paper further undermined him and the logic he used to get elected. Responding to Governor Haight’s inaugural address, the *Elevator* wrote, “Governor Haight seems to think that he was elected on those issues... We can assure him the contrary...and we can further inform him that if the Democratic party had had any hopes of success they would never have nominated H. H. Haight.”¹¹ Two years later, the *Elevator* also condemned Governor Haight’s speech attaching Chinese suffrage to the Fifteenth Amendment, writing, “With all due respect to the Governor, we must be allowed to say that he has less brains or less honesty than we gave him credit for, if he entertained that opinion...no such question...lie[s] concealed within the Fifteenth Amendment; and that to contend that it does, is unmitigated “bosh,” and distinctly demagogical.”¹² Black newspapers propagated these arguments in tandem with Republican papers. In 1869, the *Elevator* republished an article from the *Solano Herald* expressing frustration that the California Democratic party had “chosen to go before the people upon the single issue of opposition to the proposed Fifteenth Amendment,” and called the language

9 “Is the Negro Superior to the Chinaman,” *Weekly Colusa Sun* (Colusa, CA), Feb. 3, 1866.

10 “Democratic Logic,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Aug. 30, 1867.

11 “Inaugural Address of Gov. Haight,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA) Dec. 13, 1867.

12 “The Governor and the Chinese,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Aug. 27, 1869.

of the Amendment “so plain that the wayfaring man, though fool, need not err therein...all the talk and excitement of the Democratic party about negro office-holding and Chinese suffrage, is not only the sheerest nonsense, but it is brazen faced falsehood.”¹³

Black newspapers also criticized their white counterparts for legitimizing these politicians’ arguments. Days after the 1867 Governor’s election, the *Pacific Appeal* criticized white newspapers for using the narrative of Chinese enfranchisement to explain the results, writing, “Some [newspapers] have stated that it was fear of making the Chinese citizens...All are aware that the real issue in the nation at present is hinged upon the reconstruction measures of Congress, whose policy is to induce all the loyal States to adopt Negro Suffrage, and not Chinese citizenship or Chinese suffrage.”¹⁴ In a sidebar in the *Elevator*, one writer made this criticism even more explicit and severe: “A lie well stuck to is sometimes as good as the truth if you can only make people believe it,” he wrote. “The Democratic papers will insist that the 15th amendment confers citizenship on the Chinese, notwithstanding it bears evidence of the contrary...But do they expect anybody to believe it, except the ignorant fools of their own party, who would believe anything?”¹⁵ The *Elevator* was willing to speak out against journals representing both sides of the political aisle. In an 1866 article, for example, the *Elevator* challenged the *Morning Call*, a Republican journal out of San Francisco, saying that “there is no danger to be apprehended from the Chinese ever becoming naturalized citizens of the United States.” The *Elevator* continued, writing that “The [*Morning Call*] seems to be imbued with the idea that this is the white man’s country, and that Negroes and Chinamen have no political rights which white men are bound to respect. We make no issue on the Chinese question; let them ‘paddle their own canoe.’”¹⁶ Rather than conceding that their position required advocacy of Chinese citizenship rights, the California black press denied the premise of anti-Chinese logic by discrediting politicians and newspapers propagating such ideas.

13 “Fifteenth Amendment,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Aug. 27, 1869.

14 “The Interpretation of the Recent Vote” *Pacific Appeal* (San Francisco, CA), Sep.14, 1867.

15 “Untitled,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Jun. 11 1869.

16 “Untitled,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Jan. 19, 1866.

California's black press also proposed its own policy and advocacy solutions to resolve the "Chinese Question." In a letter to the *Elevator*, W.H. Hall, a member of the San Francisco Executive Committee of the California State Convention of Colored Citizens, advocated for a more direct appeal to white voters by encouraging "one or more capable colored men to canvas among the white voters with convincing arguments refuting the Chinese heresy."¹⁷ Black newspapers also submitted petitions to the state government, proposing policies that circumvented the roadblock of anti-Chinese sentiment. Following the 1867 election, the *Elevator* submitted a petition to the California Legislature proposing a change to the State Constitution that would allow the state government to confer voting rights to African Americans. While admitting that Governor Haight's election may indicate that white Californians were opposed to black suffrage, the paper maintained that "that the question was not fairly submitted to them. The issue was on striking the word "white" from the Constitution, and the Negro and Mongolian were thereby connected, thus classifying native Christian Americans with foreign heathens... we believe had not the Mongolian question have been agitated, nothing would have been said concerning negro suffrage."¹⁸ The paper argued that its proposal only asked for the possibility of allowing a future legislature to vote on black suffrage. As for the question of whether doing so would admit Chinese voters, the paper responded, "Our proposition obviates that."¹⁹ California's black press was well aware of the deleterious effect of anti-Chinese sentiment on progressing African-American civil rights and consequently responded by changing the narrative and presentation of policy proposals to exclude the "Chinese Question" from the discussion. This strategy, accompanied by simultaneous Republican efforts to disarticulate the Chinese from legislation that enfranchised black Americans, proved effective. Although both the Republican and Democratic parties adopted anti-Chinese platforms during the 1871 gubernatorial campaign, these platforms included neither the earlier conflation of black and Chinese inferiority nor the double

17 "Letter from W.H. Hall: Fifteenth Amendment" *The Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Jun. 25, 1869.

18 "Our Petition" *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Oct. 11, 1867.

19 "Open Questions" *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Nov. 8, 1867.

objection to black and Chinese suffrage.²⁰

Chinese Heathens and Black Christians

In order to further distance themselves from the Chinese, black newspapers began to employ the rhetoric of the anti-Chinese movement in its representations of Chinese immigrants. White nativists characterized Chinese immigrants as an invasive "yellow peril" that posed a serious moral and economic threat to both white laborers and American society. They questioned whether they could "compete with a barbarous race, devoid of energy and careless of the State's weal? Sunk in their own debasement, having no voice in government, how long would it be ere ruin would swamp the capitalist and poor man together?"²¹ White journalists, politicians, and health officials coordinated to establish Chinatown as "an alien space of filth, disease, and contamination."²² Sensationalist descriptions of Chinatown presented it as "ankle-deep in loathsome slush, with ceilings dripping with percolations of other nastiness above, [and] with walls slimy with the clamminess of Asiatic diseases."²³ The predominantly male composition of the Chinese immigrant community and images of Chinese men as opium addicts and sexual predators of young white girls only fueled the discourse of moral panic in areas surrounding Chinatown.²⁴

Most notably, white Americans often made these representations comparatively between African Americans and Chinese immigrants. In response to the *Weekly Colusa Sun's* challenge to "tell us in what respect the negro is better qualified for an elector than the Chinaman?" the *Marysville Daily Appeal*—a Republican paper—wrote, "The Chinese are heathen, while the negroes are Christians. The negroes are natives of the United States, while the Chinese are Asiatic barbarians. The negroes understand the principles of our government, while the Chinese know nothing about it. Three great, unanswerable reasons in favor of the negroes over

20 Najia Aarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-82* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 163.

21 Jun, "Black Orientalism," 1051.

22 Ibid.; Philip Bell, "The Chinese Crusade" *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Jun. 14, 1873.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

Chinese.”²⁵ Similar arguments continued to be made even at the end of the Reconstruction period. In a statement before the senate in 1877, Reverend Blakeslee, a white minister, argued for Chinese exclusion, saying,

Slavery compelled the adoption of Christian forms of worship...Slavery took the heathens and by force made them Americans in feeling, tastes, habits, language, sympathy, religion and spirit; first fitting them for citizenship, and then giving them the vote. The Chinese feel no such force, but remaining in character and life the same as they were in Old China, unprepared for citizenship and adverse in spirit to our institutions.²⁶

As Reverend Blakeslee’s statement indicates, Christianity was central not only to Chinese Exclusion but also to the justification for black citizenship. The reverend ultimately positioned Christian conversion as the foundation of black moral development and suitability for citizenship.

The California black press adopted the same rhetoric and reasoning. In a letter to the editor of the *Elevator*, a San Francisco resident described Chinatown as “filth actually personified, and the stench which arises and penetrates the olfactory nerves is something perfectly horrible,...he never passed through more filthy,—a more disgraceful locality to any juvenile and enterprising city than the Chinese quarter in San Francisco!”²⁷ Another writer to the *Elevator* called the Chinese “degraded people who, for three thousand years have maintained a wall of superstition and error against our revealed faith.”²⁸ The characterization of Chinese immigrants as ‘idolatrous’ or ‘heathens’ was consistently present in the black press and indicated an effort to distance blacks from the dangerous implications of anti-Chinese legislation that occupied California’s political discourse.²⁹ One telling article published in 1867 denied any link between the black and Chinese situations, arguing that

25 “Untitled” *Marysville Daily Appeal* (Marysville, CA) Jan. 27, 1866 Jun, “Black Orientalism,” 1047.

27 “The Gentile Chinees,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Mar. 19, 1873.

28 “Freedmen vs. Chinamen,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Dec. 17, 1869.

29 “Legislating on the Negro,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), Dec. 15, 1865.

“the Chinese are foreigners, unacquainted with our system of government, adhering to their own habits and customs, and of heathen or idolatrous faith. The negroes ask for the rights of citizenship as their just due.”³⁰ In a letter to the National Labor Convention of Colored men of the United States, republished in the *Elevator*, frequent contributor W.H. Hall made explicit the case for African-American rights in contrast to those of Chinese immigrants. According to Hall, while African Americans “seek to be an integral part of the nation,” the Chinese, “are clannish, avaricious, and antagonistic in their social intercourse, and the danger is impending.”³¹ In emphasizing Chinese degeneracy and peril to civilized society, these authors seized the rhetorical opportunity presented by white writers to comparatively secure black citizenship through the legacy of Christianity as the gatekeeper to citizenship.

The idea of the “Chinese heathen” became a powerful trope for the black community, whose assertions of humanity and claims to citizenship had historically been rooted in Christian morality. Much of the abolitionist movement relied on religious rhetoric, arguing that slavery was antithetical to Christian principles. After emancipation, Christian doctrine and monogenesis presented the best theoretical challenge to scientific racism.³² As a result, nineteenth-century narratives of racial equality encouraged middle-class values—the authoritative signifiers of respectability and humanity. While racist discourses characterized blacks as immoral, irrational, and violent savages unsuited for citizenship or government, the educated black community responded by promoting “values of temperance, thrift, chastity, and patriarchal domesticity as a means of proving their worthiness and entitlement to citizenship.”³³ With African Americans continued to inhabit a politically, socially, and economically precarious position after the Civil War, they sought to strengthen the connection between Christianity and the discourse of citizenship. Moreover, the sharp contrast embodied in the trope of the backwards Chinese “heathen” allowed for the discursive production of black citizens who could be incorpo-

30 “Democratic Logic,” *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA) Aug. 30, 1867.

31 W.H. Hall “Freedmen vs. Chinamen” *Elevator* (San Francisco), Nov. 19, 1869.

32 Jun., 1056.

33 Ibid.

rated into the narrative of Western historical progress.³⁴

The Problem of Chinese Exclusion

The language of "yellow peril" persisted in the California black press throughout the Reconstruction period into the Gilded Age. In 1887, the *San Francisco Vindicator*, a black newspaper established in 1884, declared, "'The Chinese must go.' So says Dr. O'Donnell and so says the Vindicator. They are polluting the air and everything else. In fact, to come into contact with them at all is to be polluted."³⁵ However, as the anti-Chinese movement intensified, the California black press was divided in its response to the resulting policy changes.

At the state constitutional convention of 1879, California took its most dramatic stance against Chinese immigrants. Article XIX of the updated constitution established explicitly anti-Chinese labor policies and, most broadly, determined that, "the Legislature shall prescribe all necessary regulations for the protection of the State, . . . from the burdens and evils arising from the presence of aliens who are or may become vagrants, paupers, mendicants, criminals, or invalids afflicted with contagious or infectious diseases."³⁶ This language was especially insidious for African Americans, as laws employing similar rhetoric were undermining black civil rights in the South; almost all of the former Confederate states had instituted black codes criminalizing African Americans for any number of behaviors—including vagrancy—in order to reestablish quasi-slavery using the convict lease system.³⁷ The new Constitution also declared that "the presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United States is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the Legislature shall discourage their immigration by all the means within its power."³⁸

Noticing the potentially broad implications of these

34 Ibid.

35 "Untitled," *San Francisco Vindicator* (San Francisco, CA), Jun. 25, 1887.

36 Calif. Const. art. XIX, § 1 (1879, repealed 1952).

37 Jun, "Black Orientalism," 1055; Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Random House, 2008).

38 "A Chance for Work," *San Francisco Vindicator* (San Francisco), Nov. 17, 1888

changes, the *Pacific Appeal* opposed the new constitution as “insidious. It is evasive...It provides that ‘no native of China’ shall be eligible to the right of suffrage in this State. Then if a white or colored man resident in China should become the father of child; the latter [would be] debarred the privilege of citizenship in California. The new Constitution is too verbose...We are opposed to its adoption.”³⁹ A sudden change in black attitudes toward the Chinese fails to adequately explain the black press’ response to Chinese exclusion in the state constitution. More specifically, despite the *Elevator* and the *Pacific Appeal*’s opposition to Chinese exclusion, these papers made clear that their position was not based on sympathy for the Chinese.⁴⁰ Moreover, black writers’ characterizations of the Chinese as idolatrous heathens continued into the twentieth century.⁴¹ Rather, Chinese exclusion presented both a direct and indirect threat to black rights. During a Congressional debate on amending the Chinese Exclusion Act, for example, one representative observed that “everyone knows that the negro type is certainly not higher than the Mongolian or yellow type...Let us, I say, if we have any law on this subject, have a consistent law that will exclude whole races and whole nations.”⁴² With the passage of Chinese exclusion legislation explicitly placing racial limits on U.S. citizenship, the black press’ opposition to these policies was rooted in the potential threat they posed to African-American rights.

The mixed response of California’s black papers exemplifies the complex implications of Chinese exclusion for black citizenship. Some black newspapers saw Chinese exclusion as an opportunity to improve economic conditions facing blacks. For example, in the aftermath of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the *San Francisco Vindicator* wrote, “Chinese laborers are becoming scarce...this state of things opens up a great field for colored labor...A business-like enterprise to bring to bring laborers from the

39 P.J.C., “The New Constitution,” *Pacific Appeal* (San Francisco, CA), Apr. 5, 1879; see also “A Constitutional Conundrum,” *Pacific Appeal* (San Francisco, CA), Mar. 19, 1879.

40 "Have Chinese Any Rights Which Americans Are Bound to Respect," *Elevator* (San Francisco, CA), May 24, 1873.

41 Jun, 1061.

42 Representative Lyman, speaking on HR. 1798, 48th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 15, pt. 4 (May 3, 1884): H 3763.

Southern States to California, pushed with energy, would certainly be successful."⁴³ Although Chinese exclusion signified the racialization of U.S. citizenship, economic competition from Chinese immigrants presented a countervailing threat to the promises of Reconstruction. In a letter to the *Elevator*, W. H. Hall summarized black anxieties during the period:

"It is impossible to reconcile the movement to introduce thousands of pagan, untried laborers into a field of action already abundantly supplied, and where competition will surely bring confusion and ruin, only as a measure full of evil and instituted from the revenge of those un-repenting misguided sons of the South, who yet seem disposed to scourge the negroes for their unyielding fidelity upon the field of battle [...] behold the unfairness of placing the ignorant negro in conflict with a people, who, in their own country have had all the advantages of their kind of learning, and who come into this warfare of race with almost vandal ferocity."⁴⁴

Although for some black papers, Chinese exclusion exposed the tenuous status of black citizenship, for others, Chinese immigration presented the same threat. While black newspapers justified these concerns in ways similar to those of white laborers, for African Americans, economic anxieties were tied to the promise of citizenship and their social and political future. As W.H. Hall wrote, "if the freedmen fail upon this new experiment of self-government, it becomes a disaster irretrievable to the whole race."⁴⁵

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century California black press employed the language of the anti-Chinese movement in order to distance itself from Chinese Americans and secure African-American rights in the post-Civil War world. This strategy, which underscored the "American" character of blacks and the otherness of the Chinese initially seemed successful—despite the anti-Chinese platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties in 1871, neither

43 "A Chance for Work," *San Francisco Vindicator* (San Francisco, CA), Nov. 17, 1888.

44 W.H. Hall "The Freedmen versus the Chinamen," *Elevator* (San Francisco), Aug. 27, 1869.

45 Ibid.

eliminated black enfranchisement. After the 1898 *Won Kim Ark* decision, the *San Francisco Chronicle* commented that, although California may be safe from “the more unpleasant features of Chinese...citizenship,” it could become necessary “to amend the Federal Constitution and definitely limit citizenship to whites and blacks”;⁴⁶ black citizenship was constitutionally secure, the *Chronicle* implied. Only two years prior to *Won Kim Ark*, Supreme Court Justice Marshall Harlan dissented in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that “A Chinaman can ride in the same passenger coach with white citizens of the United States, while citizens of the black race...are yet to be declared criminals.”⁴⁷ While the Chinese Exclusion Act defined the racial barriers to U.S. citizenship, the constitutionality of *Plessy v. Ferguson* indicated that, although African Americans were citizens in name, black racial difference would remain at the core of American national identity.

46 “Questions of Citizenship,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), Mar. 30, 1898.

47 Jun, “Black Orientalism,” 1047.

"A SCHOOL OF CIVICS": MEMCH AND CHILEAN FEMINISM AT HOME AND ABROAD (1935-1941)

Introduction by Ivan Jaksic, Director of the Bing Overseas Studies Program in Santiago

Reagan Dunham spent a Summer quarter in Santiago, Chile, conducting research under the aegis of my course "Topics in Chilean History." The outcome of her research is a nuanced, multi-dimensional analysis of the women's movement in Chile in the 1930s, after it won several civil rights but was still short of achieving full electoral rights. Therefore, and with a clear awareness that this was a continuous struggle, Chilean women gathered under the capable leadership of remarkable women such as Elena Caffarena and Amanda Labarca to demand democracy not only at the public level, but also in the private sphere. In the process they contested several ideologies, including fascist ideologies coming from Europe, intent on keeping women constrained in traditional roles. Reagan Dunham has given justice to a particularly important period in Chilean history and has also provided essential background for understanding the resistance of women against the later regime of Augusto Pinochet.

"A School of Civics": MEMCh and Chilean Feminism at Home and Abroad (1935-1941)

Reagan Dunham

Citizens can evaluate the quality and direction of their democracy by engaging with the socio-political issues their community faces. The Pro-Emancipation Movement of Chilean Women (MEMCh) addressed such issues head-on from 1935 until it disbanded in 1953. The organization emerged in a particularly ideal time for feminist activism in Chile. A collection of leftist parties - the Radical Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Confederation of Chilean Workers, the Federation of Students of the University of Chile, and the indigenous Mapuche-led Frente Unico Araucano - joined in the mid-1930s to form the Popular Front coalition. This left-wing alliance sought to provide a voice to Chileans who had been underrepresented in the conservative governments of previous years, as illustrated by its slogans, "to govern is to educate" and "bread, roof, coat."¹ The emergence of this progressive coalition was coupled with significant change in women's participation in the workforce; by 1940, women made up nearly one quarter of the Chilean labor force.² Women's labor also diversified during this period - a change largely driven by surges in women's employment in professional occupations, particularly nursing and education.³

These factors contributed to a hospitable climate for political reform, and it was in this political climate that MEMCh was born. It focused primarily on issues of economic, reproductive, and political independence for Chilean women, and challenged the gender-based hierarchy that characterized the pre-existing social order. From its inception, the organization rejected gender-based

1 "Pan, Techo y Abrigo," *Memoria Chilena*, last modified 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-542750.html>.

2 Corinne Antezana-Pernet, "Peace in the World and Democracy in the Home: The Chilean Women's Movement in the 1940s," in *Latin America in the 1940s*, ed. David Rock, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 166-183.

3 Ibid.

restrictions on political participation that denied women the right to influence their government. Even after Chilean women gained the right to vote in municipal elections in 1934, MEMCh continued to assert that women be given the opportunity to combine life in the domestic sphere with life in the public sphere. Elena Caffarena, a co-founder of MEMCh, summarized the movement in a few short words when interviewed in 2003: “MEMCh was a great school of civics.”⁴ Its primary goal was to urge Chilean women to demand the right to a life that was not defined by their roles in the home. The organization contended that democracy could not truly exist in Chile until all citizens, regardless of gender, were able to fully partake in social and political life. In order to be a truly citizen-centered government, MEMCh argued, the Chilean government must center itself around all of its citizens. MEMCh’s school of civics had an emphatic answer to this question from its very beginning. From 1935 to 1941, MEMCh answered that question by asserting that Chilean women must see themselves as citizens of three communities - their home, their country, and the world - and that they must fight to secure democracy in each.

Democracy in the Home: Bread, Roof, Coat

When addressing the Inter-American Commission on the Status of Women in 1946, pioneering Chilean feminist Amanda Labarca underscored the importance of mothers and the home in the development of democracy. “If, for example, we want peace and democracy, we have to fight for them,” she announced. “Peace must be made... And how could it be established in nations if we don’t find it first in family life and in relationships with human beings? Democracy must begin in the home.”⁵ While not a member herself, Labarca worked closely with many of MEMCh’s leaders and the organization shared her sentiment. Memchistas maintained the conservative notion that the home was the fundamental unit of Chilean society. However, they distinguished themselves from the political mainstream by insisting that Chileans must reconstruct the home in order to prioritize the needs of women and the work-

4 Elena Caffarena. “Elena Caffarena: un siglo, una mujer.” Interview by Diamela Eltit. *Servicio Nacional de la Mujer*, 2003.

5 Amanda Labarca, *Feminismo Contemporaneo* (Santiago, 1948), 230, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-98299.html>.

ing class.

MEMCh's publicized newspaper, *La Mujer Nueva* (*The New Woman*), urged women to advocate on behalf of their homes to form the foundation for a better society. The League of Nations reported in 1933 that the Great Depression had impacted Chile more than any other country, and inflation and scarcity continued to afflict families across the country throughout the decade.⁶ The authors of *La Mujer Nueva* lamented the fact that families had to ration common household goods while monopolists and landowners controlled the resources they desperately needed. In August of 1936, for example, the periodical dedicated an entire page to addressing the high cost of goods like milk, sugar, and bread.⁷ "Bread, roof, coat" - the rallying cry of the Popular Front - was frequently adopted by Memchistas to support their position that all Chileans must be guaranteed access to the basic necessities of survival.⁸ MEMCh also argued that children's health must be prioritized in order to protect Chilean homes. When the organization was founded in the 1930s, nearly 250 out of every one thousand Chilean children died in infancy, and MEMCh often positioned itself as a defender of Chilean children.⁹

MEMCh also strongly advocated for the right of Chilean women to support themselves financially. Caffarena proclaimed in *La Mujer Nueva's* second issue, "Without room for doubt the most important point of the Pro-Emancipation Movement of Chilean Women is that which refers to the economic emancipation of woman."¹⁰ One of the major roadblocks to securing this emancipation was the persistence of coverture in the Chilean legal system. The legal rights of married women were assumed by their husbands,

6 Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, 2002), 223.

7 "Por que es cara la vida?" *La Mujer Nueva*. August 1936, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0023520.pdf>

8 "Emancipación económica," *La Mujer Nueva*. December 1935, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0023512.pdf>.

9 "Tasas de mortalidad infantil, neonatal y postneonatal en Chile, 1915-2000," *Memoria Chilena*, last modified 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-74939.html>.

10 "Emancipación económica," *La Mujer Nueva*. December 1935, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0023512.pdf>.

leaving wives with little ability to control their own property or possessions.¹¹ Another challenge to economic autonomy was the fact that many female workers received lower wages than their male coworkers. Women were often paid lower salaries than men because, in the eyes of employers, a man's salary supported an entire nuclear family while a woman's merely augmented that of her husband.¹² MEMCh, however, consistently emboldened women to demand equal salaries on the basis that "la mujer obrera" was no less deserving of economic autonomy than her male counterpart.

The articles in *La Mujer Nueva* are not the only source of information about MEMCh's efforts to provide women with entry points to the public sphere and more opportunities to become self-sufficient. The publication's first two editions ran advertisements alerting readers to upcoming night school classes offered for free to the general public.¹³ Another advertisement for an ophthalmologist named Dra. Ida F. Thierry was published twice in 1936 and a surgeon named Maria Guajardo placed one in 1937, demonstrating to working class readers that it was possible for women to have professional careers.¹⁴ Reflecting Labarca's assertion that democracy begins in the home, MEMCh spoke directly to Chilean women and nurtured the belief that fighting the right to provide for their families, control of their reproductive rights, and act as their own breadwinners would enable them to overcome the barriers they faced and establish themselves as Chilean citizens in their own right.

Democracy in the Country: Women's Political Participation

Chilean women had the right to vote in municipal elections during the years in which *La Mujer Nueva* was published, but

11 Newspaper Article, September 1937. PCH 10272, Año 1: no.8 (1936:jul)-año 2: no.18 (1937:nov.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

12 J. E. Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood : Maternity and Women's Rights in Twentieth-Century Chile* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).

13 Newspaper Article, 8 November 1935. PCH 10272, Año 1: no.7 (1935:nov. 8)-año 1: no.7 (1936:jun.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

14 Newspaper Article, July 1936. PCH 10272, Año 1: no.8 (1936:jul)-año 2: no.18 (1937:nov.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

presidential contests remained out of reach. Determined to create space for women in Chilean politics, MEMCh sought alternative methods of civic involvement. With the dual goal of finding ways for women to engage in the political sphere without suffrage and demonstrating that they deserved the vote, the organization made a concentrated effort to teach its audience one of the most important lessons a civic education can provide - that political participation is not limited to electoral politics.

One example of such a lesson was the importance of evaluating the performance and decisions of government. In "The War," an article published in 1935 in the second edition of *La Mujer Nueva*, MEMCh asked its readers to consider the nationalistic language that surrounds discussion of war. The author presented three terms - "patriotism," "nationalism," and "heroism" - and challenged their traditional definitions. While citizens often understood these terms as references to love of one's country, she characterized them as tools that politicians employ to convince mankind that violence is necessary.¹⁵ The author painted a picture of the men and women of the working class, who labored for hours and still struggle to feed their children, and claimed that these families are not able to enjoy the benefits of the "patriotism, nationalism, and heroism" that their government boasts of. The author further asserted that while those terms are commonly understood as affectionate terms regarding one's homeland, they more closely resemble intentionally-broad terms that have been employed by politicians to convince the people to support their goals: "Those who organize the massacre of humanity invent pretty things to deceive women and men."¹⁶

After listing statistics about the number of people who died, were wounded, or widowed after World War I a generation earlier, she urged readers to ask themselves why governments prioritized military strength over public services that would address malnutrition, infant mortality, or one of the other important social challenges the nation faced:

15 Newspaper Article, 8 December 1935. PCH 10272, Año 1: no.7 (1935:nov. 8)-año 1: no.7 (1936:jun.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

16 Ibid.

"And the nations continue to arm themselves, they continue consuming wealth in the purchase of arms. For this, money is not spared. However, there is no money to build or improve hospitals, there is no money to attend to malnourished children, nor for schools, not for a single work that benefits the people.¹⁷

In addition to encouraging readers to appraise the decisions of their government, this statement also illustrated to its audience how deeply the politics of home, country, and world are related. Because national government chose to emphasize militarization efforts for global wars, local homes and communities had to learn to do without. In this way, "The War" offered readers insight into the necessity of understanding the overlapping nature of their roles in civil affairs at varying levels of government.

Although MEMCh provided its readers with a variety of alternative tools for civic engagement, it by no means ignored the importance of electoral politics. *La Mujer Nueva*'s coverage of the 1938 presidential election stands as one of the most prominent displays of MEMCh's dedication to educating women about the democratic process. The publication began reporting on the election in earnest in early 1937, when it declared, "An election that can entirely change the life of the country is approaching."¹⁸ As women could not yet vote themselves, *La Mujer Nueva* urged them to immerse themselves in alternative forms of civic action. One of its primary suggestions to Chilean women was to encourage their male relatives to vote for candidates that supported equal pay, women's suffrage, more government support for children, and other political issues that MEMCh prioritized.¹⁹ A second suggestion urged women to attend political meetings and communicating the problems and aspirations of the organization, in the hopes that men would begin to understand the necessity of women having equal political rights.²⁰

The October 1938 issue of *La Mujer Nueva* in particular served as a crash course of civic engagement. The publication sup-

17 Ibid.

18 "La mujer y la política," *La Mujer Nueva*, February 1937, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0023506.pdf>.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

ported the Popular Front in its early days, and while it criticized the coalition for failing to carry out its promise of advancing women's rights, it nonetheless threw its support behind the Popular Front candidate, Pedro Aguirre Cerda. The front page was covered in political cartoons that warned of a bleak future if the Popular Front was not successful - working class families would continue to live in poverty, without access to the health and financial resources they needed to sustain themselves.²¹ A noteworthy feature of the issue was a report on an interview with Aguirre Cerda himself. *La Mujer Nueva* presented him as a studious man, a labor ally, and a supporter of women's rights, making him MEMCh's ideal candidate for president.²² Aguirre Cerda spoke largely of issues that related specifically to gender-based discrimination, and affirmed that he shared MEMCh's assertions about improving the status of Chilean women by pledging his support for the vote, more educational opportunities, and social assistance programs for women.²³

This edition also addressed the external factors that can influence how citizens choose to vote. Special attention was paid to the buying and selling of votes, a remnant of nineteenth century politics that lingered well into the 1950s.²⁴ Landowners were known to offer their tenants food, money, or valuables in order to sway their vote, usually in favor of candidates who supported policies that maintained the socio-political order that kept them in power. In its attempt to combat vote-buying, MEMCh sought to fundamentally change the way the women in its working class audience approached electoral politics. Rather than continuing to view elections as day-long events that had little implications on one's personal life, *La Mujer Nueva* insisted that its readers see elections as important political events that had long-lasting impacts on citizens and the society in which they lived.

This edition of *La Mujer Nueva* was scattered with brief

21 Newspaper Article, February 1937. PCH 10272, Año 1:no.8 (1936:ju-l)-año 2:no.18 (1937:nov.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

22 Newspaper Article, October 1938. PCH 10272, Año 1:no.19 (1937:nov./1938:ene.)-año 2:no.23 (1939:jul.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

23 Ibid.

24 Collier and Sater (2002), 237.

boxes of text in which authors lambasted the practice of vote buying, most likely for two reasons. Primarily, democracy could not be truly secured until all Chilean voters were informed on political issues and able to make their own decisions in elections without fear of coercion. Secondly, vote-buying had traditionally kept progressive platforms that MEMCh and its leftist contemporaries supported out of power, thereby preventing the advancement of their preferred policies. By encouraging working class communities to keep their votes, MEMCh hoped to promote democratic processes in Chile and generate more votes for the Aguirre Cerda and the Popular Front. The edition's entreaties stressed the humiliation of vote-sellers, the corruption of vote-buyers, and the consequences that six years of political decisions could have for citizens. Appeals directed at its largely female audience prompted Chilean women to view fighting against vote-buying as tantamount to fighting to provide food for their children, and encouraged them to persuade their male relatives to back labor-friendly candidates.²⁵ In a few cases, *La Mujer Nueva* diverged from its usual path of only addressing women and appealed directly to men, likely in hopes that its largely female audience would encourage the men they knew to read it. The text implored: "Citizen: Don't sell your future well-being for a plate of lentils," and "If you sell your vote you'll bring for yourself and for Chile... six more years of the rich being richer and the poor poorer."²⁶ MEMCh's efforts proved fruitful, as Pedro Aguirre Cerda won the election and was sworn in as the President of Chile the following month. Although *La Mujer Nueva* proclaimed that his election ushered in "[a] new era for the Chilean woman," another eleven years would pass before Chilean women gained the right to vote in presidential elections.²⁷

Democracy in the World: The Fight Against Global Fascism

When reflecting on World War I in the 1940s, Amanda

25 Newspaper Article, October 1938. PCH 10272, Año 1: no.19 (1937:nov./1938:ene.)-año 2: no.23 (1939:jul.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

26 Ibid.

27 Newspaper Article, December 1938. PCH 10272, Año 1:no.19 (1937:nov./1938:ene.)-año 2:no.23 (1939:jul.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

Labarca remarked that mankind hoped that it truly would be a war to end all wars. "We fight in the name of democracy so it will be the last of wars," she wrote, going on to praise the fact that faith in humans' ability to overcome adversity survived the war.²⁸ As the onset of a second world war became apparent, women in Chile employed this faith to demand for a future free of fascism and the substantial borders it placed in front of female independence.

The international events of the 1930s and 1940s encouraged many Chilean feminists to connect political issues in their country to those around the world. Historian Corinne Antezana-Pernet writes that in Chile, "World War II acted as a necessary catalyst in the formation of a broad, ambitious women's movement committed to the defense of democracy and its extension to women."²⁹ During the buildup to and onset of the war, MEMCh urged Chilean women to consider how fighting for women's independence at home was related to fighting for liberty abroad. As the war raged in Europe, *La Mujer Nueva* addressed global fascism head on and examined the impacts that repressive governments had on the women who lived under their rule. This dedication was evident from an article on the front page of the publication's first edition in 1935. In "Women and fascism," author Sofia Martínez remarked that recent events in Germany and Italy required Chilean women to extend their gaze to global politics.³⁰ She argued, "It is necessary to raise our eyes toward the boarders and examine the panorama," and listed a series of quotes from Hitler, Göring, and Mussolini that demonstrated their desire for women to remain in the home. Martínez held that the quotes demonstrated that the primary civic responsibility of women in a fascist state was to live as "queen of the home" and provide "children for the fatherland."³¹

28 Amanda Labarca, *Feminismo Contemporaneo* (Santiago, 1948), 230, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-98299.html>.

29 Corinne Antezana-Pernet, "Peace in the World and Democracy in the Home: The Chilean Women's Movement in the 1940s," in *Latin America in the 1940s*, ed. David Rock, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 166-183.

30 Newspaper Article by Sofía Martínez, 8 December 1935. PCH 10272, Año 1: no.7 (1935: nov. 8)-año 1: no.7 (1936: jun.). *La Mujer Nueva*, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.

31 Ibid.

Martinez pushed her readers to see beyond sentimental rhetoric about family and country, and reminded them of the reality of life confined to the home. With palpable sarcasm, she wrote to her audience: “We know quite well what this glorious ‘return to the home’ means.”³² Further, she contended that while “the current owners of the world” wanted women to exist purely in the domestic sphere, the women of the world themselves did not.³³ Martinez’s sharp rebuke illustrates the fact that many feminist activists were not willing to relinquish the professional and political gains that Chilean women had made in the preceding decades.

Martinez also presented the international unity of women as a potent tool against the rise of fascism. “And we, the women of Chile, hand in hand with our sisters from other countries, are willing to begin an implacable fight against this tragic horror that encloses us.”³⁴ Martinez’s declaration of solidarity firmly demonstrates how MEMCh implored its readers to consider fascist regimes in Europe as issues that affected women around the world, rather than insular problems that existed an ocean away. The publication dedicated itself to providing its readers with information about international events from its first edition to its last, encouraging Chilean women to see themselves as global citizens in the process.

Order, homeland, family

Many of MEMCh’s contemporaries opposed the organization efforts, arguing that its goals would lead to the demise of the family. This was position held by the National Action (Acción Nacional), a conservative women’s group that made an effort to distance itself from MEMCh in an editorial in *El Mercurio* in 1935. The organization declared that:

“It is... a program that contains unacceptable points that openly threaten the constitution of the family and that support methods of so-called biological emancipation that go not only against the most elemental concepts of morality but also against the very laws of

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

nature."³⁵

Well aware of critiques that labeled MEMCh as a threat to established norms in Chile, memchista authors positioned themselves as defenders of alternative constructions of social order. Elena Caffarena published an article entitled "Order, homeland, family" in *La Mujer Nueva* in 1936 and presented challenging pre-established social order as an example of civic virtue. The activist affirmed that the organization did in fact oppose the constructions of order, homeland, and family that existed in Chile, but maintained that it did so not to weaken the country but rather to build it into a stronger, more democratic nation. In so doing, she maintained that MEMCh's goal was not to completely dismantle motherhood and marriage, but rather to criticize their current state. What kind of order, Caffarena asked, denies women access to social and political life for the sole fact of being mothers, denies female workers the same benefits as their male counterparts, and denies half of the population the right to influence the government?

She implored her audience to believe that this was not the type of order that Chileans needed in order to create in a truly egalitarian republic and that they must work to forge new definitions of order, homeland, and family that did not consistently subject women to subservient and self-sacrificing positions. Caffarena encouraged Chilean women to fight openly for the three pillars of social order, but also advised them to do so in a way that required each level of society to fight openly for women in return. By establishing a new order, Chilean women could play a role in a construction of a society that was more attentive to their needs and rights, and in the eyes of MEMCh, more democratic.

MEMCh underscored that position in an article entitled "True order." After acknowledging that MEMCh was viewed as an enemy of the social status quo in Chile, the author highlighted a series of national problems that the organization viewed as consequences of the pre-established order. She noted statistics about the infant and child mortality, disease, and illiteracy that many Chilean

35 Servicio Natural del Patrimonio Cultural. "MEMCh: ¡Por la defensa de la mujer y en contra de todos sus flagelos!" Archivo Nacional de Chile, accessed 21 August 2018, http://www.archivonacional.gob.cl/616/w3-article-72894.html?_noredirect=1.

families faced and argued that true order had to be based around new traditions that would ensure egalitarianism. Her final statement – “We want ‘order’ the synonym of justice, and not ‘order’ the synonym of conservatism” - illustrates MEMCh’s efforts to redefine Chilean society and push issues of justice and civic equality to the forefront of political conversation. Marta Vergara summarized MEMCh’s position in 1937 when she proclaimed that “we are the only and true defenders of order, homeland, and family.”

Conclusion

Maria de Arancibia Lazo defined “la mujer nueva” - the new Chilean woman and the namesake of MEMCh’s periodical - and described what set apart from her predecessors. While continuing to embrace maternalism, Arancibia Lazo explained that modern Chilean women sought to expand their roles and let it be known that they intended to be important figures outside of the home as well:

“Those who criticize woman for her new activities do so because they are incapable of appreciating all that this great evolution means and represents. Woman has abandoned the narrow circle of herself and has flung herself with open arms, wishing to embrace her maternal breast with all of humanity.”

Elena Caffarena described this sentiment decades later when she reflected on MEMCh as coalition of different women unified by a common goal:

“MEMCh was a pluralist institution. It called to women of all social classes and of all economic levels. We had college students, employees, laborers, farmers, domestic workers, professionals, housewives, and one thing united us: fighting for the economic, social, and legal emancipation of woman.”

In accordance with MEMCh’s goal of being a source of civic education, *La Mujer Nueva* instructed its readers to hold political and social leaders accountable for their actions and to speak up to protect the rights and liberties of all Chileans. While the organization disbanded in 1953, later feminist movements in Chile adopted its commitment to linking democracy with feminism.

Activist Juliana Kirkwood demanded in the midst of the Pinochet regime that Chilean women needed “Democracy in the country and in the home.”³⁶ A generation after Chile’s return to democracy in 1989, women in the country are pushing questions of gender equality into the center of political debate. 2018 marked a watershed year for Chilean feminism. Two national issues - allegations of sexual harassment against prominent university professors and the reelection of conservative Sebastian Piñera - prompted discussions about the role machismo continues to play in Chilean society. Feminist activists linked democracy at home with women’s rights around the world through their support of two international campaigns - the #NiUnaMenos (“Not one woman less”) movement against gender-based violence and the #MeToo movement against sexual abuse. Students around Santiago launched strikes and protests in 2018 to demand an end to sexual violence and harassment. In June 2018, students of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Academy of Christian Humanism University, located a mere block away from the Stanford Center in Santiago, spray painted a phrase that embodies much of the current movement right outside their school’s gates: “El feminismo cierra la escuela pero abre el camino” (“Feminism closes the school but opens the path”). MEMCh foresaw this in 1935, and its school of civics opened the path for generations of Chilean women to demand democracy in their homes, their nation, and their world.

36 “Julieta Kirkwood y los saberes feministas (1937-1985),” *Memoria Chilena*, last modified 2018, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-articulo-3494.html>.

The Right to Participate and the Right to Compete: Stanford Women's Athletics, 1956-1995

Introduction by Professor Estelle Freedman

The Stanford University Archives provide rich primary sources for studying a range of historical topics, including gender and education. Lena Giger's Writing in the Major research paper made excellent use of university documents, personal correspondence, student reports, and oral histories within the archives to explore the changing meaning of women's participation in college sports. While she began with questions about the effects of Title IX of the landmark 1972 Education Act, the primary sources led her back to a generation of women physical educators and athletic staff. Giger developed an original analysis of the transition from an earlier emphasis on broad female participation in sports to one of more elite intercollegiate competition. Rather than tell a story of linear progress she identified ongoing tensions over these competing goals while drawing out continuing struggles for athletic equity, before and after Title IX. The essay won the Jerry Anderson Prize, The Hoefler Prize and the Francisco C. Lopes Award.

The Right to Participate and the Right to Compete: Stanford Women's Athletics, 1956-1995

Lena Giger

“Athletics was a male preserve ... the most macho part of the university,” recalled Richard Lyman, Stanford University’s seventh president.¹ He explained that most men during the mid-twentieth century dismissed women’s athletics: “[Men think] we know how to do this and we don’t want [the women] mucking around in it.” Lyman’s characterization represented the attitudes of many male administrators and coaches, both locally and nationally. He did not, however, take into account the views of women involved in athletics. During the late 1960s and 1970s, when young women demanded the right to compete in intercollegiate athletics, they faced opposition not only from men but also from female athletics administrators who questioned the role of competition among women athletes. This paper explores a generational shift in women’s attitudes towards collegiate athletics at Stanford University, both before and after Title IX mandated educational gender equality in 1972. I argue that an older generation of female educators sought equality through participation while a younger generation of female athletes successfully advocated for equality through intercollegiate competition.

Many scholars have focused on the importance of Title IX for gender equality in college athletics. After Title IX became law during the rise of Second Wave feminism, most historians have argued that it ushered in a “revolution” for women’s athletics.² This law initiated one of the first national movements to challenge the

1 Richard Lyman, interview by Jennifer Dalton, April 29, 1995, transcript, 3, Box 2, Women’s Athletics at Stanford Collection (SC0496), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA (Hereafter WAS Collection).

2 Susan Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women’s Sport* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 250. See also Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2002), 226.

male-dominated world of competitive sports and resulted in a drastic increase in female participation in college athletics. Although few have disputed these claims, some historians have criticized the law for perpetuating implicit forms of gender discrimination. In her history of women's sports, Susan Cahn explains that although the implementation of Title IX meant increased funding and opportunities for women athletes, the insistence on sex-segregated sports by most universities "reinforced sexual divisions and inequalities in the athletic world."³ On the other hand, scholars such as Kelly Belanger have argued that "most women's sports advocates welcomed a sex-separate model" because it allowed women opportunities without having to compete against men.⁴ Rather than question the value of separate women's sports, this paper asks: what events preceded the passage of Title IX such that its proponents saw the need for national change? Furthermore, how and why did the views of women who actively participated in this movement for athletic equality between the 1950s and 1970s differ?

To address these questions, this case study traces a generational shift from an emphasis on participation to one on competition in women's athletics. The first section views the 1950s and 1960s through the voices of Stanford Women's Physical Education (WPE) Director Luell Guthrie and physical educator Shirley Schoof. The paper then turns to the era immediately surrounding the enactment of Title IX. I analyze the perspectives of administrators like Guthrie, Schoof, and Pamela Strathairn, who served as WPE Chair from 1968 to 1975, and the opposing views of student athletes, such as Marjorie Shuer ('75). The study concludes by exploring the attitudes surrounding women's athletics during the 1980s and 1990s through the perspectives of women's fencing coach Sherry Posthumous and women's basketball coach Tara VanDerveer. Although this study focuses on Stanford University, it suggests a broader national pattern that, despite movements for equality, women in athletics continued to face gender discrimination long after the implementation of Title IX.

The Era of Participation, 1956-1967

In the late 1950s, few universities distinguished between

3 Cahn, 213.

4 Kelly Belanger, *Invisible Seasons: Title IX and the Fight for Equity in College Sports* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2016) 75.

women's athletics and women's physical education, leading to the synonymous terms "female physical educator" and "female coach." Several historians have credited these interchangeable phrases to societal gender constructs, such as the perceived anatomical fragility or the "presupposed lesser athletic ability" of women.⁵ These notions deemed the majority of women unfit for competitive physical endeavors and relegated them to participatory educational activities. Most American universities offered minimal women's physical education courses, many of which only promoted those sports considered feminine at the time, such as tennis, dance, or golf.⁶ Although some women competed in athletics during this era outside of the collegiate setting, most university physical education programs disregarded these competitive exploits and concentrated on recreational, leisurely activities for their female students.⁷

At Stanford University, the women's physical education program paralleled the national trend. During Luell Guthrie's leadership of the WPE Department from 1956 to 1967, the department sponsored courses for female students such as tap dancing, canoeing, tennis, basketball, and skiing.⁸ These classes allowed women the opportunity to participate in sports, remain physically fit, and develop into "wholesome," feminine women. As these classes did not allow for competitive events, some women participated within informal organizations outside of the classroom.⁹ During the mid-1960s, several Stanford women played in the United States Tennis Association Collegiate Tournaments, which provided one of the first opportunities for women's organized athletics. Within the school setting, Stanford female educators, however, rejected the competitive spirit of their students by enforcing equal participation among women in physical education courses, rather than allowing for competition among the female students.

Equal participation was the policy that characterized the

5 Cahn, 213. See also Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 108.

6 Luell Guthrie, interview by Margo Davis, February 8, 1978, transcript, 26, Stanford Historical Society Oral History Project, <https://purl.stanford.edu/fr537mg9514> (Hereafter Guthrie Interview).

7 See Cahn, Chapter 5 in *Coming on Strong*.

8 Guthrie Interview, 26-28, 40.

9 Guthrie, Interview, 40.

WPE Department during the mid-twentieth century partially due to the influence of Lou Henry Hoover, the former First Lady of the United States. Throughout the early twentieth century, women of Hoover's generation successfully fought for the right to participate in physical activities. During the 1930s, as an advisor to Stanford's Department of Education, Hoover supported women's participation in physical education and argued, "there should be something for everybody and therefore varsity teams should be minimized."¹⁰ The department adapted her policies and structured its curriculum to incorporate the equal participation model that defined women's physical education in the 1950s and 1960s.

Luell Guthrie and Shirley Schoof were characteristic of the generation of female physical educators who advocated for equal participation. Guthrie joined Stanford's WPE Department staff in the fall of 1936 just as the department began to prioritize participation. Between 1956 and 1971, she served as the of Director of WPE.¹¹ Under her leadership, the department expanded vastly but also provoked controversies between male administrators and female student athletes regarding the direction and ideology of the WPE. While director, Guthrie hired Shirley Schoof in 1964 as a bowling instructor and physical educator. Schoof's workload increased as she taught full-time and coached unofficial women's tennis, swimming and field hockey teams. Although overextended, Schoof remained an instructor for nearly twenty years and concluded her career in 1993 as the Director of Club Sports and Assistant Athletic Director.¹²

While at Stanford, Guthrie and Schoof strove to include a wide range of female students in athletics with the goal of producing well-rounded women. Guthrie described the purpose of her physical education program as a way "to develop a person who is an upstanding, wholesome example." She believed a female student "may not always be the winning person," but could still set a "fine example" of what a woman should be.¹³ Guthrie even implemented co-educational courses to increase overall student enrollment and to reinforce the notion that physical activity, for both

10 Ibid, 48.

11 Ibid, 1-2.

12 Shirley Schoof, Interview by Jennifer Dalton, April 28, 1995, transcript, 1, Box 2, WAS Collection (Hereafter Schoof Interview).

13 Guthrie Interview, 61.

men and women, did not require competition. Schoof seconded the idea that winning did not take priority in women's sports when she recalled her initial years in the WPE Department: "I went in with the attitude of playing every single person on my team . . . Winning was not the whole thing."¹⁴ Guthrie and Schoof's implementation of the department's equal participation ideology perpetuated the lack of competition as well as the belief that equal involvement would lead to greater personal development.

While Guthrie and Schoof encouraged equal participation, they noted financial inequalities between the WPE department and the competition-oriented men's athletics and physical education department. In a collection of women's tennis budgets, Guthrie lamented the drastically smaller allocation of funds for women. The WPE received funding from the university's academic budget while the men's department secured additional aid from alumni donors.¹⁵ The lack of financing for the WPE Department suggests that women's activities took lower priority to the men's department. Besides team funding differences, female educators received no additional compensation for their work as coaches. Schoof discussed her long hours, which began with teaching during the workday and ended with coaching or refereeing most evenings. "The burden of all the teaching and all the coaching," she recalled, "was just extremely difficult and the worst thing was that it was not fair to the players at all."¹⁶ Between the undercompensated and overextended women educators and the lack of internal funding for teams, Schoof insinuated that female students and instructors alike faced gender inequality for their involvement in athletics. In the late-1960s, female students began questioning the educational ideologies of Stanford's WPE Department and advocating for gender equality in athletics.

The Years of Tension, 1968-1985

The push for gender equality in collegiate athletics oc-

14 Quoted in Kelli Anderson, "The Fight for Fair Play," *Stanford Magazine*, (September/October 2016), Paragraph 18, https://alumni.stanford.edu/get/page/magazine/article/?article_id=88434.

15 Luell Guthrie, Tennis Travel Budget 1965-1966, Luell W. Guthrie Papers (SC0329), Box 2, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA (Hereafter Guthrie Collection).

16 Schoof Interview, 3.

curred against the backdrop of the Civil Rights, anti-war, and Second Wave feminist movements. Nationally, black student activism escalated through campus strikes and militant rallies to protest racism.¹⁷ In 1968, following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., the Stanford Black Student Union demanded that the university increase enrollment of black students, develop programs to support African-American studies, and create outreach programs for people of color.¹⁸ As anti-war sentiments grew across the country, Stanford students and faculty members protested American involvement in the Vietnam War through protests and violent riots across campus.¹⁹ Concurrently, women who challenged their “traditional” domestic roles fought for greater social and economic freedom and denounced the male-dominated political system.²⁰ In the mid-1960s, the Stanford Sexual Rights Forum initiated a petition that demanded that all students, regardless of gender, have access to sexual contraceptive methods.²¹ In 1967, Stanford female students successfully argued for the right to live off-campus like their male counterparts.²² Social and political unrest characterized much of the late 1960s and early 1970s on Stanford’s campus.

The rise in resistance to social injustices created an environment on campus conducive to challenging gender norms in athletics, even before the passage of Title IX. Within this political climate, tensions between athletic and physical education faculty escalated. In 1968, men’s physical activities consisted of two separately funded departments: athletics and physical education. In contrast, a single academic Department for Women’s Physical Education housed women’s athletics, intramural sports, and physical education. During the following year, the Committee on Athletics and Physical Education (CAPE) conducted an equality study

17 Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 13.

18 “1960s,” Stanford Stories from the Archives, accessed December 2, 2017, <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/stanford-stories/feature/1960s>. See also Karen Bartholomew, *A Chronology of Stanford University and Its Founders: 1824-2000* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Historical Society, 2001), 95.

19 Bartholomew, *A Chronology of Stanford*, 93.

20 Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women’s Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking Press, 2000), 63.

21 “1960s,” Stanford University.

22 Meredith Wheeler, “Moral Citizens: Coeducational Transformation at Stanford, 1965-1969,” *Sandstone & Tile* 38, no. 3 (2014), 11.

on the physical education and athletic departments. Following the study, CAPE issued a proposal that suggested unifying the men's and women's physical education departments and maintaining a separate department for men's athletics.²³ Although this motion for a co-educational system intended to foster gender equality, it quickly garnered backlash from women physical educators and administrators.

In 1970, Guthrie, one of the most outspoken administrators to oppose departmental unification, detailed her complaints about the proposal in a four-page letter to the chairman of CAPE. She listed concerns about efficiency and flexibility, but she also acknowledged that the combination of the two physical education departments would compromise educational quality. "Women's Physical Education has seemed to be a superior program because it is staffed by highly qualified and prepared specialists," Guthrie wrote. "Teaching is an art, a proficiency, a competency, and a concentration. If the concentration is divided the teaching is less efficient."²⁴ Guthrie's blatant criticisms regarding the inadequate education quality taught by the male physical educators, who doubled as men's athletic coaches, implied that she considered teaching and education more important than coaching and competition instructed by the men's department. She also expressed her concerns that unifying the departments would alter women's physical education to cater to a more competitive focus. For the women's curriculum, she noted, "No level is more important than another: elementary, intermediate, advanced and tournament or performance." In the men's program, however, priorities consisted of "varsity always first, intramurals, then clubs, then instruction."²⁵ Guthrie's disapproval of a combined department reverberated with contemporary cultural feminist models of the time that supported women's pursuit of equality through all-women spaces and female autonomy.²⁶ A unified department, Guthrie believed, would hinder women's fight for equality and result in male control.

Reflecting the views of her generation, Guthrie expressed

23 Pamela L. Strathairn, John E. Nixon and Wesley K. Ruff to Robert Compton, April 7, 1970, Box 2, WAS Collection.

24 Luell Guthrie to Robert Compton, April 22, 1970, Box 2, Guthrie Collection.

25 Ibid.

26 Freedman, 87.

concerns about masculine and feminine imagery of female athletes, invoking her own term, “Image Factor” – the notion that women should remain feminine while participating in athletics. Guthrie feared that with the unification of the departments, male educators would disregard the importance of image, which she stressed “must not be sacrificed in a combined situation.”²⁷ By maintaining separate physical education departments, female educators could preserve the femininity of women athletes. Her descriptions of a “beautiful dancer” and “feminine golfer” exemplified her ideals and the efforts of these physical education administrators to promote them.

Guthrie’s critiques of a unified physical education department did not contradict the goal of gender equality; rather, her letter asserted that a separate, autonomous women’s department better served the female students and educators. In a series of letters written in 1970, Guthrie inquired whether women would receive equal travel funds and use of athletic facilities under a unified department.²⁸ She feared that in a unified department, ambitious male administrators would detract from the fundamentals of women’s physical education and lead to underfunded and poorly executed classes for women. In another letter, Guthrie asked a member of CAPE whether female staff members would receive the same “fringe benefits” as male educators, such as free tickets and priority seating at games.²⁹ Her question reveals the existing differences between male and female administrators, as well as her doubts that a departmental merger would result in equality for women. Relentless criticisms from Guthrie and others throughout the early 1970s succeeded in postponing the unification of the two departments.

Female administrators and coaches supported feminine, recreational activities yet, many female students, such as Marjorie L. Shuer, rejected their aversion to women’s competition. During her undergraduate years between 1971 and 1975, Shuer swam, but

27 Guthrie to Compton, April 1970.

28 Luell Guthrie to Robert Compton, June 10, 1970, Box 2, Guthrie Collection.

29 Luell Guthrie to Robert Compton, May 27, 1970, Box 2, Guthrie Collection.

could only train during three weekly 50-minute sessions.³⁰ While women faced these strict limitations, their male counterparts did not experience such constraints. Shuer blamed this difference on female physical educators. “The root of this problem exists in the set up and personnel in the physical education dept. for women, here and across the nation,” she wrote in 1971. “Most women in Physical Education think of themselves as physical educators and not intramural directors or athletic coaches.”³¹ Her statement demonstrates a fundamental difference between what the female administrators and many female students considered the role of women’s physical activities. Many female students, such as Shuer, wanted an environment in which they could train competitively, rather than for leisure. This competitive sentiment conflicted with the primary goal of the WPE Department, demonstrating a shift in ideology.

Shuer both acknowledged and disputed the contentions surrounding the “Image Factor” in women’s sports. “Too much of the Women’s Athletic program on the college level is wrapped up in the ‘be like a lady image,’” she wrote, “which means that one must go to competition fully outfitted with hair and makeup in place.” She further criticized coaches for trying to “keep the masculinity out of [women’s] sport[s] as much as possible.”³² Historian Jaime Schultz helps contextualize this characterization of the coaches. Schultz has argued that because women’s success in a male-dominated field like athletics could upset the binary gender status quo, many women of Guthrie’s generation accepted their social expectation of femininity to avoid societal disruption.³³ Shuer, however, represented the beginning of a shift in women’s thinking. Her generation wanted to enter the world of competitive athletics, which also meant challenging the male-dominated social structure.

In 1971, Shuer conducted a survey among female student

30 Marjorie L. Shuer, “The Women Athlete in Society and Discrimination on the College Level” (paper, Stanford University, May 18, 1971), 2, Marjorie L. Shuer Papers (SC0733), Box 1, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA (Hereafter Shuer Collection).

31 Ibid, 7.

32 Ibid, 11.

33 Jaime Schultz, *Qualifying Times: Points of Change in the U.S. Women’s Sport* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 108.

athletes that further illustrated the shift in student opinion. When asked if female students thought their athletic programs sufficed, the majority answered affirmatively. However, when asked more pointed questions about coaching and facilities, many voiced discontent. “The basketball coach has no experience in basketball – simply does not know the game,” one female basketball player complained. Another player thought that the “use of practice time is inefficient” and “actual coaching is nonexistent.”³⁴ One field hockey player described the program as “disorganized” and remarked, “My coach did not know how to coach.”³⁵ The disparity between feeling content and noting the lack of quality instruction reveals that the younger generation of women appreciated their increased opportunities in physical activities but still desired higher quality and greater competition. These surveys, like Shuer’s arguments, testify to a growing ideological divide between the older and younger generations at Stanford.

As discontent grew among female student athletes, student-run organizations responded publically. The Stanford Daily published multiple articles by female student athletes who addressed concerns about their physical education. “The Women’s Physical Education (WPE) department has deliberately directed its efforts toward serving the broad spectrum of Stanford women,” wrote one columnist in early 1972. “The further development and encouragement of highly skilled girls evidently comes at the expense of the non-competitive classes.”³⁶ This writer used the press to introduce the growing dissatisfaction to the larger undergraduate population. Other students organized new groups such as the Stanford Women’s Recreation Association.³⁷ Members hoped to create an environment for women to participate in physical activities outside the strict constraints and limited instruction of the physical education department.

Female students’ opposition during the early 1970s marked the beginning of an era when collegiate women demanded the right to compete athletically. As the number of female participants in intercollegiate athletics doubled nationally between 1966 and

34 Marjorie L. Shuer, “Spring Quarter of 1971 Questionnaire,” May 1971, 1, Box 1, Shuer Collection.

35 Ibid., 2.

36 “Women’s Athletics Challenged,” Stanford Daily, February 15, 1972.

37 Dalton, 4.

1971, many women voiced the need for official national leagues.³⁸ The Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), founded in 1971, attempted to answer the call. The AIAW, however, “shared a commitment to a more participation-oriented, less elitist approach to sports,” historian Susan Ware has argued. This approach “differed fundamentally from the reigning male model of sports which intertwined competition, winning, and commercialization.”³⁹ Although this organization failed to match the ideologies of the men’s National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the formation of the AIAW marked one of the first collective efforts to unite women’s intercollegiate sports. It also brought nationwide attention to the inequalities that characterized women’s athletics.

While Stanford students asserted the need for greater equality locally and national organizations escalated this demand, President Nixon signed into law the Education Amendments Act of 1972. One amendment, Title IX, stated, “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal funding assistance.”⁴⁰ Although the law does not mention athletics, historians have noted that the statute “radically transformed” the world of women’s sports.⁴¹ Despite initial resistance from male-dominated organizations, such as the NCAA, enforcement of the Title IX regulations began in 1975. Within five years of the mandate, women’s involvement in collegiate athletics doubled to nearly 65,000 participants.⁴² The creation of new women’s teams resulted in a large influx of female athletes, which generated new conference leagues and championship series.

At Stanford, however, Title IX did not initiate change

38 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *More Hurdles to Clear* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,

39 Susan Ware, *Title IX: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2007), 11.

40 United States, Congress, Office of the Assistant Secretary from Administration and Management. “Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972.” *Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972*. <https://www.dol.gov/oasam/regs/statutes/titleix.htm>

41 Guttmann, 209.

42 U.S. Commission, *More Hurdles to Clear*, 22.

among female educators and students, who had already debated the issue. Rather, the law clarified for male administrators the need for gender equality in athletics. Following the enactment of Title IX, universities had a three-year grace period to assess inequalities and reach compliance. Joseph Ruetz, the Men's Athletic Director from 1972 to 1975, initiated Stanford's investigation into athletic inequalities through a financial review of the men's and women's departments. In a February 1973 report, Ruetz noted that the women's department had functioned on a budget of \$187,094 in the previous school year, while the men's department had operated on \$2.96 million.⁴³ He clarified that men's spectator sports like football and basketball generated this drastic budgetary difference but nonetheless noted the disparity. Ruetz also warned that Title IX would have "potentially disastrous effects that would dismantle men's intercollegiate athletics" if Congress implemented the law immediately. His statement demonstrated the hesitancy of some male attitudes towards Title IX at Stanford and further revealed the need for administrative policy change.

While administrators assessed initial compliance solutions, the ideological divide between female educators and female students widened. In classes like gymnastics, tennis, and field hockey, female participation expanded drastically, sometimes nearly tripling the previous year's enrollment.⁴⁴ Many older-generation female instructors perceived this development as the best response to Title IX. WPE Chair Pamela Strathairn instructed her fellow women educators to teach additional classes and coach the new, prospering intramural teams. Schoof recalled Strathairn's insistence that Schoof add basketball to her coaching repertoire in the fall of 1972 in order to promote the expansion of women's sports. Despite her lack of qualifications, Schoof explained, Strathairn "believed that women were physical educators and as physical educators they could coach. If you were a good teacher, you could learn and then be a good coach."⁴⁵ Although Strathairn indicated a nominal distinction between teaching and coaching, she disregarded the students' demands for higher quality coaches and insisted that physical educators would suffice.

43 Joseph H. Ruetz, "Reflections on the Men's Department of Physical Education and Athletics at Stanford," February 1973, 3, Box 1, WAS Collection.

44 "Special Show by the Ladies," *Stanford Daily*, May 22, 1970.

45 Schoof Interview, 4.

Discontent continued to grow among female student athletes as the administration enforced a system they believed addressed the need for gender equality. By 1973, many female students enjoyed access to better facilities and a wider variety of sports, but still sought better quality coaching and competition. *The Stanford Daily* captured this transition in the title of a 1974 article: "Women's Athletics Improved, But Still Not Equal."⁴⁶ Female student athletes felt they lacked the necessary instruction and support that their male counterparts received from experienced, well-trained coaches. Shuer addressed these inequalities passionately in a 1974 article about her experiences on the women's swim team. She noted that due to the policies of the WPE Department, "teams are 'taught' by physical educators and not 'coached' by athletic coaches."⁴⁷ Although the Stanford team qualified for nationals, the swim coach did not send the two best swimmers because "they [felt] that it would be a 'good educational experience'" for other swimmers to gain practice at nationals. Shuer expressed her outrage at these coaching decisions and insisted that the department needed athletic coaches for women sports that concentrated on competitive performance, not solely educators who instructed fair and equal participation.

As the 1975 implementation date neared, male and female administrators presented a compromise: a combined men's and women's physical education and athletics department. Strathairn and Ruetz presented this unification as the most efficient and effective method of reaching Title IX's compliance requirements. Although Ruetz presumed many schools would avoid compliance, he asserted that "We are not going to do that. In fact, our goal is to have the best women's athletic program in the country."⁴⁸ In summer 1975, Stanford became one of the first universities to merge men's and women's athletics and physical education departments. Ruetz became the first Stanford Athletic Director of a combined-gender department and Strathairn assumed the positions of Associate Athletic Director and Chairwoman of Physical Education. This administrative structure allowed men to maintain control of competitive varsity athletics while women remained responsible

46 Glenn Kramon, "Women's Athletics Improved, But Still Not Equal," *Stanford Daily*, October 30, 1974.

47 Margie Shuer, "Swim Team Blues," *Stanford Daily*, February 26, 1974.

48 Quoted in Anderson, "The Fight," Paragraph 27.

for participation-oriented academic courses and intramural sports.

The fall of 1975 marked the convergence of earlier female efforts for equality and Title IX implementation. In that school year, Stanford awarded nine women the first female athletic scholarships in swimming, basketball, and tennis.⁴⁹ Multiple *Stanford Daily* articles discussed women's "greater access to practice facilities" and the "expansion in travel budgets for women athletics."⁵⁰ These financial improvements moved women's athletics from the academic setting of the smaller Roble Gymnasium to large, competitive arenas like Maples Pavilion, where men's teams played. "All of a sudden, it was the big time," described former student and newly hired tennis coach Anne Connelly Gould. "We were practicing at stadium courts, we had uniforms, we had balls, we had scholarships."⁵¹ These advancements in women's athletics promoted a competitive environment and satisfied many of the students' demands for gender equality in sports.

Although the first year of Title IX implementation propelled many of these changes for female student athletes, the generational divide persisted. The ideology of women's coaches did not shift until nearly a decade after Title IX. Many female coaches still doubled as physical educators or graduate students. Schoof recalled, "As the need for coaches also came up for the women, [physical educators] became coaches." However, many of these coaches remained unqualified because the athletic department didn't start training female coaches until the late 1970s and early 1980s.⁵² Although many female physical educators transitioned to coaching, their limited experience in competitive athletics proved insufficient in producing successful women's teams. By the mid-1980s, a change in coaching ideology represented the beginning of an era concentrated on competitive women's athletics and established a new market for high quality, professional coaches for women's teams.

The Era of Competition, 1986-1995

49 Bartholomew, 112.

50 Terri Borchers, Sonia Jarvis, Kathy Levinson, "Women Race for Equality," *Stanford Daily*, September 1, 1975. See also Jeff Parietti, "Major Changes in Store for Women's Sports," May 30, 1975 and Ellen Sofio, "Harshbarger Propels Women Swimmers," October 24, 1975.

51 Quoted in Anderson, "The Fight," Paragraph 29.

52 Schoof Interview, 4.

In the mid-1980s, universities realized the larger economic ramifications of Title IX. Many schools filed lawsuits that claimed that revenue sports, such as football, should remain exempt from Title IX's financial stipulations.⁵³ Despite initial inconsistencies among U.S. courts, the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 established that any educational institution that received federal funding must comply in totality with civil rights law, not just specific programs. This interpretation forced universities to reevaluate their funding and inadvertently altered the priorities of women's teams. Many programs shifted their focus to competition, and specifically victory, in order to justify the economic investment in women's athletics.⁵⁴ This focus on winning prompted a need for qualified, professional women's coaches.

Two Stanford women's coaches, Sherry Posthumous and Tara VanDerveer, characterized the transition to competition-focused programs. Posthumous joined the staff in the early 1980s as a physical educator while also training professionally as a fencer.⁵⁵ In 1987, upon the separation of the men's and women's fencing teams, Posthumous became head coach of the women's team. Following nearly a decade of team successes, the department promoted her to Assistant Athletic Director, a role she filled until her retirement in 2005.⁵⁶ VanDerveer became the head coach of women's basketball in the fall of 1986 following five successful years of coaching at Ohio State University.⁵⁷ Excluding a yearlong leave from Stanford in 1996 to coach the U.S. Women's Olympic basketball team, VanDerveer has coached at Stanford for thirty seasons and continues to be the director of women's basketball.

From the beginning of their coaching careers, both wom-

53 Ware, 75. See also, *Cannon v. University of Chicago*, 441 U.S. 677 (1979) and *Grove City College v. Bell*, 465 U.S. 555.

54 John R. Thelin, "Good Sports," *Journal of Higher Education* 71, no. 4 (2000): 398.

55 Sherry Posthumous, Interview by Jennifer Dalton, April 22, 1995, transcript, 1, Box 1, WAS Collection (Hereafter Posthumous Interview).

56 "Longtime Coach, Leader in the World of Fencing Dead at 62," *Stanford Report*, January 9, 2008.

57 Tara Vanderveer and Joan Ryan, *Shooting from the Outside: How a Coach and Her Olympic Team Transformed Women's Basketball* (New York: Avon Books, 1997)12. See also "Tara VanDerveer," Department of Athletics, Stanford University, accessed October 16, 2017, <http://www.gostanford.com/coaches.aspx?rc=958>.

en prioritized competition. As one of the first female fencing head coaches in the country, Posthumous relied on her competitive knowledge as a former fencer to coach young, eager female athletes. Although she recalled that “coaching was reserved for the men” during much of the 1980s, the women’s fencing team achieved national success under Posthumous’ leadership.⁵⁸ She recommended that in order to gain competitive experience her team should compete against the best fencers in the country, regardless of the outcome. VanDerveer implemented a similar competition-driven coaching ideology. During her first few seasons as the head coach of Stanford women’s basketball, VanDerveer instructed her athletes to focus on ambitious, national-level accomplishments. Despite playing more competitive teams, Stanford women went from a losing record of 9-19 to a winning record of 27-5 in three years.⁵⁹ While elevating Stanford’s women’s basketball to a national caliber program, VanDerveer conveyed the importance of competition in women’s athletics to male administrators. “[VanDerveer] really challenged me as a director to raise my sights,” recalled Andy Geiger, Stanford’s Athletic Director from 1979 to 1990. “She has an insatiable desire to get better.”⁶⁰ Posthumous and VanDerveer’s advocacy of continual improvement fostered a competitive environment for young female athletes.

As the ideologies of women’s coaches aligned with the competition mindset of female student athletes, Stanford women’s athletics flourished in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The women’s fencing team competed at the NCAA Championship every year between 1990 and 1995, where they placed in the top ten twice.⁶¹ Under VanDerveer’s leadership, the women’s basketball team appeared at the NCAA Tournament for eight consecutive

58 Posthumous Interview, 1. See also Joe Bialowitz, “Fencers Hope to Avoid Sliming Banana Slugs of UC-Santa Cruz a Difficult Foe for Cardinal,” *Stanford Daily*, December 3, 1993.

59 “Year-By-Year Results (1981-90),” Stanford Athletics, Stanford University, updated June 1, 2016, <http://www.gostanford.com/news/2016/7/6/womens-basketball-year-by-year-results-1981-90.aspx>.

60 Quoted in Ron Kroichick, “Tara VanDerveer’s Climb to 1,000 Wins: An Oral History,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2017.

61 “Stanford Fencing History,” Stanford Athletics, Stanford University, accessed November 12, 2017, <http://www.gostanford.com/sports/2014/11/30/209859594.aspx>.

years (1988-1995), competed in the NCAA Tournament Final Four for four of those eight appearances, and won the NCAA Championships in 1990 and 1992.⁶² In total, Stanford won fifteen NCAA Championships and twenty-seven PAC-10 Conference Championships between 1986 and 1995 in basketball, swimming, tennis and volleyball.⁶³ Other women's sports like field hockey, golf, and soccer made numerous NCAA Tournament appearances, and many teams finished in the top ten.

Stanford women's athletic success lay in the combination of early demands for gender equality, receptive athletic administrators, and the hiring of new, professional coaches. As early as the mid-1960s, Stanford women advocated for gender equality in sports, which forced administrators to acknowledge the issue years before Title IX. While other universities fought Title IX in court or simply refused to comply, Athletic Director Andy Geiger, enforced equality measurements bolstered the women's program. Geiger believed that regardless of the gender of the players, "If it had a cardinal and white uniform, it ought to be good."⁶⁴ He hired "dynamic coaches" who used their prior competitive experiences as athletes to train young women to "national prominence."⁶⁵ These factors undergirded the success of Stanford women's athletics and allowed them to prevail as a dominant force for much of the 1990s.

The hiring of professional coaches, however, had the paradoxical effect of marginalizing female coaches both nationally and at Stanford. Despite Title IX's efforts to promote professional female coaches, many of the newly created competitive coaching positions went to men. In 1972, women coached over ninety percent of women's athletics nationally. By 1995, that number had

62 "Women's Basketball History," Stanford Athletics, Stanford University, updated May 1, 2017, <http://www.gostanford.com/news/2016/6/29/womens-basketball-history.aspx>.

63 "Women's Sport History," Stanford Athletics, Stanford University, accessed November 12, 2017, <http://www.gostanford.com/index.aspx>.

64 Quoted in Anderson, "The Fight," Paragraph 32.

65 Chris Crader, "Card Can Win Across the Board," *Stanford Daily*, June 5, 1990. See also, Evan Tuchinsky, "Tara's Theme: Recruit," *Stanford Daily*, January 12, 1988, and David Hirling, "Stop the Shutout," *Stanford Daily*, May 9, 1991, and T. C. Hall, "Gym Champions Deserve More Recognition," *Stanford Daily*, April 28, 1992.

nearly halved to roughly forty-eight percent.⁶⁶ As the gender gap in collegiate coaching drastically escalated, so did the wage gap. In 1996, the median male head basketball coach earned an additional \$191,600 over the average female head basketball coach.⁶⁷ At Stanford, men dominated the coaching staff. Although Posthumous and VanDerveer represented successful female coaches, men coached seven out of the eleven women's teams throughout most of the 1980s and 1990s.⁶⁸ Despite their qualifications, female coaches remained overlooked and undercompensated, which perpetuated gender discrimination within athletic hiring procedures.

Female athletes also continued to experience gender discrimination, specifically in regards to their sexuality. Historian Susan Cahn has argued that since the early twentieth century, “women athletes – noted for their masculine bodies, interests, and attributes – were visible representatives of the gender inversion often associated with homosexuality.”⁶⁹ This societal framing of female athletes as “sexually aberrant” built on the fears of sexual deviation. In a conference sponsored by the Stanford Women's Center in 1986, sociologist Gail Whitaker explained that society used multiple attitudes, including homophobia, to keep women from participating in sports. She observed, “If you are a female athlete, then you are (assumed to be) a lesbian.”⁷⁰ Not only did this gendered stereotype prevent women from pursuing their athletic interests, but it also hindered female athletes from openly em-

66 R. Vivian Acosta and Linda Jean Carpenter, “Women in Intercollegiate Sport: A Longitudinal, National Study

Thirty-Seven Year Update – 1977-2014,” Unpublished Manuscript, accessed November 17, 2017, www.acostacarpenter.org/2014%20Status%20of%20Women%20in%20Intercollegiate%20Sport%20-37%20Year%20Update%20-%201977-2014%20.pdf. See also Rachel Stark, “Where Are the Women?” *Champion Magazine*, Winter 2017, <http://www.ncaa.org/static/champion/where-are-the-women/>.

67 “Gender Equality in Sports,” Title IX Resources, University of Iowa, updated October 16, 2000, <http://bailiwick.lib.uiowa.edu/ge/old/index.html#200>.

68 “Women's Sports History,” Stanford Athletics, <http://www.gostanford.com/index.aspx>.

69 Cahn, 178. See also Jean O'Reilly and Susan Cahn, *Women and Sports in the United States: A Documentary Reader* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007), 68.

70 Quoted in Yvonne Lee, “Sociologist: Tactics Prevent Women from Playing Sports,” *Stanford Daily*, October 24, 1986.

bracing their sexuality. In 1993, a Stanford female varsity athlete recalled overt, homophobic comments that perpetuated the stereotype of female athletes on campus. "Not only was I a woman but I wasn't straight," she wrote. "There was no way I would have come out to anyone."⁷¹ As women gained the right to compete athletically, they faced new forms of discrimination that attacked their identities.

Beyond sexual discrimination, female athletes faced a new dilemma: verbal and physical abuse by male coaches. Many scholars have deemed abuse one of the "unintended consequences" of Title IX, and historian Susan Ware has argued that the "abuse [is] rooted in the power imbalance between omniscient and powerful coaches" and young, "subservient" female athletes.⁷² At Stanford, two male coaches resigned in the early 1990s following accusations of abuse against their female student athletes. In December 1992, former Stanford athlete Tish Williams exposed the abuse of Brooks Johnson, the women's track and field head coach from 1979 to 1992. Williams recalled that Johnson "thumped" her on the head, called her "shithead," "conniving bitch," and "bourgeoisie brat" in front of competitors and teammates, and reduced most of the female athletes to tears.⁷³ Roughly six months later, women's soccer coach Berhane Anderberhan resigned after players also accused him of verbal abuse. They stated that Anderberhan "engaged in psychological tug-of-war" and constantly criticized their body weight, triggering eating disorders for some athletes.⁷⁴ Following these two instances of misconduct, Stanford Athletic Director Ted Leland released a statement condemning the coaches. Although Stanford and many other universities tried to combat the discrimination against female athletes, these issues persisted well into the twenty-first century.

71 Gretchen Atwood, "Coming Out During Freshman Year: Gays Recount Experiences," *Stanford Daily*, September 23, 1993.

72 Ware, 24.

73 Tish Williams, "Baring Brooks Johnson's Bitter Legacy," *Stanford Daily*, December 3, 1992. See also, "Former Track Member Berates Brooks Johnson," *Stanford Daily*, January 6, 1993 and "Brooks Johnson's Abuse Hurt Stanford as well as Team," *Stanford Daily*, February 9, 1993.

74 Gretchen Atwood, "Women's Soccer Coach Resigns Under Pressure," *Stanford Daily*, June 24, 1993. See also Gretchen Atwood, "Athletic Dept. Continues Search for New Soccer, Softball Coaches," *Stanford Daily*, July 15, 1993.

Conclusion

In May 1995, Stanford University retroactively awarded 2,200 former Stanford women athletes with a “Block S” varsity letter.⁷⁵ As the first American university to do so, Stanford acknowledged all the women who participated in athletics before the implementation of Title IX. The idea for this landmark event came from Marjorie Shuer, who competed as a student athlete during the mandate’s transition years in the early 1970s and returned to Stanford as a faculty member in the 1990s. Although no ceremony could atone these women for the gender discrimination these women faced in their athletic pursuits, the event represented the university’s movement towards athletic gender equality. Some women who attended the ceremony credited this shift to Title IX. Ginny Fiske Marshall, a student athlete who graduated in 1972, wrote, “Title IX was the best thing that happened to Women’s Sports – sorry I missed it!”⁷⁶ Despite former student athletes’ praise for Title IX at the award ceremony, the federal law represented only the formalization of the broader efforts for gender equality.

The hard-fought battle for equality in Stanford women’s athletics began far earlier than the implementation of Title IX. The goals of equality, however, shifted between 1956 and 1995. The older generation of physical educators emphasized the right to participate, while the younger generation of student athletes demanded the right to compete. Although both generations advocated female empowerment, they challenged each other’s ideologies. Invigorated by Second Wave feminism, the new generation blamed the older generation for the lack of competitiveness and the perpetuation of gendered stereotypes. In the excitement over the national triumph of Title IX, narratives about Stanford women’s athletics have neglected the voices of women who fought for equality at the local level years before the law’s implementation. By recovering these voices, we not only supplement our knowledge of Stanford’s institutional history but also support the ongoing historiographical imperative to restore agency to marginalized historical actors.

The fight for equality did not end in 1995. Rather, female athletes and coaches both nationally and at Stanford contin-

75 Allison Otto, “Block S Athletes at Last,” 125 Stanford Stories, accessed October 17, 2017, <http://125.stanford.edu/block-s-athletes-last/>.

76 Ginny Fiske Marshall to Jon Denney, February 1995. WAS Collection, Box 1.

ue to face gender discrimination. In the last two decades, advocates of equality have confronted a new set of issues, including unequal compensation for coaches, homophobia, physical and verbal abuse, and sexual harassment. The lessons of the past demonstrate that addressing these issues requires the combination of local student activism, receptive administrators, and a national political climate willing to implement legal and institutional change.

A WALTZ THROUGH GILDED AGE AMERICA: NINETEENTH-CENTU- RY DANCE MANUALS AND THE SOCIOSEXUAL ANXIETY OF A DEBUTANTE BALL

Introduction by Theresa Iker

Elizabeth Lindqwister's paper demonstrates the incomparable value of letting historical sources guide the writer, rather than the other way around. Early on in our seminar, Elizabeth found a treasure trove of digitized nineteenth-century ballroom dance and etiquette manuals, and instantly perceived their potential. Instead of dismissing them as frivolous or trying to squeeze them into a larger, unwieldy argument about the era, Elizabeth patiently parsed the manuals for their latent class anxieties and sexual tensions. The result, a dazzling "waltz" of nineteenth-century social history, examines everything from the pacing of new dance styles to the perfectly serious concerns that rigorous dancing might damage the womb. Let Elizabeth take the lead, and enjoy the dance.

A Waltz Through Gilded Age America: Nineteenth-Century Dance Manuals and the Sociosexual Anxiety of a Debutante Ball

Elizabeth Lindqwister

“Not choose to dance the polka! It was absurd, it was ridiculous, it was like nobody else, it was prudish, it was censorious.”¹

In the 1855 fiction classic, *The Castlebuilders*, Charlotte Yonge depicts a familiar Victorian world: social strife, aristocratic tensions, and young elites troubled with performing gentility under the pressure of socially precarious circles. The women within these circles must navigate through a particularly narrow elite society in which one wrong step — literally, if Yonge’s main character chooses not to dance the polka with a male partner — could send the women into a social purgatory devoid of marriage prospects. *The Castlebuilders* is a revealing commentary on Victorian social order; above all, the novel depicts the importance of rites of passage: of social confirmation and “coming out” to the gilded society that the wealthy were destined to join.

The strictness of the Victorian social order appeared most austere in formal social occasions: parlor rooms, elaborate dinners, and dances. Where Gilded Age wealthy women found dullness in their everyday lives, the extravagance of ballrooms and parties more than made up for it. “Coming out” and debutante balls were essential for monied families and their children; they served as the first public opportunity to present young daughters as eligible to climb the social ladder, most often via strategic marriages to wealthy bachelors. Beyond serving as grounds on which the upper classes could ensure monied unions, debutante balls became important social markers of a wealthy class. Famous families like the Vanderbilts could show off — or, rather, perform — their riches through ostentatious ballrooms, magnificent decor and catering, star-studded guest lists, and highly organized dancing to live

1 Julia Courtney, “The Castle Builders or The Deferred Confirmation,” Durham University, accessed December 10, 2018, https://community.dur.ac.uk/c.e.schultze/works/castle_builders.html.

music. It was through the act of dancing, however, that affluence could be seen in ways separate from gold plated silverware or silk chignon gowns; dancing was a metric used by Gilded Age people to ascertain the marriage desirability and reproductive capability of potential suitors.

Ballroom dancing was, thus, more than a social, wealth-based performance for Gilded Age elites. As a close reading of New York City dance manuals from 1860 through 1890 illustrates, the form and function of ballroom dancing transformed alongside broader shifts in Victorian society. In particular, dancing provided an opportunity for women to interact more intimately with potential suitors and to showcase their physical compatibility to high society. Yet, as the intimacy of ballroom dancing became increasingly clear, manuals described careful rules and management for “proper” dancing — namely, dancing regulations which allowed women to still physically present their potential for marriage while simultaneously avoiding reproductive harm and inappropriate sexual tension publicly. While dance could, and often did, heighten the odds of successful marriages among wealthy pairings in Victorian society, it constantly risked physical or figurative overstepping into territory too sexual, subversive, or improper for a debutante ball.

These ballroom-based sexual anxieties arose from a series of massive social and demographic transformations that arose in the wake of the Civil War. Early nineteenth-century non-coastal states and cities were characterized by a lack of physical and social proximity and small population sizes, but underwent significant urban centralization during the Victorian period.² The centralization of people from rural towns into condensed cities fundamentally reshaped political, economic, and social realms, however. Middle- and upper-class families began moving into central city locations, abandoning factory-adjacent rural towns in favor of urban high rises and city-adjacent suburbs that gave families a physical proximity suitable for high socializing.

This demographic and social shift was most prevalent in the Northeast, which experienced a decade of growth and success immediately postwar. In 1855, 60 percent of New York’s bourgeois-

2 Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 48.

sie participated in economic activity relating to manufacturing or commerce.³ As a result of manufacturing's centralization in urban areas, however, the economic elite of American cities diversified their work beyond public, domestic trade merchantry. Private wealth gained significance in the industrial movement, and home estates inside the city increased in both value and demand.⁴ New interests and allegiances arose within these wealthy city neighborhoods, and with such interests came a new, late-nineteenth-century set of social norms that would dictate cultural institutions and family life in ways unknown to less-populous, rural communities. Inner-city industrial monopolies, like those owned by the Carnegie and the Rockefeller families, amassed wealth from within cities rather than from traditional colonial ports. Once-exclusive coastal merchants were forced both to specialize within their trade and to diversify their investments beyond American merchants alone, while dozens of wealthy, international entrepreneurs flooded cities in search of opportunity. Subsequently, social and business-related networks grew among the elite as they adjusted to the rapidly-expanding industrial cities around them. Cities were now occupied by a "truly international" and cosmopolitan elite, which in turn transformed the once-American exclusive social scene into a hodgepodge of cultural norms.⁵

These cultural mores centered on business-oriented notions of kinship; family contacts, personal relationships, and official partnerships characterized the increasingly insular elite world that sought to perpetuate wealth within the family and friends-of-family networks.⁶ But perhaps the most important institution for the maintenance of inner-city business and personal ties was marriage. Historian Sven Beckert argues that because marriage "allowed for the fashioning of new alliances that made additional capital, information, and expertise available" to the monied elite, a well-chosen marital union became a culturally ritualized and economically legitimized aspiration. Even if a monied metropolis emerged

3 Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21.

4 Ibid., 49.

5 Ibid., 21-30.

6 Ibid., 32.

from men's investing ability and accumulated wealth, the power of capital-owning New York men was ultimately derived from "a much broader intergenerational network of kin and social contacts, forged by their wives and daughters." Central to good business was the lawful union of a man and a woman.⁷

As marriage became the most important cultural institution to perpetuate a family's wealth, a series of cultural rituals developed to facilitate a healthy, advantageous union. New York's wealthiest engaged their children in formal visits within the parlors of their massive Fifth Avenue apartments; they took strategic walks around Central Park and invited whole families to match-oriented dinners; perhaps most ostentatiously, wealthy families began hosting extravagant debutante balls. It is important to note that the facilitation of these meetings was almost always the wife's sole responsibility; wives, as Beckert observes, "spun the threads that held these families together."⁸ The wife was the arbiter of a future marriage match; once a pairing was made, it became her duty to solidify the connection by contacting or visiting relatives, thus creating further opportunity for the prospective couple to interact. In certain cases, women planned formal social events, the most important of which included debutante balls.⁹

Beyond providing the opportunity for young men and women to meet, ballroom scenes were a manifestation of the elite marriage market itself. Debutante balls amassed social significance because they brought the sons and daughters of well-to-do families together in a "controlled, yet potentially intimate, environment."¹⁰ Noting that these environments were "controlled" lends credence to the notion that nineteenth-century marriage unions were not the stuff of typical romance. Indeed, the formality of the ballroom reflected the social importance of an economic union that would

7 Ibid., 33.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., 33-34.

10 Ibid., 33.

unfailingly take precedence over romantic interest.¹¹ Such social importance lent itself to increased regulation of these gatherings and of the traditional conventions practiced within them. Many of the balls thrown by the wealthy elite served the express purpose of presenting eligible daughters to the outside world. Set to demonstrate the attendees' dancing ability, knowledge of the latest fashions, and inborn ease in presenting genteel behavior, ballrooms were essentially tightly controlled peacock shows for the wealthy youth to demonstrate a social consciousness fit for marriage.¹²

Conversely, balls were "potentially intimate" situations for budding romantic matches that provided opportunities for physical interaction with prospective suitors. Such intimacy added a layer of sexual tension — and subsequent anxiety — to the supposedly asexual, economic institution that balls were theoretically designed to be.¹³ Much of this sexual tension, however, arose not from interactions through conversation or eating; rather, the transformation of dance throughout the nineteenth century opened the floor for more physically personal modes of interaction.

Dancing of the form that originated in European and European-settled countries spread through the United States during the early colonial period. This European-based ballroom dancing was primarily defined by large, organized group dances and a distinct lack of physical, one-on-one intimacy between guests. However, beginning in the Victorian era, dancing became a more physically intimate action, with male and female partners pairing up individually for dances and participating in more lively waltzes or fox-trots.¹⁴ The proper execution of a waltz or polka, for example, re-

11 This isn't to say romantic love was unimportant to a marriage. There was rather a unifying of "romance" with "right" — "right" being the properly fitted, economically sound marriage choice, rather than just the purely amorous marriage choice. Numerous biographies of elite New York matches attest to the fact that many unions were made in the interest of the family business. For more on Victorian marriage and duty, see Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

12 "Western Social Dance: An Overview of the Collection," Library of Congress, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/dance-instruction-manuals-from-1490-to-1920/articles-and-essays/western-social-dance-an-overview-of-the-collection/>.

13 Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis*, 33.

14 "Western Social Dance: An Overview of the Collection," Library of Congress.

quired gentlemen to tightly “take [their] partner around the waist,” and hold her close to his body to keep the woman from falling down.¹⁵ Such physicality was a requirement to keep pace with the increasing tempo of dancing. Whereas seventeenth-century dancing had been set to a leisurely 15 bars per minute, 1850s waltzes whirled by at a blurry 70 bars per minute.¹⁶ Late nineteenth-century waltzes, written by musicians such as Johann Strauss, were described by fellow composers and city elites as powerful enough to “obscure everything.”¹⁷

What was “obscured,” however, did not include a misplaced step. Fellow Victorians observed that each dance brought with it a new characteristic, whether it be sensual, lively, or folksy, and the music stimulated the senses for each partygoer. A new song and dance could completely “ensnare the senses,” allowing the real waltz to begin “with all its raging velocity,” thus plunging the young couple into the dangers of public sensuality.¹⁸ Dancing, as much as it was a social obligation, had pressing sexual properties that at once initiated human contact and threatened to inhibit the presentation of proper etiquette. Social historian Angela McRobbie notes that dance had a mystifying, transformative ability to “create a fantasy of change, escape, and achievement for girls and young women.”¹⁹ In this sense, ballroom dancing, a social and sexual fantasy completely different from the humdrum everyday, expanded the limited leisure opportunities for young Gilded Age women while also generating a new layer of anxiety through its sociosexual norm-breaking properties.

Because debutante balls provided an enticing atmosphere and almost-taboo opportunity for female-male contact, the nature of the dancing itself reinforced the sexual fantasy attached to

15 Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian fiction and Culture* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 57 - 58; *How to Dance: A Complete Ball-Room and Party Guide* (New York: Tousey & Small, 1878), 18, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/musdi.098.0/?sp=20>.

16 Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line*, 58.

17 Frederic Chopin, quoted in Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 24:74.

18 Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line*, 58.

19 Angela McRobbie, "Dance Narratives and Fantasies of Achievement," in *Feminism and Youth Culture: From "Jackie" to "Just Seventeen"* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1991), 192-193.

such an image. Certain sex-based theories of German psychologist Sigmund Freud can be applied to the particular physicality of ballroom waltzes, polkas, and other round dancing. A waltz, for example, demanded repetitive circling around a ballroom, the man and woman clutching firmly onto each other. Freud postulated that a “repetition compulsion” overrode a “pleasure principle” through the actions of this particular dance. The psychologist meant that the “compulsion to repeat” waltzing in a circle, and the “instinctual satisfaction” or “pleasure” of the repetitive motion, “seem[ed] to converge into an intimate partnership.”²⁰ Through dancing, men and women could participate in a repetitive activity “more primitive, more elementary, [and] more instinctual than the pleasure principle,” while simultaneously avoiding acting on such a pleasure — namely, by participating in socially improper displays of sex, like pre-engagement kissing or fondling.²¹

It is perhaps surprising that a scholar so infamous for his psychological theories even made mention of social and sexual relationships in the realm of dance. Yet Freud was a product of the Victorian ethos he occupied. Academic eccentricities aside, Freud had direct, personal access to the social mores of Victorian life and witnessed the sexual fantasies being acted out around him in real time. Freud’s work suggested there was a highly sexualized undercurrent for popular dances that seemingly contradicted the propriety of the ballroom itself. And yet, the rules of a waltz dictated a socially acceptable principle of repetition that could satisfy the sexual tension of a ballroom while also meeting social demands for stiff decorum. Victorians could thus “abandon themselves to the realm of fantasy” because waltzing was sexually contained within the “rhythmic and spatial boundaries of the dance.”²²

It is in these distillations, where dancing became a vehicle for displaying inappropriate libidinousness and a sexual end, that dance manuals necessarily intervened. Sexual and social tensions surrounding dance ultimately transformed the everyday ballroom into a potentially “dangerous” social location for women.²³ There

20 Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), 25.

21 Ibid; Julie Malnig, “Two-Stepping to Glory: Social Dance and the Rhetoric of Social Mobility,” *Stichting Etnofoor* 10, no. 1/2 (1997): 128 - 150.

22 Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line*, 55.

23 Ibid.

was, as one manual reported, “a vice in dancing, against which pupils cannot be too carefully guarded.”²⁴ As this “anxiety builds” around a woman’s ability to reproduce and to suppress improper expressions of sexuality, Engelhardt noted that dancing’s “regulations tighten.”²⁵ One of the most popular dance manuals of the 1870s, Dick’s *Quadrille Book*, and *Ball-room Prompter*, noted that ballroom “etiquette includes both duty and behavior.”²⁶ By defining dance etiquette in this two-pronged fashion, dance manuals depicted what should be the underlying purpose of any proper ballroom-goer. It was the social and economic “duty” to a marriage match that necessitated proper decorum, and it was the regulation of social “behavior” into balanced expressions of enticement and restraint that needed detailed explanation.

Dance manuals thus detailed the dual nature of ballroom etiquette with a specific goal and audience in mind. Though manuals stipulated physical boundaries to be maintained between men and women, these descriptions were often made in the context of mutual attraction between the two parties. When instructing women how to dress — “modestly,” and with “taste and elegance” — one manual noted that specific dress colors could project a necessary symbol of virginity and romantic availability to the ballroom. But, more importantly, the manual further stated that “[g]entleman look more to the effect of dress than to its cost.”²⁷ Advice about how young women should dress and dance was almost always in the context of how women could maximize attraction of a potential suitor, and not of how men could best attract a woman’s interest. By stripping a woman’s role in the marriage-oriented ballroom down to a carefully curated object of attraction, marriage manuals nullified a woman’s ability to choose men on her own metric. Though she could socialize and dance with men, the Victorian woman could ultimately only choose her partner at the discretion of her chaperones, the narrow social circle and gender role she occupied, and the strictly defined social codes of the time period. The precarious nature of a ballroom narrowed a woman’s agency to the

24 Laurence De Garmo Brookes, *Brookes on Modern Dancing...* (New York, 1867), 14, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/musdi.027.0/?sp=17>.

25 Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line*, 53.

26 *Dick's Quadrille Call-book, and Ball-room Prompter* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1878), 15, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/musdi.013.0/?sp=10>.

27 Brookes, *Brookes on Modern Dancing*, 16.

tight metrics defined within dance manuals and forced women to present themselves in a prefabricated image that fit with the gender norms of the time.

Consequently, regulating “behavior” was intended not just to facilitate a proper match between a man and a woman. Transformations in ballroom dancing raised substantial fears about the physicality and overt eroticism of women, and subsequently necessitated policing for her “protection.” Social historian and linguist Molly Engelhardt explains that because Victorian dancing was a more physically taxing and sexually involved venture, “physiological concerns [emerged] about the negative effect of movement on women’s reproductive bodies.”²⁸ Where slow round dances of the eighteenth century preserved both the physical body and psychological image of the woman as the “gentler, softer sex,” nineteenth-century waltzes and polkas undermined the image of the woman as merely a reproductive body; the indecency of these new dances provoked a fear of moral and physical harm on the woman.²⁹ Engelhardt notes that new forms of dance were problematic because they “contested broader gender ideologies” and threw Gilded Age notions of physical etiquette into the dangerous, murky grounds of public sexual perversion. This growing anxiety over a woman’s reproductive ability, interestingly enough, did not mean women were relegated to the sidelines of the dance floor. Rather, these fears justified the need for further regulatory measures in the dance manuals that would best contain and maintain the woman’s role in the wealthy Gilded Age sphere. Regulatory forces magnified the sexuality and social tension of dancing and turned the ballroom into “a scene of expectancy and potential.”³⁰

Indeed, an analysis of a broad swath of New York City-based, nineteenth-century dance manuals shows that the Victorians were keenly aware of what each dance step and hand gesture implied on the overtly social and subtly sexual stage. “Everything [in the ballroom] is regulated to the strict code of good breeding,” notes one manual, “and . . . any departure from this code becomes a grave offence.”³¹ To that end, manuals noted for men how best to

28 Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line*, 53

29 Ibid., 52.

30 Ibid., 53.

31 Frank M. Reed, *The Dancer's Guide and Ball-Room Companion* (New York, 1874), 3, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/musdi.009.0/?sp=28>.

hold the female without “hurting” her: “Take her right hand in your left, holding it down by your side, without stiffness or restraint.”³² Conversely, a woman could take matters into her own hands and mitigate damage to her reproductive capability, both socially and physically, by avoiding bad male dancers (those who could not perform the polka or the waltz) and more physically vigorous dances.³³³⁴ After all, multiple manuals stipulated that “all jumping or hopping should,” for women, “be at once discarded as eminently ungraceful.” Because dancing had such a social imperative on the future of women — in most cases, marriage hinged on it — these concerns about reproducibility were not to be taken lightly. A woman would not be socially preferable to potential suitors if her abilities to reproduce and play the crucial economic role of kinship-linking wife were threatened by her actions on the ballroom floor.

Dancing’s role as a galvanizing force for Victorian socio-sexual norms meant that dance manuals served a crucial role as important social and sexual barometers for anxious elites. The restrictive sphere of the ballroom, though designed to concentrate and unite eligible bachelors and debutantes, operationally functioned as a unique platform where young elites might experience the sexual taboos and pleasures once forbidden to them in the everyday. But such sexual freedom, matched with the pressure of the social circles they occupied, created profound social and sexual anxiety. Young debutantes were constantly pushed to exhibit class, grace, and sensuality to find a fitting bachelor, but were simultaneously discouraged from too overtly expressing their romantic or sexual interests for fear of impropriety and breaking the Victorian woman’s censorious mold. The constant tug-of-war between effective matchmaking and protective sphere-maintaining thus made the ballroom an intensely stressful place for Victorian elites.

32 Ibid., 21.

33 Victorians were especially concerned about the fragility of women’s reproductive systems, and would subsequently base their fears about dancing around such fears. Their preoccupation with the idea of a moving or shifting uterus became the defining “symptom” of hysteria in women. For more on Victorian reproductive women’s health, see Frederick J. Garbit’s 1880 volume, *The Woman’s Medical Companion and Guide to Health*, https://archive.org/stream/womansmedicalcom1880garb/womansmedicalcom1880garb_djvu.txt.

34 *How to Dance: A Complete Ball-Room and Party Guide*, 18.

In this sense, dancing was not mere frivolity and a waltz was not a mere dance. Each and every action in the ballroom could impact a potential marriage between two elites; a marriage, in turn, would influence the husband's kinship network in the business world. Debutante balls carried with them the weight of not only a woman's reputation, but also her husband's, as well as the line of wealth established by her family.

As an 1867 dance manual concludes, "the art of dancing is not only necessary, but indispensable, to those who are fond of society."³⁵ Dancing, though fuel for a fire of sexual provocation and social anxiety in Victorian elites, has served as a historical mechanism by which humans can meet others in exciting, special, and ultimately intimate settings. More than just a waltz or a two-step, dancing was, and continues to be, a manifestation of socially-acceptable yet socially-precarious sexual intimacy, insecurely regulated by social norms and expectations — in this case, the economic necessity of a marriage match or the public value of Victorian propriety. "External qualifications are then," as one dance manual notes, "of great consequence to [young people]" when first appearing in public life. And this holds true. Even if dancing was an ostensibly small pocket of an elite New Yorker's average social life, it held such importance because of the long-term effects a ballroom success — or failure — could have on a woman's life. It was the difference between a polka and a partner, a well-placed hand or an uneven marriage match, a dancing social elite or a denounced social exile.

35 Brookes, *Brookes on Modern Dancing*, 15.

REFRAMING THE COLD WAR: FRED SCHWARZ AND REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S SPIRITUAL WAR AGAINST COMMUNISM IN THE EARLY COLD WAR ERA

Introduction by Professor Jennifer Burns

Yasmin Samrai's essay, *Reframing the Cold War: Fred Schwarz and Reinhold Niebuhr's Spiritual War against Communism in the Early Cold War Era*, offers a creative reading of two major figures in mid-century 20th America: the anti-Communist crusader Fred Schwarz and the neo-orthodox preacher Reinhold Niebuhr. Rarely have these two figures been brought into the same analytic frame, for Schwarz is seen as a populist rabble-rouser while Niebuhr was an elite figure beloved by the nation's intelligentsia. Drawing on archival material about Schwarz's organization held at the Hoover Archives, and carefully reading Niebuhr's most significant writings and public exhortations, Samrai draws them together by emphasizing their shared analysis of Communism as false religion. Without collapsing the differences between the two, she argues that their similarities demonstrate the deep connections between religion and national identity. The religious right, she notes, has deep roots in the twentieth century. Samrai's paper is distinguished by clear writing and skilful use of both primary and secondary sources. The paper shows a young scholar in the making who is not afraid to take chances tackling a difficult topic. It is an outstanding achievement for an introductory level course in U.S. history.

The Spiritual Cold War: Fred Schwarz and Reinhold Niebuhr's Battle against Communism

Yasmin Samrai

In 1960, a group of Christian anti-Communists in Belmont, Massachusetts published a pamphlet uncovering the sinister conspiracy behind the peace symbol.¹ The V sign – popular amongst socialists, counterculture activists, and anti-Vietnam War protesters during the Sixties – was really an inverted cross, they informed readers. After careful research into religious symbolism, they discovered that “the inverted fallen-man figure... has for centuries been a favourite of Satanists.” Of course, the peace symbol bore no historical connection to Satanism, yet this perverse misinterpretation offers a glimpse into the anti-Communist worldview. It reveals a tendency to view the Cold War through a religious lens, to willfully misinterpret Communist symbols as part of an Aesopian code, and to regard anti-Communists as uniquely positioned to uncover the deception. “Communism is upside down Christianity,” as one crusader declared. “This ‘Red Morality’ is a Religion of its own!”²

In the early 1960s, anti-Communist evangelicals did much more than listen to Billy Graham on the radio, complain about the perceived disintegration of traditional values, and say prayers to the nation in church on Sunday mornings. They also travelled to mass meetings, subscribed to newsletters, and instructed their children on the dangers of the enemy force. These evangelicals, who had a penchant for seeing the Cold War through a biblical prism, saw an apocalypse on the horizon: the escalation of the nuclear arms race, the botched invasion of the Bay of Pigs, the Soviet construction of the Berlin Wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the assassination of Kennedy all in the space of three years, 1960 to 1963, seemed to usher in the end-times. Moreover, as Soviet Russia, under Nikita

1 Pamphlet on Communist Peace Symbols, “Peace Symbols: The Truth About Those Strange Designs,” 1960. Box 1, Folder “Communism,” A. E. Bennett Collection, 1958-1979, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California. The pamphlet was originally published by *American Opinion*, a publishing company owned by the conservative anti-Communist group the John Birch Society.

2 Pamphlet written by Vladimir Kozina on Communism. “Communism As I Know it,” 1966, 2-3, A. E. Bennett Collection.

Khrushchev, advanced its second phase of religious persecution and raised a new generation in an atheistic country, religious anti-Communists felt it was crucial to save America's Christian spirit.³ Since Communism would eradicate religion in the Soviet Union, so the evangelical thinking went, it could easily spread to the U.S. and carry out the same horror.

In this moment of seeming crisis, where they felt their nation and faith were under threat, Christian anti-Communists turned to conservative movements to mobilize a religious front.

Cold War historians typically view the Cold War conflict through a political or economic lens. They emphasize backyard fallout shelters, red telephones, and the nuclear arms race, omitting one key weapon in the anti-Communist arsenal: religion. However, this characterization of the conflict risks omitting how Christian Americans constructed the Cold War in their own imaginations. Since the 1990s, a small but growing number of historians have addressed the Cold War's religious dimensions.⁴ However, most of this scholarship focuses on the religious rhetoric of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and national political figures. Eisenhower, who realized that religious faith could be instrumental in the Cold War, might have conceived or constructed the international religious front in the early stages of the Cold War, but the spiritual rhetoric did not drive the spiritual rhetoric and appeared in theological seminars and populist movements, and continued to be

3 Jonathan P Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 45. Following the anti-religious campaign of 1921-28, the Soviet Union increased its attack on religion in the next phase of 1928-41. By 1930, citizens were forced to work on Sundays to prevent them from attending church. They were also not allowed to invite a priest into their house, donate money to their local church, or perform repair works on church buildings. Russian children were "baptized" by the State as "Little Octobrists" and the dead were given as "Red Funeral." On December 25 and 26, labourers would celebrate the "Days of Industrialization" in lieu of Christmas.

4 See, for example, Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex*; Jeff Broadwater, *Eisenhower & the Anti-Communism Crusade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Joel Kovel, *Red Hunting in the Promised Land: Anticommunism and the Making of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Dianne Kirby, "Catholic Anti-Communism in the United States and the Early Cold War Era," in *North American Christian Community and the Cold War* ed. Paul Mojzes. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018).

employed once John F. Kennedy became president in 1961.

This study contributes to the literature by examining two individuals, evangelical Fred Schwarz and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who erected the banner of religious anti-Communism to defend Christianity against Communism. Putting Schwarz and Niebuhr in dialogue with one another forces us to confront unavoidable differences. They illustrate the opposite ends of the Christian anti-Communism spectrum: they have different intellectual backgrounds, different religious beliefs, and are based on either side of the country.

However dissimilar Schwarz and Niebuhr are, their interpretation of the Cold War ultimately converges. Both characterize Communism as a heretical inversion of Christianity and both advance a strikingly similar view of the Cold War as a spiritual struggle between two religions. Their shared tendency to redefine a state of political hostility as a great spiritual battle reflects a broader trend within American religious history of conflating politics and piety. Comparing these anti-Communist Christians helps to challenge the distinction historians have made between establishment theologians and popular religious movements when writing about the Cold War.

Schwarz, located on the West Coast, and Niebuhr, located on the East Coast, participated in separate social spheres and religious traditions in the early 1960s. Schwarz, a balding, bespectacled physician-turned-preacher with a thick Australian accent, seemed unlikely to become the next hero for evangelical anti-Communism. Originally from Brisbane, Schwarz had trained as a general practitioner and psychiatrist in Australia before an encounter with the Australian Communist Party sparked an obsession with the writings of Marx and Lenin. Another life-changing encounter in America in 1952 – this time with the Southern Baptist minister and prominent evangelical Billy Graham – inspired Schwarz to launch the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC) in 1953. Graham had encouraged Schwarz to bring his energy and knowledge to the U.S. to enlighten Americans about the evils of Communism. Schwarz, suspecting that America would become the main battleground for the spiritual struggle, abandoned his job in Australia and moved to America. He described the CACC as an “educational organization devoted to the battle

against Communism and Christian Faith.”⁵ To promote the organization, he went on a whirlwind tour of America’s major cities, denouncing “godless Communism,” making public appearances, and delivering radio addresses. He reached audiences across the country – including those in Houston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Indianapolis, and San Francisco – in an ambitious attempt to extend the anti-Communist front.⁶ From there, the CACC multiplied rapidly, acquiring eight offices in eight states across the East and West coasts of America.⁷

Niebuhr, on the other hand, was a Protestant theologian and a public intellectual. He captivated his colleagues and students at the Union Theological Seminary, America’s oldest and most prestigious Christian seminary, with his mellifluous voice and bright blue eyes. He was a favourite amongst high-brow intellectuals, who admired his wisdom and wit, his power of mind and political insight. In the 1930s, Niebuhr had jettisoned his post-First World War pacifism and socialist convictions and embraced military force to resist evil.⁸ While his intellectual thought took many turns during his lifetime, by 1960, his ideas on the Cold War had crystallized. It was in this year, aged 68, that Niebuhr retired from teaching at the New York seminary, after serving as a professor there for 30 years.

Schwarz sought to galvanize Christian resistance against Communism through a program of education. He described the overarching mission of the CACC as “evangelistic, educational and dedicational.”⁹ Here, “evangelical” carries a different connotation from the spiritual rebirth or “born-again” movement that characterized the Religious Right from the mid 1970s to the present in

5 “What is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?” 1958. Box 1, Folder “Crime,” A. E. Bennett Collection, 1958-1979.

6 Michelle M. Nickerson. *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 150

7 “What is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?” A.E. Bennett Collection.

8 Robert B. Horwitz, “The Revival of Reinhold Niebuhr: A Foreign Policy Fable,” *Public Culture*, vol. 28 (2016), 114.

9 *United States Government Memorandum*, “Information Concerning Anti-Communism Crusade, North California Branch.” (Schwarz Report, 1961).

the U.S.¹⁰ Instead, the CACC described itself as evangelical because it focused its efforts on recruiting Christians to the anti-Communist cause. Schwarz, in particular, concentrated the CACC's efforts on evangelism and education by beginning with the premise that Americans needed to be informed about Communism to combat it. He opened his sensationalist book, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, with a warning: "In the battle against Communism, there is no substitute for accurate, specific knowledge. Ignorance is evil and paralytic."¹¹ Schwarz's belligerent and moral tone reflects the crusading nature of the CACC's spiritual war against Communism. Moreover, most members on the CACC's Board of Directors were ministers and had a missionary background, suggesting the organization drew on the evangelical strategies of Christian missionaries. For example, the director of the Michigan office Dr. George Westcott was a former medical missionary worker in Africa, while another director named Captain E.R. Barnes served as a missionary in the Mau Mau camps of Kenya. They promoted anti-Communism like missionaries preaching Christianity. In other instances, the CACC imitated the tactics of prominent 1960s radio and television evangelicals in its use of modern media.

Accordingly, the CACC ran programs to awaken the general public to the Communist threat. Intense, week-long, and taught by the "finest faculty" of Republican politicians and conservative celebrities, the anti-Communist seminars treated participants to a packed schedule of anti-Communist lectures, discussions, and film screenings lasting from 8.30 a.m. to 10.00 p.m.¹² The first school was held in 1958 in St. Louis; schools quickly multiplied across the country. The most popular were located in California, where Schwarz had relocated his base of operations from Iowa in 1960.¹³ Over the 1960s, tens of thousands of Californians attended these

10 Jennifer Burns "The Regan Counter-Revolution" (lecture, Stanford University, California, MM DD, 2018).

11 Fred Schwarz. *You Can Trust The Communists (to be Communists)*. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1960), 3.

12 "Anti-Communism School Series Will Open Monday in Anaheim," *Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 1961. Accessed through ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times.

13 "What is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?" A. E. Bennett Collection

seminars.¹⁴ A religious right-wing movement had been strengthening in Southern California since the early 1950s, which might explain why the state was the most receptive to the CACC's educational program. Encouraged by the outpouring of public support, Schwarz launched the CACC's most ambitious anti-Communist school in August 1961. Participants filled the massive, 16,000-seat Los Angeles sports arena while thousands more watched on their television screens at home. The numbers alone reveal the schools' dramatic growth in popularity and prominence since their launch in St. Louis.¹⁵

Closer inspection of the rallies reveals other strategies Schwarz practiced in his anti-Communist crusade. The rally in August 1961, and similar events, began with rituals that stirred not only participants' Christian faith, but also their patriotism. In the Los Angeles sports arena, the crowd watched a performance of "The Star-Spangled Banner" (the American national anthem) and then listened to evangelists denounce Communism. Afterwards, they recited the Pledge of Allegiance and said a prayer to God. This combination of political and religious rituals reveals how the organization appealed to Americans' patriotic and religious sentiments. In *One Nation Under God*, Kevin Kruse argues that members of the Religious Right had a propensity to propel religion into the political sphere. The CACC seemed to share this propensity, perceiving the Cold War through a religious lens and combining religious and political rituals.¹⁶

Schwarz took advantage of popular culture to spread the anti-Communist message, staging a sequel rally a few months later in October 1961 at the landmark Hollywood Bowl. He strategically capitalized on the glamour of the venue by billing it "Hollywood's Answer to Communism" and inviting a number of celebrities. As Jonathan Herzog writes, "in the early Cold War, America was a nation of moviegoers, and Hollywood a seat of concentrated power."¹⁷ Guest speakers included then B-list actor Ronald Rea-

14 McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, 64.

15 Kevin Michael Kruse, *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America*. (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 153.

16 Ibid. Kruse dates the invention of Christian America to no further than the 1930s, and the consolidation of patriotic piety in the mid-1950s to early 1960s.

17 Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex*, 158.

gan, yet to make his mark on the Californian political stage, along with fellow actors John Wayne and Dale Evans, who dazzled the audience with their stardom and gave the event gravitas.¹⁸ “It had all the embellishments of the Hollywood spectacular,” one reviewer remembered.¹⁹

Finally, the CACC targeted the whole family by appealing to Americans of all ages, creating a “cult of wholesomeness”. Conservative parents could listen to Schwarz speak at one of his seminars, while their teenaged children read comic books about the red menace in the daytime and attended Youth Nights in the evenings. The CACC produced an illustrated comic book in 1961 called *The Two Faces of Communism* to extend its program of education to younger readers. Featuring a white, affluent, nuclear family, it dramatically captures the organization’s fundamental beliefs. The two children refuse to believe that the red menace persists, so at the mother’s insistence, (“Honey, please explain to them why you think communism is such a threat to our future”) the father confesses his past involvement with the ideology. He recounts a time during college when he fell under the ideology’s spell owing to a charismatic professor. “There are three basic hypotheses to our program: Atheism! Materialism! Economic Determination,” the professor tells the father in another frame. To the family’s relief, the father reveals that he managed to break the hypnotic spell by turning to the Bible. “My Christian ideals outweighed everything else, and I realized the great deception,” the father reveals to his children. He discovers later that the professor was one of many Communist agents trying to infiltrate his university. Filled with pride for their father’s heroic deeds, the children promise to heed his advice and join the spiritual resistance against Communism. This comic book and other literature published by the CACC²⁰ shows the organization tried to recruit Americans of all ages by giving them an easy portal into the realm anti-Communist thought. Schwarz authored several books to bolster his educational agenda. He stands out as a savvy opportunist, who recognized the potential

18 Kruse, *One Nation Under God*, 154.

19 John C. Waugh, “Hollywood Glitters As Anti-Red Rally: Joint Sponsorship,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Oct 19, 1961. Accessed through ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Christian Science Monitor.

20 Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. *Two Faces of Communism*. Comics with Problems No. 27, 1961, <http://www.ep.tc/problems/27/01.html>, 1-32.

of popular media to reinforce Cold War religious messages, reach a younger audience, and inspire a popular religious front against Communism.

Along with such key strategies, CACC leaders, led by Schwarz, crusaded against Communism by speaking in a hyperbolic and alarmist tone. In 1962, *Time* wrote about the “spell-binding Dr. Schwarz,” who captivated evangelicals with his “salesman’s exuberance and extroversion” and “fiery anti-Communist message.”²¹ “Fiery” was an apt description. In a filmed version of his “stump speech,” Schwarz distilled the spiritual war into digestible soundbites, speaking in an urgent tone. He warned that the Christian civilization is “under deadly peril from Communism” and called for viewers to “fling [themselves] into the struggle for Christ, and for freedom.”²² Consequently, in his attempt to vilify Communism, Schwarz employed religious rhetoric and resorted to crude generalizations and hysteria. In the same film, Schwarz warns, as the camera pans over images of children, “Our children could be taken from us, placed in the Communist incubator, raised in the godless Communist image!” For Pat Boone, the successful pop singer who spoke at the CACC’s rally in Los Angeles in August 1961, such a possibility was out of the question. “I don’t want to live in a Communist United States,” he boomed melodramatically to the audience. “I would rather see my four girls shot and die as little girls who have faith in God than leave them to die some years later as godless, faithless, soulless Communists.” Stirred by his words, the audience erupted in wild applause.²³ However, Schwarz’s inflamed rhetoric and frantic speaking pace alienated some college students at the same event. For example, an opinion

21 “Crusader Schwarz.” *Time* Vol. 79, February 9, 1962. Accessed through *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost. The publication behind this glowing account of Schwarz is no coincidence. Henry R. Luce, a prominent publishing baron in the early Cold War period, had founded the weekly news magazine *Time* in 1923. The son of an American missionary, Luce’s publications helped to reframe the Cold War in religious terms. See, for example, Clare Boothe Luce, “The Communist Challenge to a Christian World.” *New York Herald Tribune*, November 24, 1956.

22 Ken Anderson. *The Crimson Shadow*, 1953 (Muskegon, Michigan: Gospel Films Associated Press, 2013).

23 Report on The Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 to September 1, 1961,” Box 1, Folder “Communism,” A. E. Bennett Collection.

writer for *The Stanford Daily*, Stanford University's student newspaper, compared him to a "kangaroo in some previous incarnation" and, more disparagingly, to the Nazi dictator "Hitler."²⁴

Exploring the religious dimension of the Cold War might lead us to overemphasize the unabashed anti-Communism of conservative grassroots organizations like the CACC and, subsequently, overlook the arguments made by public intellectuals in American religious political culture. In contrast to Schwarz, Niebuhr developed an academic case for the irreconcilability of Christianity and Communism. Having abandoned the radical activism of his youth, the retired Niebuhr did not share the CACC's evangelistic tactics nor expressed desire to inspire a mass anti-Communist movement. Nevertheless, he did seek to offer an educated case against Communism using his intensive theological training and academic background. In 1960, at Union Theological Seminary, he delivered a lecture to colleagues, students, and other well-educated members in the audience on the rise of Communism and utopianism as perceived threats to religion. Niebuhr began with a bold statement. "Communism has gotten to be the great alternative to Christian civilization and it is so potent partly because it is – and I hope you won't be shocked by this – partly Christian," he said. He suggested that the spiritual revival in the early 1960s was, in part, a symptom of deep-seated anxiety amongst Christians about the potential alignment of their faith with Communism. Indeed, Niebuhr saw fundamental similarities between Christianity and Communism: after all, both espoused equality and compassion for the poor, competed for the same adherents, and believed in an eventual utopia.

It was this discussion of utopianism that motivated Niebuhr's resolute anti-Communism, which he believed wrongly seduced people by promising them the kingdom of heaven on earth. For him, the promise of earthly utopia amounted to a "Christian heresy" because it assumed the perfectibility of humankind on earth and justified giving a monopoly of power to a small few. He had spent the past 30 years crystallizing this religious assessment of Communism, so his 1960 address noted above could be read as

24 Decrer Davis, "Anti-Communist Rally Could Become Threat," *The Stanford Daily*, Volume 140, Issue 19, October 18, 1961.

the culmination of a lengthy examination of Communism.²⁵ For example, at the 1948 World Council of Churches meeting, Niebuhr led a committee in the drafting of an official statement on Communism. The report summarized his fundamental disagreements with Communism, stating that it enchanted mankind with the false promise of utopia absent from divine intervention, denied individuals' relationship with God, and replaced loyalty to God with loyalty to the state.²⁶ Evidently, Niebuhr weighed the virtues of Communism against its vices, taking an honest and balanced approach in contrast to the CACC's unabashed anti-Communism. While Schwarz generalized or distorted Communism to bolster his argument, Niebuhr's tactics reflected the nuanced thought of an intellectual. He acknowledged the appeal of Communism, yet struck a blow at what he saw as the hollowness and heresy in its ideology.

Unsurprisingly, Niebuhr had limited influence on popular anti-Communism, as he largely spoke within an intellectual vacuum and could not mobilize a mass resistance. His anti-Communist message, articulated in his characteristically measured tone, reached few Americans outside of academia and the educated elite. At this point in his career, Niebuhr only reached small audiences at the Union Theological Seminary and readerships of magazines like *The Atlantic* – a sharp contrast to the crowds of thousands packed into stadiums to cheer on Schwarz. Additionally, Niebuhr's rationality and composure had become out of touch with the radical movements of the 1960s on both the secular and religious fronts. Left-wing radicals and student protests – some of whom had become enchanted with liberation theology – as well as conservative Christians accused Niebuhr of being part of the theological establishment.²⁷ Niebuhr's earlier work *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*, published in 1944, might help to explain his aversion to the zealous tactics of his counterpart and struck a measured tone. In this book, Niebuhr warns that the children of darkness, conscious of the power and potency of self-interest, are

25 Philip E. Muehlenbeck, *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 48-49.

26 Clare G. Fenerty. *The Red War on Religion*. (New York: Tablet, 1946), 1, 11-12, Pamphlet Collection. Hoover Institution. Cited in Herzog, *Spiritual-Industrial Complex*, 69.

27 Horwitz, *The Revival of Reinhold Niebuhr*, 115.

sinful because they knew no law beyond the self.²⁸ When he wrote the book, the children of darkness were fascists, Nazis, and Stalinists. However, as the Cold War intensified, he began to apply this criticism to militant anti-Communism.²⁹ Though he was never in direct dialogue with Schwarz, Niebuhr almost certainly had conservative grassroots organizations like the CACC in mind when he made his 1960 speech. Convinced that any means necessary must be used to win the spiritual war, these children of darkness became precariously close to mirroring the Communist enemy they so despised.³⁰ Still, Niebuhr did not jettison his anti-Communism. Like Schwarz, he wanted Americans, who he believed were stumbling in the darkness, to see the light.

Setting aside their different religious traditions, rhetorical styles, and strategies, both Schwarz and Niebuhr viewed the Cold War through a similarly religious lens. Both reframed the conflict as a spiritual one and depicted Communism as a powerful religion. Admittedly, religious language pervaded the Cold War from its very beginning. Early Cold War documents, such as the top secret National Security Council policy paper from 1950, known as NSC 68, demanded the mobilization of a “superior counter-force – spiritual as well as material” to defeat communism.³¹ Likewise, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director J. Edgar Hoover presented himself as a defender of Christianity against “atheistic Communism.”³² Such religious language was ubiquitous in anti-Soviet rhetoric during the Cold War. Nevertheless, Schwarz and Niebuhr came to interpret Communism as more than just a godless

28 Reinhold Niebuhr. *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defenders*. (New York: C Scribner’s Sons, 1944).

29 Reinhold Niebuhr. *The Irony of American History*. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1952).

30 Horowitz, *The Revival of Reinhold Niebuhr*, 122-23.

31 “National Security Council Report, NSC 68, ‘United States Objectives and Programs for National Security’,” April 14, 1950, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archives, US National Archives. <http://digitalarchive.wilson-center.org/document/116191>.

32 A guest editorial by John Edgar Hoover, “Let’s Keep America Healthy,” November 25, 1950. Box 1, Folder “Communism,” A.E. Bennett Collection. Originally published *The Journal of the American Medical Association*.

ideology or a rejection of Christianity. They believed that the Soviets burned with diabolical zeal and had found a powerful religion in Communism.

For Schwarz, Communism was “Satan’s substitute program for the regeneration of Christ.”³³ Echoing him, William P. Strube Jr., an energetic anti-Communist and evangelist, who became Executive Secretary of the CACC in 1955, declared that “Communism is a religion spawned in Hell by Satan himself in his ruthless, relentless war against Christianity.”³⁴ Responding to this reinterpretation of the Cold War as a spiritual conflict, the California Attorney General, Stanley Mosk, strongly condemned the CACC’s “Devil Theory of anti-Communism,” which he believed was guilty of “oversimplifying complex economic and political problems.”³⁵ Speaking at a conference held at the County Federation of Labour in Los Angeles, Mosk also condemned anti-Communist zealots including Schwarz for caricaturing the Soviet Union. He argued that comparing dialogue with America’s rival to “negotiating with the Devil” risked hindering diplomatic progress.³⁶ However, the anti-Christian communists’ messianic vision of the Soviet threat made fraternizing with the enemy, at best, absurdity and, at worst, treason and heresy.

Conservative Christians were not the only ones reframing the Cold War. Niebuhr developed an almost identical view of the Cold War claiming, like Schwarz, that Communism was not just a political and economic ideology with anti-religious elements, but a sinister religion itself. Even as he formulated sophisticated arguments in his 1960 lecture, Niebuhr resorted to moralistic rhetoric and drew on religious imagery. He denounced Lenin’s “demonic genius” and Stalin’s delusional thought that he was “a kind of saint.”³⁷ Many of these ideas had been percolating in Niebuhr’s mind since the 1930s, when he recanted his former socialism and began to articulate his new beliefs. He wrote in *The Atlantic* that

33 Ken Anderson. *The Crimson Shadow*, 1953.

34 William P. Strube, *The Star over the Kremlin*(Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1962), 51.

35 Jacqueline R. Braitman and Gerald F. Uelmen. *Justice Stanley Mosk: A Life at the Center of California Politics and Justice*. (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2013), 107.

36 Braitman and Uelmen, *Justice Stanley Mosk*, 108.

37 Niebuhr, “Communism as a Rival to the Christian Faith.”

“Communism is ostensibly a highly scientific and irreligious social philosophy. In reality, it is a new religion...which rests ultimately not in reason but upon an act of faith, that it expresses itself so violently against a competing religion.”³⁸ Like Schwarz, Niebuhr turned to public mediums to rid Americans of their illusions about Communism and awaken them to its pseudo-religious character. He described Marx’s works as the Communist Bible, compared the Communist Party to a sect within the church, and argued “the writings of Lenin have achieved a dogmatic significance comparable to that which the thought of Thomas Aquinas had for the medieval church.”³⁹ He feared that Communist works might replace Christian theology in America. While Niebuhr did not rouse mass support like the CACC did, he and Schwarz converged on the same conclusion about the essence of the Cold War conflict.

They both relied on a Christian framework to defend their spiritual base and denounce Communism as a heretical, demonic force. Together, they illustrate that, although religious anti-Communism was a broad movement in the early Cold War era, many Christians – even as dissimilar as Schwarz and Niebuhr – reinterpreted a political strife between the two global powers as a spiritual struggle. Schwarz and Niebuhr stand out Communist crusaders because they projected Communism as not only an ideology, but also a religion unto itself. For them, the great battle between America and the Soviet Union was not simply a conflict between the God-fearing and the God-rejecting, but a conflict between two religions. Since Communism was a genuine religion in their eyes, albeit a sinister and inverted one, the Soviet Union could not be defeated with the usual implements of warfare nor outperformed economically. Annihilating a religious rival – faith fighting against faith – would require spiritual strength. Consequently, Schwarz and Niebuhr turned to written, oral, and visual mediums to proclaim the spiritual struggle and keep the Christian spirit alive and free from Communism.

More broadly, the similarities between Niebuhr and Schwarz’s reinterpretation of the Cold War illuminate how Christian anti-Communism fits into the larger story of American reli-

38 Reinhold Niebuhr, “The Religion of Communism,” (John Davis Batchelder Collection, Library of Congress, 1857), *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1931, 462.

39 *Ibid.*, 467.

gious history. By interpreting a geopolitical struggle through a religious lens, both figures imposed a religious framework onto a political conflict. This fusion of politics and religion would come to characterize the patriotic piety of the Religious Right: a conservative form of Christianity that emerged in the 1960s, upset by the cultural wave and perceived decline of traditional values. By the 1970s, they began to mobilize politically and, by the 1980s, they had found a champion in Ronald Reagan.⁴⁰ By marshalling religious arguments against Communism during the early Cold War era, Christian anti-Communists like Schwarz and Niebuhr illustrated the unique role Christians could play in politics and, arguably, laid a foundation for the Religious Right to flourish.

40 Herzog, *Spiritual-Industrial Complex*, 209.

