

FAIRMOUNT FOLIO
Journal of History

Volume 16

2015

Published by Wichita State University
Gamma Rho Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta

Editorial Board

Dr. Robert Owens
Associate Professor of History

Dr. Jeffery Hayton
Assistant Professor of History

Editorial Staff

Dr. Helen Hundley
Supervising Faculty

Emma Lavacek
Editor

Copyright 2015 by Gamma Rho Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
All Right Reserved
Cover etching of Fiske Hall property of WSU
Printed by ADR

FAIRMOUNT FOLIO VOL. 16 2015

CONTENTS

Paramount Destiny:

The Gender Consequence of Constitutionalizing Public Health

Kristina Haahr.....4

Collecting Gender: Women Participation in 1930s Scientific Collecting

Felicia Hammons.....14

Anti-Communism in the Heartland: The Red Scare at the Local Level in Wichita, Kansas

Emma Lavacek.....24

Lois Lane: In Step with Second-wave Feminism

Joshua Roeder.....36

“No Alcohol, Please. It’s a Family Affair!”: Building Community Support For a Bluegrass Festival Through Family Friendliness

Seth Bate.....49

**Paramount Destiny:
The Gender Consequence of Constitutionalizing Public Health**

Kristina Haahr

Ratified in 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States,” including recently freed slaves. The Amendment also precluded states from denying to any person “life, liberty or property, without due process of law,” or to “deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”¹ However, within the initial rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court on the Amendment, that broad language was narrowly interpreted. Instead of expanding individual citizens’ rights, the initial cases only protected individual rights guaranteed under a newly designated federal citizenship, and protected the states’ rights to wield their police powers through industry regulation. The Court’s first case, *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873)² left intact new state legislation intended to clean up the New Orleans water supply. For those involved with sanitation reform, this early decision was a win. But for reformers working to earn legal equality for women, it was a loss as the second decision on the Amendment, *Bradwell v. State of Illinois* (1873)³, denied the rights of women to enter into the professions. Thus through the initial Fourteenth Amendment decisions, public health and sanitation were protected over legal parity for women.

Justice Samuel F. Miller penned the first decision on the newly ratified Fourteenth Amendment in *Slaughterhouse Cases*. Miller’s vision for the Fourteenth Amendment was influenced by his time spent as a country doctor, and his frustration at the lack of health care improvements and sanitation efforts in the South. Justice Miller used his early decisions on the Fourteenth Amendment, combined with his knowledge of medicine, to create a constitutionalized pocket of protection for state-enacted public health and sanitation initiatives authorized under state police powers. This decision in *Slaughterhouse* had immediate repercussions against Myra Bradwell and a woman’s right to enter into the professions. The Court’s legal reasoning from *Slaughterhouse*, was simultaneously used in *Bradwell* where the Court determined that the Fourteenth Amendment did not extend its protection of individual rights to state citizenship. With good intentions to protect citizens’ health, Miller created a Constitutional environment hostile to individual rights, further upholding the common-law doctrine of coverture and a secondary class structure of gender.⁴

¹ U.S. Const. amend. XIV, § 1.

² *Slaughterhouse Cases*, 83 [U.S. 36](#) (1873).

³ *Bradwell v. State of Illinois*, 83 U.S. 130 (1873).

⁴ *Slaughterhouse Cases*, 83 [U.S. 36](#) (1873); *Bradwell v. State of Illinois*, 83 U.S. 130 (1873).

The United States did not have one singular national law which provided legal equality to the genders or which ended coverture⁵ for married women. Instead, throughout the nineteenth century, women won legal parity through the state legislatures and occasionally, in state and federal courts. Early acts protecting women's property and wages were passed by state legislatures beginning in 1839, giving married women limited rights to their own property. Later legislation protected a woman's wages and guaranteed her equal guardianship of her children. By 1873, two-thirds of the states had passed such laws. However, women remained barred from all-male universities and professional schools. For several years after the end of the Civil War, those who wished to study the law could read law with another attorney instead of attending a professional program at a university, so law school was not a strict requirement. However, state bar associations could limit bar admission based on the gender of the applicant.⁶

At this same time, Americans ready to move past the Civil War, turned their attention to building strong cities and healthy citizens. State legislatures empowered public health boards to enact sanitation laws protecting the public from disease outbreaks. States, through the police powers granted in the U.S. Constitution, passed public health acts or codes, and began cleaning up their environments. While improving health and sanitation conditions was a priority for most cities, the southern states were also tasked with rebuilding local constitutions and legislative bodies, and meeting changing federal conditions for statehood under Reconstruction. Forced to ratify the federal Reconstruction Amendments, many southerners harbored negative feelings toward the new laws and those who passed them. Thus, the public health movement in the South was not a straightforward endeavor. The exercise of creating a more sanitary environment within southern cities got tangled up with politics, white supremacy ideology, corruption, and hatred of the North, landing *Slaughterhouse* on the steps of the Supreme Court. Justice Miller, as a resident of both southern and northern states was uniquely qualified to rule on such a case.⁷

Prior to his time in the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice Samuel F. Miller was a medical school graduate who had previously practiced medicine in rural Kentucky. As a student, Miller had researched and written on the topic of cholera, and in 1833, Miller helplessly watched cholera strike all along the Cumberland River waterway killing 450 of Lexington, Kentucky's 6000 residents at a rate of fifty deaths daily. After graduation, Miller served the rural community of

⁵ Coverture is best defined by Sir William Blackstone, in 1765. Blackstone wrote that "by marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs every thing," *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books*, London : Printed by A. Strahan for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809. Found at: Lonang Institute <http://www.lonang.com/exlibris/blackstone/bla-115.htm>, September 14, 2009.

⁶ Rick Geddes and Dean Uleck, "The Gains from Self-Ownership and the Expansion of Women's Rights," *The American Economic Review*, vol. 92, No. 4 (Sept., 2002), 1079-92.

⁷ John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 79-92.

Barbourville, Kentucky, until 1847. Health boards and doctors throughout the country used quarantines of ships and port cities in an attempt to quell the spread of cholera, but it did not stop cholera from moving inland. The treatments of calomel and bleeding did nothing to alleviate the symptoms of cholera's victims. Doctors, biologists, chemists, and scientists, continued to work on a treatment and further their understanding of the disease but by the second cholera outbreak in 1848, the medical and scientific community were no closer to extinguishing the fears of the population.⁸

As Dr. Miller became increasingly disenchanting with the practice of medicine, he turned to reading law and he was admitted to the Kentucky state bar in 1847. Ultimately, Miller rejected the slave-holding philosophy of the southern states. At the age of thirty-five, with his wife and two children, Miller left Kentucky for Keokuk, Iowa, a northern state with no slave ownership. Once there, Miller emancipated the slaves he had inherited from his father and opened up a law practice. In 1862, President Lincoln nominated Samuel Miller to the U.S. Supreme Court, filling a vacancy left by John Campbell who abandoned his position in solidarity with southern secession. In April 1873, Justice Miller composed the decision in *Slaughterhouse*, defining the Fourteenth Amendment, and directly addressing the government regulation of sanitation in Louisiana.⁹

Louisiana is located in a subtropical climate and the city of New Orleans sits below sea level, creating a drainage issue for the entire area. Because of its climate and the frequency of disease outbreaks like yellow fever and cholera, New Orleans was passed over as a major port, missing out on economic growth possibilities. Public health boards came and went, all of them too political to make much progress in improving the health conditions of New Orleans. For those who could afford it, they left the city in the summer to avoid disease, further impeding New Orleans' ability to become a larger commercial center. In 1851, Dr. J.C. Simonds traveled to a public health conference in Boston to prove New Orleans was just as cosmopolitan as any city in the East. Instead, the statistics of disease outbreaks and lack of sanitation gathered showed New Orleans was unhealthy in comparison, years behind improvements made in other parts of the United States. In May 1862 during the Civil War, General Benjamin Butler was stationed in New Orleans and began a public health cleanup and sanitation enforcement in order to protect his troops from disease. When Butler left the city in December he said he had proven the city

⁸ Charles Noble Gregory, "Samuel Freeman Miller: Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States," *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 6 (April, 1908), 422-42, 428; Lunsford P. Yandell, M.D. "An Account of Spasmodic Cholera as it Appeared in the City of Lexington in June 1833" accessed from: <http://collections.nlm.nih.gov/pdf/nlm:nlmuid-101204866-bk>, March 20, 2014; Michael A. Ross, "Hill-Country Doctor: The Early Life and Career of Supreme Court Justice Samuel F. Miller in Kentucky, 1816-1849," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 71, No. 4, October 1997, 447; Charles Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 101-51.

⁹ Ross, "Hill Country Doctor," 446; Gregory, "Samuel Freeman Miller," 424-8; ---"Samuel F. Miller, 1862-1890," *The Supreme Court Historical Society: The History of the Court*, Accessed March 20, 2014.

could be kept clean and healthy. But it did not stay that way. As the city reverted back to civilian control, the mayor of New Orleans asked the citizens to keep up with the new sanitation arrangements. But the regulations were so enmeshed with northern policies, the proud southern citizens rejected them. Within two weeks, no one was following the mayor's request.¹⁰

Slaughterhouses in New Orleans were found throughout the city, mixed in with homes, schools, hospitals, and other businesses. The waste from these slaughterhouses was dumped in the streets and directly into the Mississippi River, the water source for the city. In 1866, cholera returned to the city twice, once in March and then throughout the summer months, sparking a new debate on public health and slaughterhouses. The first public health ordinance to regulate the location of slaughterhouses in the U.S. was passed in Chicago but it was quickly overruled. However, the city of New York used Chicago's ordinance as a template for its own, which passed and proved successful in cleaning up the water supply. Citing New York as an example, cities such as San Francisco, Boston, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia also passed ordinances resulting in cleaner water. Following this example, concerned residents of New Orleans signed a petition for the state legislature requesting all butchering within the city limits be moved into one area. Citizens testified before the legislature as to the "entrails, liver, blood, urine, dung, and other refuse portions in an advanced state of decomposition" that were thrown into the river. In March 1868, the state legislature passed a bill called "An Act to Protect the Health of the City of New Orleans." This act required the butchers of the city of New Orleans to slaughter their animals across the Mississippi River from the city instead of their personal shops.¹¹

Despite some New Orleans residents seeking legislative assistance in sanitation efforts, many residents of the city resented and resisted any plan which made their city look northern. These people also had a strong dislike for their new bi-racial Reconstruction state government. The slaughterhouse bill was passed through the legislature at the same time as a bill integrating the schools, and white-owned newspapers suggested all white citizens should fight the passage of any legislation coming from the current government. The new slaughterhouse legislation required all animal slaughtering to be conducted outside of the city limits of New Orleans at a facility called The Crescent City Livestock Slaughterhouse (CCLS). The CCLS charged a fee to all the butchers who used its facility and subjected them to sanitation inspections. But because this was the only facility available for slaughtering livestock, the facility

¹⁰ Ronald M. Labbé, and Jonathan Lurie, *The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 20–26; 30–1; 35–7; 53; Ross, "Justice Miller's Reconstruction," 658.; Wendy E. Parmet, "From *Slaughter-House* to *Lochner*: The Rise and Fall of the Constitutionalization of Public Health," *The American Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Oct., 1996), 476–505, 485.

¹¹ Labbé, *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 60; 44–6, 75, 6–7; Louisiana Legislature. Act No. 118. March 8, 1869. "An Act. To Protect the Health of the City of New Orleans, to Locate the Stock Landings and Slaughter Houses, and to Incorporate 'The Crescent City Live Stock Landing and Slaughter House Company'" as found in Labbé, *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 253–7; Ross, "Justice Miller's Reconstruction," 655–6.

became an unregulated monopoly, able to charge whatever price they wanted. This new legislation also opened up the profession of butcher to black citizens who had previously been kept out of the trade because they could not afford the costs associated with opening a butchering business.¹²

Butchers in New Orleans were involved in a smelly, dirty business, which had conspired for years to keep prices in the city high. The Gascon butchers had held a near-monopoly on the trade in New Orleans for years and resented the change of circumstance created by the new legislation. They did not want to close their own shops and pay for butchering rights at another facility and they did not want to see new butchers, in particular black butchers, enter the trade and affect their ability to control prices. Their plight, through legislative reform, became intertwined with other white citizens who opposed Reconstruction and the new state government. The Gascon butchers sued the state of Louisiana, asserting their rights to practice their profession had been taken away and they were forced to participate in an unregulated monopoly. They lost 3-1. After this defeat, the butchers hired John Campbell who took their case to the U.S. Supreme Court.¹³

Campbell was a southern sympathizer who had a strong dislike of the Reconstruction Amendments and saw this case as a chance to destroy them. Campbell asked the Court to limit the power of the state legislature and limit the power of the Reconstruction Amendments by multiplying their application beyond freedmen's rights to include everyone, even white butchers. The Fourteenth Amendment was added to the U.S. Constitution as a protection for freedmen. But by arguing for its expansion, Campbell could insure those freedmen were not protected. He asked the Court to find Louisiana in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's clauses against due process, privileges and immunities, and equal protection by their slaughterhouse act. Campbell argued that the butchers, by this legislation, were placed in a position of involuntary servitude. In opposition, the state of Louisiana's attorney Matthew Carpenter, argued the state had a right under the state's police power, to pass legislation regulating the health of the city. Because of the long history of sanitation efforts in New Orleans, this act was easily defended as an honest use of the state's police powers.¹⁴

While the New Orleans butchers were arguing that the Fourteenth Amendment protected their rights to practice their profession, Myra Bradwell was doing the same. Bradwell was born Myra Colby on February 12, 1831, in Manchester, Vermont. She moved with her family to Illinois and in 1862, she married James Bradwell. In order to help her husband with his law practice, Bradwell passed the Illinois bar exam on August 2, 1869 and acquired the documentation

¹² Labbé, *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 60; 44-6, 75, 6-7; Lecture titled "The Supreme Court, the *Slaughter-House Cases*, and the Retreat from Reconstruction" given by Michael Ross, accessed from the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute: rce.csuchico.edu/osher, March 10, 2015.

¹³ Ross, "Justice Miller's Reconstruction," 656; Labbé, *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 131.

¹⁴ Kermit L. Hall, Paul Finkelman, James W. Ely, Jr., *American Legal History: Cases and Materials, Fourth Edition*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 270-4; Parmet, "From *Slaughter-House* to *Lochner*," 476-505; Labbé, *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 133, 184; Ross, "Justice Miller's Reconstruction," 665-7.

necessary to complete her bar application. However the Illinois bar denied her admission request, because of the “disability imposed by your marital condition.”¹⁵

Many courts, regardless of the legislative work done to end coverture, continued to fall back on the common-law doctrine, ruling married women were legal non-persons. When Bradwell reapplied to the bar, she submitted a short brief citing her *feme sole* status and included a list of precedent showcasing the prior acts of women on behalf of others.¹⁶ Again, Bradwell’s petition was denied, but this time, based on her classification as a woman regardless of marital status. Bradwell made a final petition to the Illinois Supreme Court, arguing that she was denied her privileges and immunities assured to all citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment. Believing the Fourteenth Amendment protected her right to practice any profession for which she was qualified, Bradwell pursued her case to the U.S. Supreme Court, fighting not only for her right to practice law, but also for all women who wanted admission into the professions.¹⁷

Prior to her Supreme Court case, Bradwell had been involved with legislative reform for married women’s legal equality. She wrote and lobbied for two married women’s property laws passed in the state of Illinois in 1861 and 1867, as well as bills allowing women access to their own wages, and guardianship of their children. Early in Bradwell’s advocacy career, she met Elizabeth Packard who was crusading to change insanity commitment laws throughout the country. Bradwell aided Elizabeth Packard’s lobbying efforts and saw the successful passage of the “Bill for the Protection of Personal Liberty” in 1867. These legislative acts limited coverture’s reach within Illinois state laws only. Unless the U.S. Congress or the Supreme Court ruled in

¹⁵ For an overview of Myra Bradwell, please see Jane M. Friedman, *America’s First Woman Lawyer: The Biography of Myra Bradwell*, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1993), 18–41. After 1878, as the ranks of the profession were growing, law schools became more prevalent, popularizing the case law method of study developed at Harvard. However, Harvard, as well as Yale and Columbia, did not admit women students until the twentieth century. Prior to 1885, the bar exam was administered orally. Mossman, *The First Women Lawyers*, 10–39; Quotation from the Court Record of Myra Bradwell.

¹⁶ Nancy T. Gilliam, “A Professional Pioneer: Myra Bradwell’s Fight to Practice Law” *Law and History Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1987) 105–133; Barbara Young Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging in the Long Nineteenth Century United States*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 46–7. Bradwell had previously filed for *feme sole* status giving her legal rights to negotiate her own contracts to aid her in running *The Chicago Legal News*, a weekly law journal, as well as her printing press. The court had granted her request with no hesitation. This kind of sociology as evidence used by Bradwell was made most popular in the case *Muller v. Oregon* 208 U.S. 412 (1908) where Louis Brandeis submitted his famous legal brief on behalf of Muller which detailed empirical data from hundreds of sources. A precursor to this “Brandeis Brief” can be found in Myra Bradwell’s own court records.

¹⁷ Court records; Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging*. 98–9, 105; Mary Jane Mossman *The First Women Lawyers: A Comparative Study of Gender, Law, and the Legal Professions* (Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing, 2006), 41.

favor of women's rights, each step towards gender legal equality had to be fought one right at a time and one state at a time.¹⁸

When Bradwell brought her case to the Supreme Court, she wanted to create a national precedent for women in the professions. She hired Matthew Carpenter to argue her case in front of the Court. Unlike his argument for the State of Louisiana, Carpenter argued Bradwell had an individual right to practice a profession which should be uninhibited by state control. Both *Slaughterhouse Cases* and *Bradwell* looked at the same question of law: the rights of an individual within a state in contrast with the rights of the state government to regulate. Miller's opinion in *Slaughterhouse* is studied for its historical significance as the first ruling on the Fourteenth Amendment, its narrow interpretation, and its dual system of citizenship, none of which are included in later Fourteenth Amendment decisions. The *Bradwell* case is often relegated to a footnote, used as an example of the *Slaughterhouse* application and its division of federal and state citizenship. With *Slaughterhouse*, Miller protected states' rights to regulate while trading women's rights to the professions in the process.¹⁹

The Court read the *Slaughterhouse* decision first, on April 14, 1873 where, in a 5-4 decision, they found for the state of Louisiana, against Campbell and the butchers. Rejecting Campbell's broad application argument, Miller outlined a narrow interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Instead of extending the Fourteenth Amendment's application to individual rights, Miller ruled there were two kinds of citizenship within the U.S., a federal citizenship and a separate citizenship at the state level. While the Fourteenth Amendment had an interest in protecting federal citizenship rights, the rights of a profession were granted by the state.²⁰

Miller understood not only the legal arguments of the case, testing the limits of the Reconstruction amendments, but also the desire of the Louisiana State Legislature to protect its citizens and improve its sanitation through the use of police powers. Regardless of his carefully worded opinion, he changed the course of the Fourteenth Amendment. Miller outlined his decision based on the police powers of the state allowing for public health legislation. Quoting Chancellor Kent, Miller wrote, "unwholesome trades, slaughter-houses, operations offensive to the senses...may all be interdicted by law in the midst of dense masses of population, on the general and rational principle, that every person ought so to use his property as not to injure his neighbors; and that private interests must be made subservient to the general interests of the

¹⁸ Friedman, *America's First Woman Lawyer*, 78-111, 199; Barbara Sapinsley, *The Private War of Mrs. Packard*. (New York: Paragon House, 1991); Robert M. Spector, "Women Against the Law: Myra Bradwell's Struggle for Admission to the Illinois Bar" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Jun., 1975) 231-2; Mossman, *The First Women Lawyers*, 30.

¹⁹ Clare Cushman, *Supreme Court Decisions and Women's Rights: Milestones to Equality*. (Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2001); Robert M. Spector, "Women Against the Law: Myra Bradwell's Struggle for Admission to the Illinois Bar" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Jun., 1975) 228-242; Gilliam, "A Professional Pioneer," 105-133.

²⁰ *Chicago Legal News*, April 19, 1873; J.A. Lupton, "Myra Bradwell and the Profession of Law: Case Documents" *Journal of Supreme Court History*, vol. 36, Issue 3, 236-263; *Slaughterhouse Cases*, 83 U.S. 36 (1873); *Bradwell v. State of Illinois*, 83 U.S. 130 (1873).

community.” The Court recognized that states had a legitimate authority under the police powers to regulate business activity, and especially health issues within the individual state without federal government interference. Miller said public health obviously fell within the purview of state police powers; as long as the state did not exceed their power, they were within their rights to use it. Miller wrote that “Persons and property are subjected to all kinds of restraints and burdens in order to secure the general comfort, health and prosperity of the state...(and) the regulation of the place and manner of conducting the slaughtering of animals, and the business of butchering within a city, and the inspection of the animals to be killed for meat, and of the meat afterwards, are among the most necessary and frequent exercises of this power.”²¹

The decision in *Slaughterhouse*, including the concurring opinions as well as the dissent, was so long, that there was not time that day to read the second decision made by the Court. Instead, the Court read its decision in *Bradwell* on the following day. In a vote of 8 to 1, the U.S. Supreme Court sided with the State of Illinois against Bradwell, ruling that bar admission was a state’s issue and one in which the federal government had no interest. The Court continued its discussion of the *Bradwell* case with Justices Bradley, Swayne, and Field’s concurring opinion which included the infamous “paramount destiny” discussion. Justice Bradley wrote “... a woman had no legal existence separate from her husband...this cardinal principle still exist in full force in most states...The paramount destiny and mission of woman are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator.” While not binding precedent, this concurring opinion, which relied on the common-law doctrine of coverture, was quoted throughout newspapers reporting on the decision and was also used in the Oregon Supreme Court’s reasoning to continue to deny women bar admission. Nationally, the doctrine of coverture was kept intact. Because of the decision in *Bradwell*, the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply privileges and immunities to the pursuit of a profession, and it did not extend equal protection for women. While the Supreme Court had ruled to protect the health of the citizens of its cities, that same reasoning kept intact a system of justice where men were citizens and women were subjects. Instead of applying the new protections of the Fourteenth Amendment broadly to individual citizens, the narrow ruling in *Slaughterhouse* constitutionalized public health. By interpreting the police powers, including public health initiatives, as exclusively the rights of the state, those rights became protected against individual and federal interference. Public health found itself within the U.S. Constitution as individual rights were sacrificed for the greater good.²²

²¹ Ross, “Hill–Country Doctor;” Michael A. Ross, “Justice Miller’s Reconstruction: The Slaughter–House Cases, Health Codes, and Civil Rights in New Orleans, 1861–1873,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Nov., 1998), 649–76; ---, “Samuel F. Miller;” *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 83 U.S. 65 (1873), 62–3; Hall, *American Legal History*, 270–4; Parmet, “From *Slaughter–House* to Lochner;” Nowak, *Constitutional Law: Fifth Edition*, 171–2; Labbé, *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 211.

²² Quotations from the opinions issued in *Bradwell v. Illinois* 83 U.S. 16 Wall. (1873); Mossman, *The First Women Lawyers*, 47; Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging*, 43.

While the *Bradwell* case was at the Supreme Court, the state of Illinois passed a specific statute opening up the professions to all qualified applicants. The Illinois law read “no person shall be precluded...from any occupation, profession, or employment (except military) on account of sex.” A few other states followed suit. During this same time, the Illinois legislature also passed laws allowing women to hold school district offices and serve as notary publics. Both of those acts were written and lobbied by Myra Bradwell. On April 19, 1873, upon hearing the decision in her case, Myra Bradwell stated,

We had hoped in taking this case to the Supreme Court of the United States to have demonstrated that women have some rights and privileges as citizens of the United States which are guaranteed by the 14th amendment... Although we have not succeeded in obtaining an opinion as we hoped, which should affect the rights of women throughout the nation, we are more than compensated for all our trouble in seeing, as a result of the agitation, statutes passed in several of the states, including our own, admitting women upon the same terms as men.²³

On June 7, 1873, Bradwell, in the *Chicago Legal News*, printed congratulations to Miss Ada M. Hulitt, who was admitted to the Illinois State Bar “without regard to sex.” As reported in the *Omaha Herald*, “through her case the admission of women to the bar was made the subject of legislation, and many women are today enjoying the privilege which she fought so hard to gain.”²⁴

In an effort to support the progress made in public health in Louisiana, Justice Miller shaped the course of state legislation throughout the country. His past experiences with cholera and sanitation conditions surrounding slaughterhouses fashioned Miller’s interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. He focused the decision on public health and the states police powers. This ruling, while improving sanitation efforts in New Orleans, kept women from the professions and left the door wide open for Jim Crow laws and discrimination against both freedmen and women. Even though Justice Miller employed specific language as to how the Fourteenth Amendment should be applied to freedmen, the opinion instead, was turned against them, upholding the states’ rights to limit the liberties of individual citizens in the name of police powers.²⁵

While public health and its advancement were responsible for strides made in the quality of life for all people in industrialized communities, it was not without drawbacks. Protecting the health of a population often meant passing legislation that was unpopular. The courts were left to weigh not only the constitutionality of those legislative acts but also the greater good through public health that this legislation accomplished. Because of Justice Miller’s extensive background with cholera and the slaughterhouse industry, he was in a unique position to protect a public

²³ *Chicago Legal News*, April 19, 1873.

²⁴ Cushman, *Supreme Court Decisions and Women’s Rights*, 9.

²⁵ Ross, “Justice Miller’s Reconstruction;” Ross, “Hill–Country Doctor;” Gregory, “Samuel Freeman Miller;” Tom Longden, “Samuel Freeman Miller.”

health agenda, while he supported the close of Reconstruction and new beginnings in the South. But there were disastrous side effects of Miller's immediate ruling in *Slaughterhouse*, as shown in *Bradwell*. Miller hoped his opinion would further public health in the South and protect New Orleans from any future outbreaks of cholera. But his narrow interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment created a friendly environment for discrimination, unequal pay, violence, and nearly 100 more years of oppression for women.²⁶

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Collecting Gender: Women Participation in 1930s Scientific Collecting

Felicia Hammons

The professionalization of science during the latter 19th and early 20th centuries had a profound effect upon the place of women within the science discipline. Women were refused access to higher education and its translation into employment, especially in higher status positions such as professorship.¹ As authors Henry Etzkowitz and Carol Kemelgor explained, "The traditional family environment freed up men to pursue research, while also giving them time to engage in the 'laboratory politics' that leads to managerial positions."² Women remained bound to and defined by their gendered domestic roles as wife and mother, which strained their pursuit of research and their activity within science culture politics.³ Women scientists were therefore relegated to lower status positions, commonly those of periphery science. Periphery science has historically been less favored and less publicly acknowledged or honored compared with the work of "professional" male scientists.⁴ But gender historians should discuss *both* the obstacles women scientists faced as well as the ways in which women did participate in science. This work is an investigation into the subculture and community of scientific collecting through the analysis of 1920s and 1930s entomological collecting trip field notes by the Beamer family from University of Kansas. A subculture can be defined as "an ethnic, regional, economic, or social group exhibiting characteristic patterns of behavior sufficient to distinguish it from others within an embracing culture or society."⁵ Collecting was a subculture of both professional science culture and mainstream American society. It was marked by its regional location in the American West and did exhibit patterns of behavior that distinguished it from professional science culture and society. This scientific subculture both accepted and promoted women involvement in collecting, and science in general. Collecting was a vein of science open to all participants, regardless of expertise, experience, education, age, or sex. Within this collecting subculture, members developed strategies for the existence of their culture and also felt a level of acceptance and camaraderie within their community.

Recent historical scholarship on gender in 20th-century science has focused on case studies of women periphery scientists. Patrons, collectors, assistants, editors, illustrators, teachers, librarians, and support staff are examples of periphery scientists. Case studies of

¹ Henry Etzkowitz and Carol Kemelgor, "Gender Inequality in Science: A Universal Condition?," *Minerva* 39, no. 2 (2001): 162.

² *Ibid.*, 164.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Sally G. Kohlstedt, "Sustaining Gains: Reflections on Women in Science and Technology in 20th-Century United States," *NWSA Journal* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 1-2.

⁵ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "subculture," accessed March 7, 2015, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subculture>.

periphery women scientists communicate the constraints women faced in society and in academia, and emphasize the exceptionalism of women scientists who broke through the “glass ceiling.”⁶ But case studies focus on specific individuals who may not have been representative of women within the larger scientific community. Trends describe a greater portion of the population and, more importantly, trends describe movements within the history of science. These movements either reflected or rejected those of mainstream American society. By promoting women participation, the collecting subculture, as a social movement, rejected gendered definitions of both professional science culture and mainstream society.

Work investigating collection practices has produced abundant material, but these works are divided among and geared toward scholarly specialization. Most focus on anthropology or art history, and two issues limit the scope of these works. The first is that they focus on the work of amateur collectors, influenced by cultural and scientific aims rather than systematic and exacting types of scientific collecting. The second issue is that analyses focuses far more on the collections rather than the collecting. The few that do focus on science are geared toward specialized topics. For example, authors Patricia C. Warner and Margaret S. Ewing focused on the work of women aquatic collectors in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries. But the theme was not about collecting; it focused more on the role of collecting in the evolution of women’s fashion.⁷

To understand collecting as a community, it must be placed within the context of early 20th century entomological collecting. The late 19th to early 20th century is considered the era of economic entomology. Economic entomology was product of the agricultural movement westward in North America. Entomology grew in popularity to address “pest” insects injurious to farmers’ crops. The Great Plains region was affected especially by the migratory patterns of insects. For half a century, outbreaks of migratory locusts were the prominent obstacles to settlement in the future “bread basket” of the nation. In response to pest devastation, Congress established land grant colleges that focused on the sciences and mechanics that advanced agriculture. The proportion of paid entomologists rose to about eighty percent of paid researchers.⁸

But following World War I, private and federal funding shifted from the natural sciences to the more profitable disciplines, such as chemistry and engineering, which had proven their

⁶ Sally G. Kohlstedt, “Women in the History of Science: An Ambiguous Place,” *Osiris* 10, no. 2 (1995): 46.

⁷ Robert E. Kohler, “Finders, Keepers: Collecting Sciences and Collecting Practice,” *History of Science* 45, no. 4 (December 2007): 429–430; Patricia C. Warner and Margaret S. Ewing, “Wading in the Water: Women Aquatic Biologists Coping with Clothing, 1877–1945,” *BioScience* 52, no. 1 (January 2002): 97–104.

⁸ Scott Elias, “A Brief History of the Changing Occupations and Demographics of Coleopterists from the 18th Through the 20th Century,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 47, no. 2 (May 2014): 228.

usefulness during the war.⁹ But the Dust Bowl of the 1930s rejuvenated the activity of natural scientists, especially ecologists and organismal biologists. Before the dust storms, scientists had been detecting other evidence of disturbances; the alteration of organismal foraging and migrations.¹⁰ By upsetting the checks and balances of nature, it became apparent that authorities had not understood its workings and components.

The counsel of professional ecologists and biologists was sought for expert understanding of “ecological synthesis” in land management. These professionals were trained to categorize and understand organismal biology and behavior. This allowed them to better manage and manipulate nature’s ecosystem for the sustainability of both nature and western agriculture.¹¹ The collecting of organic specimens proved pivotal to the scientific identification and categorization of nature. To scientific collectors, they were performing science by analyzing and cataloguing specimens. Biosystematics is the term and “powerful tool for obtaining information about the basic biology of closely related species within a genus.”¹² Collecting became vital to taxonomic classification and a means of theorizing about the mechanisms of speciation. Understanding the geographic distribution, behavioral characteristics, and system of relationships within biosystematics created a blueprint to follow when dealing with a new agricultural pest.¹³

In the latter 20th and early 21st centuries, taxonomy was, and still is, dependent on geneticists, who discover species relations through DNA analyses. Consequently, historians have neglected field practices, such as specimen collection. It is technically outside of “proper science” and the grand narrative of scientific progress. Collecting was a practice performed by naturalists before they became “proper” scientists.¹⁴ But this type of science was a haven for women scientists.

Natural history grew in popularity in the early 20th century. Field studies and the protection of nature and wildlife promoted the involvement of middle and upper-class women in natural history circles. But women’s prominence in science education was reversed by the 1920s due to programs on domesticity in higher education, and, more importantly, patriarchal concerns over professional masculinity. Men were intended for agricultural sciences and women for domestic sciences.¹⁵ Professional work in science, and society in general, was designated by

⁹ David M Hart, *Forged Consensus: Science, Technology, and Economic Policy in the United States, 1921–1953* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 34–47.

¹⁰ Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 200.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*; John L. Capinera, ed., *Encyclopedia of Entomology* (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2008), 792; Kohler, “Finders, Keepers,” 447.

¹³ Marcos Kogan and Ronald Prokopy, “Agricultural Entomology,” in *Encyclopedia of Insects*, 2nd ed., eds. Vincent H. Resh and Ring T. Cardé, (New York: Elsevier, Inc., 2009), 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 428.

¹⁵ Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 150–1; *Ibid.*, 153.

gender, favoring the masculine or male gender. Women, no matter how qualified, were restricted to assistant or technician posts in research and teaching. Women, therefore, participated widely in collecting trips as assistants and technicians to their male counterparts or kin.¹⁶

Author Debra Lindsay analyzed the socio-cultural position of nineteenth-century women involved in science through their marriages. Lindsay's work added more to the historical discussion of gender and power in science. Her aim was to shift focus away from women scientists' struggles for accreditation, recognition, and status, the prominent theme in gender studies of science. Lindsay is most keen about the response of wives immersed in a community that formally excluded them. Informally, women did gain access to science through marriage and familial relationships. The sphere of science shifted from the public to the domestic sphere as wives, sisters, mothers, and daughters of male scientists became unofficial members of the scientific community. Science became the context for their lives, rather than simply an intellectual activity.¹⁷

The family of Kansas entomologist Raymond H. Beamer is an example of kinship-based involvement in scientific collecting. Raymond Beamer became Associate Professor of Entomology at the University of Kansas in 1935, Full Professor in 1939, and Curator of the Francis Huntington Snow Collections in 1949. Raymond and his wife, Lucy, had three children named Imogene, Raymond Jr., and John. When the Beamer children were old enough, the entire Beamer family went on summer collecting trips together during the 1920s and 1930s. The Beamer children became experienced collectors and grew up immersed in the scientific community.¹⁸

Lucy Beamer warrants an introduction because without her field notes and photography, this work would not have been possible. Lucy Beamer wrote all the field notes and photographed all the collecting trips consulted. But Raymond Beamer's name and initials are on all the field reports and, consequently, the photographs as well. Her roles were not acknowledged outright within any of the notes, but three types of evidence support her accreditation. Raymond's script is drastically different than the script of the notes, while Lucy's script is identical. The second evidence is what she writes about. She describes everyone's actions apart from her own, including "R.H.B" being Raymond H. Beamer, her husband. Lucy is also widely absent from photographs, while Raymond is present in nearly all of them. Lucy is clearly the writer and photographer for the collecting trips.¹⁹ Lucy's notes and photographs act as a window into the intricate relationships that composed the 1920s and 1930s scientific collecting community.

An essential element to this scientific community was the automobile. By 1925, the Ford Company assembly line completed an automobile every ten seconds. By 1929, every fifth person in the United States owned a Ford automobile. The automobile improved travel and campsite

¹⁶ Suzanne Le-May Scheffield, *Women and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 129–30; *Ibid.*, 138–9; Watts, *Women in Science*, 153.

¹⁷ Debra Lindsay, "Intimate Inmates: Wives, Households, and Science in Nineteenth-Century America," *Isis* 89, no. 4 (Dec. 1998): 631–2; *Ibid.*, 635; *Ibid.*, 631–3.

¹⁸ "Raymond Hill Beamer," *Kansas Entomological Society* 31, no. 2 (April, 1958): 59; *Ibid.*, 64–6.

¹⁹ Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1932, box 1, Raymond Beamer Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

assembly tremendously, as the author Scott Johnson attested in 1917, “We made the trip over by auto, it was different and a pronounced success. We had plenty of time to find a good camping ground and put up camp in first class shape.”²⁰

Automobiles proved pivotal to women’s participation in collecting as well. During the agricultural survey trip in 1917, the party from the University of Kansas hiked twenty–four miles in one day. When moving campsites, they handled nearly 1000 pounds of baggage two to three times in one day, besides taking down and putting up tents.²¹ Women at this time in general were smaller and carrying heavy weights over such long distances would have been challenging. And considering women collectors were generally upper class, they were not accustomed to heavy labor. As seen in figure 1, the automobile allowed collectors to transport their supplies via wagons rather than backpacks. Without the physical strain of supply transport and travel by foot, women more easily participated in collecting.



Figure 1. Photographed by Lucy Beamer, August 20, 1938. Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1938. Raymond Beamer Collection. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

The automobile also allowed collectors to travel further faster. During the 1920s and 1930s collecting trip itineraries were determined by where the automobile could go. The origins of the US Interstate System date back to the late 1930s and early 1940s, with the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, which authorized the designation of 65,000 kilometers for a national system of interstate highways. But the major construction of highways was slow until the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1950s. Never the less, road building was a major public interest during the 1930s. The entomology trip of Scott Johnson in 1917 took two weeks and surveyed only parts of Kansas. During the Beamer collecting trips, the party covered sectors of all western states, apart from Alaska and Hawaii, and within a two–month period.²²

²⁰ Scott Johnson, biological field survey report, 1917, box 2, folder Lauren D. Anderson 1927, Personal Papers of Raymond Beamer, Raymond Beamer Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Richard F. Weingroff, “The Year of the Interstate,” *Public Roads* 69, no. 4 (January–February 2006), <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/publications/publicroads/06jan/01.cfm>; Johnson, biological field survey report, 1917, Raymond Beamer Collection.

But while the automobile expanded the geographical scope of collecting trips, it also altered the spatial distribution. Collecting became a roadside activity, with parties rarely collecting in extreme wilderness. During a collecting trip in 1935, the party had to turn around on a back road because the treeline was too dense for automobile passage. In 1938, the party planned their trip by navigation of state highways, such as the drive from Santa Cruz to Davenport, California. Throughout their field notes, Raymond, Lucy, and Imogene Beamer wrote about their collecting parties stopping frequently to collect among roadside flowers or flooded irrigation ditches.²³

The automobile also connected collectors within the scientific community. They could visit and collect together more easily. Part of the collecting community was informal cooperation among collectors. During the 1935 trip, the party was periodically joined by many guests, including a woman named Peggy and a man named Paul, who collected and travelled with the party for four days. Directly afterward a Mr. Wilcox, Mr. Bahe, and Mr. Crumb joined the party.²⁴ The dropping in and out of travelling parties shows that collecting was a community open to varied participants.

The community also harbored person-to-person instruction, communication, and cooperation. Those more experienced would instruct the less experienced, as seen in figure 2. The collectors are practicing pinning insect specimens in the field. There were few published instruction manuals for collectors on pinning in the 1930s. Even in the current year of 2015, pinning specimens requires personal instruction by experienced collectors and scientists. Collecting in general still requires personal instruction by the experienced. A book can describe techniques for using a net, or which specimens are stored in alcohol or paper envelopes for example. But they cannot explain tricks created by or acquired through the grapevine of cooperation and communication.



Figure 2. Photographed by Lucy Beamer, August 14, 1931. Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1931. Raymond Beamer Collection. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

During collecting trips, parties were advised and often joined by professional entomologists from prominent institutions throughout the West. In 1928, the party visited the Botany Department of Lincoln College in California to study Manganites, a type of mineral, and to consult maps. They met Dr. Epling and he offered assistance. He recommended they visit Dr.

²³ Imogene Beamer, field notes, 1935, box 1, Raymond Beamer Collection.

²⁴ Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1935, box 1, Raymond Beamer Collection.

Memo of Pomona College in Claremont, California for more information on Manganites. The party continued on to Pomona College to visit Dr. Memo and also spent time collecting with a botanist, Dr. Mung, outlining their itinerary further. Mung advised them to collect in San Antonio Canyon. These interactions are perfect examples of connections within the scientific community.²⁵ If scientists didn't have the information, they knew who and where one could find it.

Parties visited scientific and agricultural institutions, presenting them as spaces open to the science community. In 1927, a party visited the Agriculture College of New Mexico at La Spruces and met a few professors who recommended collecting in Sabino Canyon. The 1935 party visited Dr. Van Duzee at University of California, Berkeley. Raymond Beamer worked on collections with Van Duzee while the women in the party toured Berkeley.²⁶ Visiting scientific and agricultural institutions presented perfect opportunities for the younger generation, which made professional contacts and reviewed college program options.

The parties also visited and learned from amateur entomologists, not formally associated with institutions. Western farmers commonly became amateur entomologists to understand agricultural "pest" insects. In 1938, Near Ramsey Canyon in Arizona, they visited Mr. Beaderman. They collected together around his walnut orchard. In a group photograph from 1935 (fig. 3), the Beamers are with friends and amateur entomologists.²⁷ Raymond listed the people as Jean Luisdale, Mary Anne and a friend, Curt Hesse, Mr. and Mrs. Comptore, Mr. and Mrs. Hill, Mrs. Hall and her three sons, Ben, Hubert, and Billy. This mixing of colleagues and friends created a community benevolent toward any experience, age, and sex.



Figure 3. Photographed by Lucy Beamer. 1938. Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1938. Raymond Beamer Collection. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

No apparent negative group dynamics between generations or sexes were recorded within Beamer field notes. As more women joined the party, Lucy wrote of the "boys" and the "girls." It seems sororal and fraternal relations developed between collectors. Age and sex did influence group formation within collecting parties as well. In 1938, the party spent a week camped in Ben Hein's Orange orchard in California. Women grouped together by sex. Raymond and John took

²⁵ Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1938, box 1, Raymond Beamer Collection.

²⁶ Lauren D. Anderson, field notes, 1927, box 1, Raymond Beamer Collection; Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1935, Raymond Beamer Collection; Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1938, Raymond Beamer Collection.

²⁷ *Ibid.*; Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1935, Raymond Beamer Collection.

charge of Thelma's three boys. And the three young men, L.G., Raymond Jr., and Ben, grouped together.²⁸

The most important groupings were those by expertise. Entomologists in general specialize in specific families of insects, such as Hymenoptera (bees), Coleoptera (beetles), and Lepidoptera (butterflies and moths) for example. In 1938, the party collected on the Frances Simes Hastings Natural History Reservation as guests of Dr. Jean Luisdale. Chas Michener, a student at Berkeley University and a specialist on Hymenoptera (bees) joined the party. Raymond Beamer focused on collecting cicadas, his specialty, and the rest of the party, under Michener, focused on collecting bees.²⁹ Evidently, group formation depended predominately on scientific specialty.

A revealing photograph from the field notes was from a party's visit to Yellowstone National Park in 1931 (fig. 4). The party is not posed like other group photographs with men and women intermixed. They assembled for their common scientific interests. Rather than collecting, they spent their time touring the park's attractions. The photograph is symbolic of the communication and cooperation of entomologists so diverse as individuals, yet similar in their commitment to furthering science. The same concept of camaraderie was present at the more formal 1931 Rocky Mountain Conference of Entomologists in Pingree Park, Colorado (fig. 5).³⁰



Figure 4. Photographed by Lucy Beamer, August 14, 1931. Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1931. Raymond Beamer Collection. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.



Figure 5. Photographed by Raymond Beamer or Lucy Beamer, August 20–22, 1931. Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1931. Raymond Beamer Collection. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1938, Raymond Beamer Collection.

³⁰ Lucy Beamer, field notes, 1931, box 1, Raymond Beamer Collection.

For the Beamer Five, scientific collecting was intrinsically a family affair. As adults, Imogene and John studied entomology at University of Kansas, and Lucy assisted Raymond the rest of his career until 1958. But the Beamers were not an anomaly; they were a small part of the western collecting community. The themes and relationships presented in this work can be applied to the entire western collecting community and subculture. Unfortunately, statistical data to support this assertion does not exist because statistics and historical analyses emphasize the professional world of science. The only statistical evidence found for Lucy Beamer is approximately 702 specimens she collected, which are housed in the University of Kansas Snow Entomology Museum.³¹ But there were many families like the Beamers throughout the West. An example is depicted in figure 3. Mrs. Hall and her three young sons were a family and were active collectors.

This collecting community helped create and catalogue the specimen collections scientists still utilize today. But the greatest legacy of the community was its children. The younger generation spent their childhood immersed in science. They communicated, cooperated, and learned from their experiences and personal contacts. Indeed, Imogene and John Beamer eventually sought careers in science, no doubt attributable to their childhood experiences. This younger generation of collectors would become the geneticists and taxonomists that occupy and further professional science in the latter 20th century to current times.

The collecting community also presents a new perspective on gender in the history of science. Case studies of women in the periphery of science describe many of the challenges they faced in gendered society. Women received less educational and professional opportunities solely based upon their gender. They were relegated to the domestic sciences or assistant positions in periphery science. But gender historians need to describe *both* the obstacles women scientists faced as well as the ways women did participate. And the scope of analysis needs to be broadened past case studies. Trends describe a greater portion of the population than anomaly case studies. More studies about the regional and national subcultures of science would improve our understanding of gender in the history of science and mainstream American society.

At the local level of collecting, gender was not an obstacle. But at the institutional and national level, gender was a deciding factor for professional accreditation. The field of gender in science requires more studies on localized grass-roots science to better comprehend the levels and ways in which women have participated in science. But studies should not focus on solely on gender cases; they should reflect larger trends that included multiple minority groups. Collecting included minorities barred from professional science, such as amateur naturalists and farmers, children, and women.

The 1930s collecting community is indicative of the agricultural movement westward and the professionalization of science in the latter 19th and early 20th-centuries. A concrete example of this trend was membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In

³¹ List of collecting events by Lucy Beamer, 2014, Collection Event Records. Division of Entomology Collections, University of Kansas Biodiversity Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

the latter nineteenth century, twenty-three members were listed in *American Men of Science*, a volume book series that published biographies of prominent scientists. Twelve of the selected men were born in the Midwest and only seven were born in the New England region. These origins describe that it was not necessarily only easterners who were considered professionals; western scientists were achieving professional accreditation as well. But professional accreditation was geared toward the younger male professional generation, which was progressively displacing the older, primarily amateur generation.³² Another group that was not included in that volume of *Men of Science* was women. Amateur naturalists and farmers, children, and women were barred from professional occupations and accreditation in science. But these three minority groups found and shaped a collecting subculture and community benevolent toward their participation in science.

³² Richard T. Read, "In Pursuit of Professionalism: The Oregon State Academy of Sciences, 1905–1914," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 90, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 185–6; Read, "In Pursuit of Professionalism," 188.

Anti-Communism in the Heartland: The Red Scare at the Local Level in Wichita, Kansas

Emma Lavacek

Anti-communist sentiments were central to Americans during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Fear of communism during this time was pervasive and spread across the nation. Large metropolitan areas became hot beds for Red Scare politics, putting government and private sector employees in the spotlight. The existing literature of the Red Scare focuses on large cities, like Washington, D.C, New York City, Los Angeles, or places that were particularly fervent in their "redhunting". The Midwest, by contrast, the literal and industrial core of the nation, is often left out of this discussion, but it is equally important to examine in regards to the Red Scare and how it played out in the United States. Wichita, Kansas, demonstrates what the Red Scare looked like for Middle America through its community and grass roots based anti-communism, illustrating how the citizens of the United States reacted to and participated in the Red Scare on a smaller scale.

By examining details of life in Wichita and Kansas, the way in which the Red Scare played out in Wichita can be properly analyzed. The primary issue to address is loyalty oaths. Since Kansas did not have its own investigative committee into communists, they created loyalty oaths to prevent the spread of communism. Religion and its role in the Red Scare is also a part of Wichita life that must be closely looked at. A religious state such as Kansas was concerned about communists' attitudes towards religion. Examining how religious communities and religious figureheads in Wichita reacted to communism is necessary to understanding how the Red Scare unfolded in the city because religious life was so important for the social relations in Wichita. The third part to focus on is schools in Wichita and Kansas. School curriculums do not change often, but when they do, looking at how these changes in Wichita and the state were implemented during the Red Scare can give insight into how anti-communist sentiments found their way into schools. Analyzing what school officials say about the current curriculum is important, and how anti-communist sentiments influenced school officials to change what was being taught in schools is equally important. Industry and business are vital as well to the understanding of anti-communism in Wichita. Fred Koch and his companies are a major element of this topic, requiring analysis of his own beliefs and practices. As the most populous city in the state, Wichita was a hub for various business conferences, examining these is crucial to understanding the role of business in the Red Scare. Anti-communism was at the core of American values during the late 1940s and early 1950s and examining all of these areas of life in Wichita and Kansas gives a picture of how the Red Scare played out in Wichita.

As the Red Scare spread across the nation, certain states and cities became targets of the politics that came with the scare. States like Michigan and California are often cited as critical

centers of the Red Scare in America.¹ The coasts formed the key areas of the scare, with a few exceptions in the Midwest and South.² These are the places where the power of the nation was centered, political power on the East Coast with Washington, D.C. and the West Coast as a cultural center. These places have subsequently become the site of most Red Scare historical research. For example, M.J. Heale's book on Red Scare politics in the states and nation focuses on certain states, like Michigan and Massachusetts on the East Coast and California on the West, because of their ardent resistance of communism through communist control laws and committees that sought out communists.³ Though scholars like Heale focus on the coasts and how the Red Scare played out there, the Midwest was not immune to the effects of the Red Scare. As James Selcraig details in his analysis of the Red Scare in the Midwest, by examining state level politics and government as well universities in states like Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana.⁴ Discussing how each state responded to communism is only one layer of understanding the Red Scare as a whole though. Some scholars have examined the Red Scare throughout the nation with a bigger lens, claiming that the federal government was the major factor and force of the Red Scare; anti-communism, specifically McCarthyism, trickled down from the national level where it was tied up in party politics and matters of national security into local and state level governments and policies.⁵ Thus this perspective asserts that states only acted the way they did because of anti-communism trickling down from the federal level. With analysis on a state level arguing that the Red Scare manifested itself mainly through state laws and analysis on the federal level arguing that the Red Scare began at the federal level with Sen. McCarthy and HUAC and those ideals and goals trickled down to the state level, what is left is to look at is the community, or grassroots, level and how the Red Scare played out there.

Some scholars have suggested that there is a lack of information on how citizens responded to and participated in the Red Scare. More specifically, they question how these national approaches to anti-communism trickled down to the state and local level and then how those people reacted to the Red Scare.⁶ Examining Kansas--and Wichita in particular--enables a more personal way of approaching the Red Scare. Looking at Wichita gives an idea of how citizens at local level reacted to and participated in the Red Scare in community and grassroots ways. Knowing how the federal and state government reacted to and participated in the Red

¹ M.J. Heale, *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935-1965* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1998).

² *Ibid.*, vii.

³ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁴ James T. Selcraig, *The Red Scare in the Midwest, 1945-1955* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982).

⁵ Ellen Schrecker, "McCarthyism: Political Repression and the Fear of Communism," *Social Research* 71, no. 4 (2004): 1043, JSTOR.

⁶ Laura McEnaney, "Cold War mobilization and domestic politics: the United States," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume 1: Origins*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd A. Westad (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 428.

Scare is of course vital to the understanding of the history, but looking at how citizens participated in the Red Scare gives a new depth to the understanding of this history.

A specific examination of Wichita, Kansas provides a vital observation of how the Red Scare affected the United States on a local and grass-roots level. Wichita is not, and has not historically been, a major city like New York, Los Angeles or Chicago. However, it has been a place of diverse economic innovation. Wichita experienced its first boom in 1871, as it became a major hub for the cattle drive business.⁷ The city became a place associated with the “wild west” feeling, a place of cowboys and outlaws, images that are now ingrained in the American culture. Wichita continued to grow, becoming the home to the outdoor activities company Coleman and the medicinal company Mentholatum in the 1910s.⁸ Throughout the first and second world wars, Wichita emerged on top in regards to war production, exceeding all other cities in per capita war production.⁹ It is from this massive increase in aircraft production that Wichita earns the informal title of “air capital of the world”. Wichita has always been a city in line with developments in American culture, while still not being a major city like those on the coasts. Examining how Wichitans dealt with the Red Scare can provide another level of how the nation as a whole reacted to and participated in the Red Scare, a level of analysis that shows how Middle America felt the Red Scare, but also a city that was in accordance with American cultural and industrial trends.

Understanding the background of the Red Scare is crucial to seeing just how it was so impactful in the United States. The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) was created in 1938 as a temporary investigative committee because of growing concerns over Nazi and Communist sympathizers in the United States.¹⁰ The committee itself had the power to investigate “the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States” and “the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that... attacks the principle form of government as guaranteed by [the] constitution.”¹¹ By 1945, it was made a standing, rather than temporary, committee under the chairmanship of Representative Edward J. Hart of New Jersey.¹² HUAC played a major role in the Red Scare, investigating government employees and their connections to the Communist Party as well as delving into the private sector, the most famous being the investigations into Hollywood’s alleged communist leaning. One fervent anticommunist in the United States government that contributed greatly to the Red Scare was Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. McCarthy was first elected to the United States Senate in 1946 and did not make much of an impact until February of 1950 when he launched a crusade against the communist party in America by

⁷ Jay Price, *Images of America: Wichita 1860-1930* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁹ Wichita Chamber of Commerce, *Wichita People* (Wichita, KS, 1947), 9.

¹⁰ William Klingaman, *Encyclopedia of the McCarthy Era* (New York: Facts on File, 1996), 183-84.

¹¹ *Facts on Communism, Volume 1: Communist Ideology* (Washington D.C.: United States Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1959), V.

¹² *Ibid.*, 185.

claiming that he knew of 205 Communists within the United States government.¹³ In the early 1950s, with help from HUAC and Sen. McCarthy's list of supposed communists, the Red Scare reached its peak, creating an environment of hysteria across the United States.

The Red Scare influenced politics not only at the national, but also state level. In his book titled *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935-1965*, M. J. Heale at the University of Georgia breaks down the threat of Red Scare politics into three main categories: investigation or "red hunting" committees, loyalty oaths, and communist control laws.¹⁴ The investigation committees were often called "little HUACs" after the national committee. These state level committees worked under the doctrine of exposure; if communists could be exposed, then membership of the Communist Party (CP) would decrease.¹⁵ Some states also adopted a Red Scare tactic known as loyalty oaths. These were oaths that public employees signed in order to show their allegiance to the country, which also included explicit language about participating in subversive activities; without signing these oaths, applicants to public positions would not be hired and potential candidates would not be allowed to run for public office.¹⁶ The last state measures taken were communist control laws that sought to combat the spread of the CP and to keep CP members out of office. These laws were all very different in their degrees of severity. Some excluded communists from the ballot, others denied them public employment, and the state of Texas briefly considered the death penalty for communists.¹⁷ While every state in the nation had its own legislative method of dealing with communists, most of the measures taken fell under one of these three categories.

However, state level measures did not exist to the degree in Kansas as they had in other states around the country. States like California and Michigan retained investigation committees, multiple varieties of loyalty oaths, and communist control laws that were challenged and changed often. Many states already had a loyalty oath in the form of the employee simply pledging their loyalty to the state and national constitution.¹⁸ But when the Cold War began, specific wording about subversive groups was added to the oaths. In 1949, the state of Kansas passed a law mandating that all public employees and officials sign a loyalty oath.¹⁹ The oath was worded as follows:

I, ----, swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any political party of organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of violence.²⁰

¹³ Klingaman, *Encyclopedia*, 256.

¹⁴ Heale, *McCarthy's Americans*, 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁹ "Loyalty Oaths," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, Nov. 20, 1959.

²⁰ Harry Ward, *"Going Down Hill": Legacies of the American Revolutionary War* (Palo Alto, CA: Academica Press, 2008), 25.

Students at the University of Kansas also had to sign a loyalty oath when they were applying for a federal loan.²¹ These loyalty oaths were the only legislation passed in order to control communism in Kansas, unlike other states that also had investigation committees and communist control laws. An article on the subject of loyalty oaths was published in the *Lawrence Journal* in 1959 in which the anonymous author states that there is no major opposition to the teachers and students signing these oaths and that the administration appears to have no objections.²² Nearly a decade after loyalty oaths became mandatory for teachers in the state, there did not appear to be any major objections at the largest university in the state. Kansans seemed willing to go along with the loyalty oaths because to them, saying these words and pledging their allegiance to and pride in the American government was paramount. Moreover, the article is rather critical of critics of loyalty oaths, saying that if a person does not want to sign an oath they should just find employment or loans elsewhere and that the government is in the right to make sure it is not loaning money to students and faculty who will in turn use that money against the government. The author's argument is framed in such a way that it really does not leave much room for criticism. This rhetorical strategy displays how anticommunists were interested in pointing out the lack of patriotism in critics of the loyalty oath and just how easily one could do what they deemed the right thing. Teachers and students were expected to accept these loyalty oaths or be deemed un-patriotic, or worse a communist.

In Kansas, loyalty oaths had much more symbolic importance than a mission to actually completely eradicate all forms of communism and/or subversion. These oaths became part of what sociologists have called a 'symbolic crusade', a product of consensus rather than partisan politics.²³ In contrast, there were states in the country that demonstrated how these loyalty oaths could be used as weapons. One of the most publicized incidents of a loyalty oath was at a university was in California in 1949. The University of California tried to make it mandatory for all faculty members to pledge their loyalty to the state government and when multiple faculty members refused, the regents of the university tried to have them fired.²⁴ Though the state Supreme Court declared the oath unconstitutional shortly thereafter, people reported that the climate on campus during that time was incredibly damaging and hostile.²⁵ Nothing of that degree ever happened on any university campus in Kansas. In fact, the environment appeared to have been ambivalent if not supportive in regards to the loyalty oaths. Through this support or at least a passive acceptance of these oaths, one can see that they played a more symbolic role with neither side pushing too hard.

Religion played an essential role in Wichita history. In 1947, there were a total of 163 church organizations for a population of 155,968.²⁶ The Wichita Chamber of Commerce in 1947

²¹ "Loyalty Oaths," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, Nov. 20, 1959.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Heale, *McCarthy's Americans*, 29.

²⁴ Klingaman, *Encyclopedia*, 239.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Wichita Chamber of Commerce, *Wichita People*, 143,122.

published a book titled *Wichita People* and in this book, prominent Wichitan figures wrote essays about important parts of the city. One such essay is titled "Wichita is a City of Churchgoers". This book as a whole is the Chamber of Commerce's way of promoting the city and highlighting why people are proud of their city. Essays concerning Wichita's role in farming and industry are included, others write about how enjoyable it is to live in Wichita and how happy people are there. It is clear that the high volume of churchgoers is something that Wichitans were proud of and deemed an important part of the culture of the city. An essay about the education system in Wichita, which contains a section about the catholic school system, is also included.²⁷ The section on the Catholic school system is illustrative of the role religion played in Wichita life.

Communism is a secular religion within itself and justifies dismantling traditional social institutions and practices.²⁸ Religion was one of these traditional social institutions that American citizens felt that communists were attacking, and thus a focus put on religion meant an attempt to keep communists and communist ideals from spreading in the community. Another way of analyzing the relationship between communism and religion is to see the two as two conflicting "faith movements", communism as a "secular religion" and Christianity as a strict religion and the two are essentially engaged in a religious war.²⁹ Either way, the simultaneous existence of strict Christianity and communism in a small community is neither practical nor possible.

Fred Koch, the founder of Koch Industries, was one example of a Wichitan who was genuinely afraid of communist infiltration of the country through churches. He was convinced that communists would not only infiltrate the country through the nation's churches, but that it was a key part of their plan to take over the United States. In his book, *A Businessman Looks at Communism*, Koch devoted a whole chapter to the discussion of how the communists had infiltrated, and would continue to infiltrate, America through its churches.³⁰ He believed that communists came into American churches in various ways, either through becoming ministers themselves or distributing communist propaganda at churches.³¹ The manner by which communists came into churches was not the focus of Koch though. In his chapter on communist subversion of American churches, Koch positions communism and religion on opposite ends of a societal spectrum, which lends itself to the idea that the two cannot exist at the same time. The solution, to Koch, is for clergy and churchgoers alike to understand Christian religious teachings deeply and completely in order to separate out what is Christian and what is communist.³² To Koch, religion was essential in keeping communism at bay in the country and in Wichita.

Religious institutions in Wichita used their positions and influence in the community to prevent communist sympathizers. Bishop Mark Carroll, at the time Bishop of Wichita, was vehemently anti-communist and spoke out about this belief at a conference in Kansas City in 1950 saying that communists "hate [the] country and what it stands for. They are not Americans

²⁷ Wichita Chamber of Commerce, *Wichita People*, 40-42.

²⁸ Peter Zwick, *National Communism* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983), 9.

²⁹ Robert Daniels, *The Nature of Communism* (New York: Random House, 1962), 345.

³⁰ Fred Koch, *A Businessman Looks at Communism* (Wichita, KS: Fred Koch, 1961).

³¹ Koch, *A Businessman Looks at Communism*, 17.

³² *Ibid.*, 17.

though they claim the name”.³³ Though he did not end up actually attending, Bishop Carroll was also slated to attend what the *Wichita Eagle* called a “brotherhood dinner”.³⁴ At this meeting, more than 260 Wichitans of numerous religious creeds gathered to hear religious leaders in the community speak on the state of religious harmony in Wichita. The keynote speaker at the event, Rev. Joseph L. O’Brien spoke to attendees of the meeting, asking them to stay active in their religious harmony as to not fall victim to the religious boundaries falling all over Europe.³⁵ While the focus of this meeting seems to be keeping religious harmony alive in Wichita between the various Christian denominations as well as Jewish, the underlying tones are anticommunist, supporting the notion that religion was the institution that kept communists out of the city. Rev. O’Brien specifically said that with this meeting they “[lifted] the iron curtain” that may have otherwise prevented interdenominational relationships in the city. The people of Wichita and the religious leaders in Wichita were fearful that they were falling victim to what they thought the rest of the world was falling victim to, a decline in religious harmony because of communism. These words are not said outright but phrases like “iron curtain” reveal where the fear really lies, with communists and their aversion to organized Christianity. Rev. O’Brien continues with this theme by saying that this brotherhood meeting “is the only valid guarantor of real democracy”.³⁶ These remarks were met with agreement by the rest of those in attendance of the meeting, revealing that Wichita’s religious leaders did see religion as the safeguard against communism. The Red Scare rhetoric that is used in this article provides an understanding that at the basic level, these religious leaders in the city were talking about safeguarding Wichita from communist influence. Unlike other places across the nation, Wichitans reluctantly call out communists as the problem, instead talk around the issue in a more subtle way while still getting their point across. This rhetorical camouflage is important because it characterizes the Middle American approach to the Red Scare, evidencing their aversion to communism indirectly rather than head on.

Religion was not the only institution to reflect Red Scare politics, as schools were not exempt from the fear and fervent anti-communism of the era. The National Education Association saw communism as enough of a threat to establish the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education in 1941.³⁷ As a result, teachers with alleged communist sympathies were purged across the country. Three hundred and eighty teachers were let go in New York City, in Los Angeles, 30,000 teachers were subjected to invasive and lengthy loyalty checks; books were burned in Oklahoma for containing socialist subject matter; and the list goes on.³⁸ What was more interesting about the Red Scare was how the curriculum changed during this time. Removing supposed communists from schools is one thing, but changing the curriculum of a school in order to combat communist influence is a different level of anti-

³³ “Bishop Carroll Scores Reds in United States,” *Wichita Eagle*, Jan. 1, 1950.

³⁴ “‘Iron Curtain’ Here Lifted, Brotherhood Dinners Are Told,” *Wichita Eagle*, Feb. 27, 1948.

³⁵ “‘Iron Curtain’ Here Lifted”.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Stuart Foster, *Red Alert! Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947–1954* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2000), 159.

³⁸ Stuart Foster, *Red Alert! Educators Confront the Red*, 30.

communism, and one that is more indicative of the indirect manner that Wichita had in addressing communist influence. This is much more relevant in Wichita because there was no purging of teachers and most people were relatively willing to accept the loyalty oath that existed for public employees. Again, it is clear that the way anti-communism unfolded in Wichita was less of a weapon that was meant to fire teachers and burn books, but rather a symbolic path that was more subtle and easier for the citizens to conform to. Symbols can be vital to people and this change in curriculum was a symbol of resisting communist influence. This is an important distinction because it shows that by the time Red Scare politics trickled down from the national, it was less about hunting out the communists in an aggressive way and more about how communist influence could be slowed.

Curriculum revisions do not happen often within school systems, but when they do they are usually the result of new research that came forth about what is the best way for students to learn. In 1948, county superintendent A. F. Throckmorton, who at the time was running for state superintendent of public instruction, called for a return to fundamentals in education.³⁹ During the Red Scare, progressive education came under attack often because progressive, or any diversion from the fundamentalist norm, became synonymous with communist; one such example of this was the progressive educator William Heard Kilpatrick, who in 1949—when invited to attend a workshop in Pasadena, California—was widely criticized for being a communist sympathizer, even when the historical evidence did not point towards this.⁴⁰ Throckmorton felt that when schools ascribed to “progressive” ways of education, people were unable to “remember the history of the country in which they were reared”. As such, he wanted to return the focus to American history in school curriculum.⁴¹ This claim is not straightforwardly anti-communist, but when placed next to the rhetoric he uses and what the words are referring to, it becomes obvious. For anticommunists, “Progressive” meant someone who was either communist or a communist sympathizer because of their liberal views or simply their views that deviated from the fundamentalist norm, and Throckmorton’s desire to place a heavier focus on American history is also an anti-communist code. The strong Cold War movement to define exactly what “American” meant resulted in “Un-American” becoming synonymous with Communism.⁴² By wanting to put a focus on national history, Throckmorton wanted to make sure that the students were becoming “American” enough.

At its core, the Red Scare was about change. People were afraid of this new way of thinking and what it would do to the United States. This resistance to communism is sometimes not said outright, but instead talked about in terms of “progressive movements” or “change” in the country. Another notion that seemed to be connected with communism was that of breaking with the past, and that does not mean someone is liberal or left leaning. On the surface, it

³⁹ “School Candidate for Fundamentals and Less Freudism,” *Wichita Eagle*, Jan. 1, 1948.

⁴⁰ Stuart Foster, *Red Alert! Educators Confront the Red Scare*, 168.

⁴¹ “School Candidate for Fundamentals and Less Freudism,” *Wichita Eagle*, Jan. 1, 1948.

⁴² Philip Wander, “Political Rhetoric and the Un-American Tradition,” in *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*, ed. Bernard K. Johnpoll (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 192.

appears that Throckmorton just wanted a renewed focus on U.S. history. But if one looks closer at what the undertones of this suggestion are, he was afraid of what these new ideas would do to children and thus wanted to renew a sense of patriotism and Americanism in children who were still in school. What Throckmorton feared was that if students did not understand American history, then they would be more susceptible to communist conversion. In 1958, the University of Kansas published a review of high school preparation of their 1,124 incoming freshmen. In this review George B. Smith, the Dean of the University of Kansas, stated that “education programs in any society at any stage in history reflect...the philosophy of the society in which they exist.”⁴³ He provides the example of the priority physical education was given during World War I.⁴⁴ While people like Throckmorton and Smith may not have been completely aware that the curriculum they were advocating for was in accordance with the themes of the Red Scare, they were nonetheless compliant in forming the education of the country according to those themes.

Though it was noted earlier, Kansas’ teachers’ acceptance of the loyalty oaths is worth mentioning again. There were undoubtedly some individual teachers who felt opposed to the oaths, but as a whole they accepted the oaths as necessary to safeguarding public education from communism. Unlike previously mentioned states like California where there was massive uproar from teachers who had to sign loyalty oaths, nothing of the like is ever documented in Wichita or Kansas. This is not to say that some teachers or professors did not like the oaths, but rather that there were not enough opposed to lead to any sort of organized protest.

While Wichitans feared communist ideals would seep into the schools in the city, the business and industry sectors shared similar fears, and when speaking about business and industry in Wichita, Fred Koch and Koch Industries are unavoidable subjects. Fred Koch came to Wichita in 1925 to form a new engineering firm with two other men and in less than ten years, Koch had turned a small \$300 investment into a colossal fortune.⁴⁵ His engineering firm specialized in the design and manufacture of petroleum refineries and between 1929 and 1931, Koch’s company built fifteen oil-cracking refineries in the Soviet Union.⁴⁶ While in the Soviet Union, Koch was led around the country by a man named Jerome Livshitz, an old Bolshevik who supposedly knew the specifics of the communist plot to infiltrate the United States through its schools, universities, churches, labor unions, government, and armed forces.⁴⁷ It was during this visit and his business dealings in the USSR that Koch became fervently anti-communist. A phrase of Livshitz’s especially stuck with Koch, which was that the foundation of the communist plot was to “make you rotten to the core.”⁴⁸ With this newfound passion for halting the communist infiltration of America, Koch wrote a book on the subject titled *A Businessman Looks at*

⁴³ George B. Smith, *Let’s Look at the Record: The High School Preparation of 1,124 University of Kansas Freshmen* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Publications, 1958), 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁵ Daniel Schulman, *Sons of Wichita: How the Koch Brothers Became America’s Most Powerful and Private Dynasty* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2014), 10–11.

⁴⁶ Koch, *A Businessman Looks at Communism*, 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

Communism. His sons report that his time there and his subsequent fear of communism coming to America was a frequent topic in the family; they say that growing up, the point of view that big government was to be feared was fundamental.⁴⁹ Though the end goal is a world void of government, communism begins with the State controlling all aspects of life, and this tenant is what scared Koch, especially as someone who relied heavily on a free market in order to make his fortune. One consultant said, these views influenced his son Charles' political views.⁵⁰ This is significant, as Charles became the head of Koch Industries and led the company into unprecedented growth, expanding company revenue from \$70 million in 1960 to \$90 billion in 2006.⁵¹

Fred Koch's anti-communism was a key influence on the future of industry in Wichita. He was a highly influential man, not just his influence on his son's later successful business dealings, but also his role in the local community during the Red Scare. Koch and his wife belonged to a number of social and community clubs in the late 1940s and early 1950s, such as the Wichita Country Club, Junior League, and Towntalks.⁵² As a highly involved member of Wichita society as well as owning a massive company in the city, Fred Koch had plenty of avenues to display his anti-communist beliefs. His avid anti-communism brought him to the attention of a man named Robert Welch, a former candy company executive who quit his job to fight the spread of communism full time during the 1950s.⁵³ Together with Welch and ten others, Koch helped to found the John Birch Society in 1958.⁵⁴ On the society's current website, they pride themselves on being an organization that has never strayed from their "opposition to communism and any other form of totalitarianism".⁵⁵ If Koch was among the select few to be invited to help start a highly conservative organization, his anti-communism was extreme enough to get the attention of people across the country. The John Birch Society cites him as a significant figure along with its founding father Robert Welch, indicating that Koch was a figurehead in the anticommunist movement within America. Koch represented the anti-communism that was coursing through the upper levels of society and business in Wichita during the Red Scare. While Wichita did not participate in active searches for communists, important local figures dispelled their beliefs. Koch's influence on his son's future business and political strategy, and his own anticommunist influence, are key to understanding how the Red Scare manifested itself in Wichita.

Nor was Koch alone in Wichita as far as anti-communism in big business. In 1949, Wichita held a conference with 125 bankers to hear from finance chiefs from around the state about

⁴⁹ Schulman, *Sons of Wichita*, 41.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁵² *Wichita Social Register* (Wichita: Wichita Social Club Directory Co., 1949-1950).

⁵³ Schulman, *Sons of Wichita*, 40.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵⁵ John Birch Society, "History," *The John Birch Society*, <http://www.jbs.org/about-jbs/history>, November, 2014.

anti-inflation credit control methods.⁵⁶ At this conference, E.W. Stillwell, president of the Kansas Bankers Association, asserted the “responsibility of individual bankers in preserving our democratic form of government.”⁵⁷ Stillwell called upon the bankers at the conference to take a firm stance in combatting inflation in the nation, appealing to them by claiming that one of the main motives of American bankers is patriotism.⁵⁸ The people of Wichita, specifically those in the financial sector of the town, came out en masse to support and listen to Stillwell and his idea that bankers safeguarded the American democratic way of government. Wichita bankers saw the financial sector as a place where communists could gain major footholds if left with an opening. Koch himself agrees with the strategy of combatting inflation in order to keep communists from infiltrating America as he lists inflation specifically as one of the ways that communists plan to take America.⁵⁹ Whether or not Stillwell truly cared about the preservation of democracy or if he was just interested in keeping himself and his money safe does not much matter. The point is that he and Wichitan bankers at least worked under the guise of “Americanism”, which was code for anti-communism. People were afraid that communists would take over every aspect of life, and this included the financial sector. Wichita here reacted to the Red Scare again in a rather subtle way, simply by continuing to combat inflation under the guise of keeping democracy safe.

The Red Scare fear swept the nation in an unprecedented manner. While the red-hunting committees, Hollywood blacklisting, and major communist control laws, were the reality for parts of the country, the Red Scare was quite different depending upon where you lived. In places like Wichita, the Red Scare manifested itself on a much smaller, subtler scale, unlike the grand committees and hearings of the coasts. Research exists as to how the Red Scare affected federal and state level politics, but what is lacking are closer investigations of how local communities dealt with the massive fear of communism trickling down from the federal level. Loyalty oaths, religious leaders and organizations, school curriculum and teachers, and industry, were some of the major issues in which Wichita reacted to the Red Scare. These topics provided a snapshot of what Wichita was like during the Red Scare.

Wichita’s Red Scare is not a microcosm for the Red Scare as a whole, but rather an example of how a specific place digested and “did” anti-communism. Observation of how smaller communities throughout the nation followed the lead of institutions like HUAC can provide a more complex understanding of how the nation as a whole reacted to the Red Scare. Wichita is an example of how anti-communism was exhibited on a local, grassroots level, away from the severe anti-communism of other states around the nation. Wichita did not hunt out the communists with fervor and severity, nor did Wichita provide an oasis for them in a massively unfriendly nation. Rather, Wichita fell somewhere in between those two ends of the spectrum, by attempting to stop communist infiltration where they thought it was and slowly pushing the supposed communists back out. Citizens and community leaders were free to go along with the mores of the Red Scare where they found it to be pertinent. In comparison to places like Los

⁵⁶ “Patriotic Trust Told to Bankers,” *Wichita Eagle*, Fe. 27, 1948.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Koch, *A Businessman Looks at Communism*, 12.

Angeles, New York City, or Detroit, the Red Scare manifested itself differently in the smaller city of Wichita. Although most definitely a part of the nation's larger anti-communist movement, Wichita's citizens' reaction to and participation in the Red Scare created a unique grassroots approach to combatting the supposed communist infiltration of the United States.

Lois Lane: In Step with Second-wave Feminism

Joshua Roeder

Lois Lane has been described as “impetuous, reckless, irrepressible, impulsive and unpredictable.” She is “too common.” She is “a combination saint, sinner, imp, imbecile, smarty-pants, snob, Samaritan.” She is “snoopy, inquisitive, curious, a pest, and can’t keep a secret.” Lane has also been described as “being attractive, ingenious, a star reporter, loyal to SUPERMAN and a terrific booster of worthy charities.” At first glance, the main characteristic of Lane is her enigmatic qualities. However, taking a step back from the character reveals that the framework of women’s history in which Lane was originally put into had begun to change.¹ Creators of the character, Joe Siegel and Joe Shuster, had Lane appearing “as a fixture in Superman’s life from 1938 on, even before Lex Luthor and Supergirl, she challenged, undermined, superseded, and sometimes, if necessary and convenient, aligned herself with the roles women were assigned in society.”² Since her inception, Lois Lane has had to navigate her way through multiple feminist waves, ideologies, and the perpetual reincarnation by various artists.³ This is because characters like these are outlets for artists and writers to express their individual perspectives on life. In the case of Lane, she is an expression for what her creators thought a woman like her should be. This expression becomes sensational when the character takes the lead in her own comic book, *Superman’s Girl Friend, Lois Lane*.

Lois’s comic book iteration, *Superman’s Girl Friend, Lois Lane*, is important because the series both paralleled and reflected the second-wave of feminism. The publication spans from 1958 through 1974, a total of 137 issues.⁴ Professor of American Studies and Women’s and Gender Studies, Amy Erdman Farrell states that “scholars have paid little attention to the role of popular culture in forming a collective oppositional consciousness among women in the 1970s and 1980s.”⁵ Catching the tail end of the era of the “atomic family” and through the emergence of the second-wave feminism, *Lois Lane* provides a unique reflection of this period as the series shows the evolution of the character. By examining what feminism looked like during this period, what has been previously said about *Lois Lane*, and examining the comics themselves, the

¹ Mort Weisinger (ed), “Letters to Lois,” *Superman’s Girl Friend, Lois Lane* #12 (Oct. 1958), National Comics Publications, Inc. [Superman DC National Comics], 22; Weisinger (ed), “Letters to Lois,” #13 (Sept. 1959), 22; Weisinger (ed), “Letters to Lois,” #16 (Apr. 1960), 12; Weisinger (ed), “Letters to Lois,” #20 (Oct. 1960), 21.

² Nadine Farghaly, ed., *Examining Lois Lane: The Scoop on Superman’s Sweetheart* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2013), vii.

³ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁴ For the remainder of this discussion the abbreviated title *Lois Lane* will be used.

⁵ Amy Erdman Farrell, *Yours in Sisterhood: Ms. Magazine and the Promise of Popular Feminism* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 5.

character Lois Lane and the series will show to be aligned with what was occurring during the rise of feminism in the real world.

As mentioned, Lane began her series in the late 1950s. The culture of postwar America in the 1950s was that of domesticity and "the nuclear family," which emphasized the suburban white, middle class lifestyle as the norm. This lifestyle was comprised of more would-be fathers being able to achieve a college education that allowed them to receive an income that could support an entire family instead of having individual member's pool wages. This meant that it was no longer necessary for women to leave the house to get a supplemental income to add to the family's, but instead they could spend more time at home and focus on being a housewife. Stephanie Coontz states that the dominant imagery of the 1950s "nuclear family" was a product of popular culture. Family life during this period, was however, "as nuanced, troubled, and fragile as it is in contemporary life."⁶ The 1950s saw women assigned roles that were seen as essential to the family structure and fundamental to the overall American society. This decade also witnessed the rise in nonconforming women who saw such roles as stifling.⁷

With the fluctuation of men leaving lower white-collar positions for World War II, American society saw a surge in the number of women entering the work force. Then consequently, the purge of women from the workforce in post WWII as the need for women to fill in vacant positions vanished as men returned. Women were pushed back to the role of child bearers and homemakers. Despite this push, the 1950s saw the rise of white-collar jobs and the number of women in those positions, even if upper management was closed off. Even by 1950, "women made up 20 percent of the total workforce and, of those women, 50 percent were married." In 1952 "two million more wives were working than at the peak of war production."⁸ The number of women in the workforce in 1955 was higher than in any previous year. Decades that followed showed a steady increase in the number of women who choose to work rather than stay at home. Society demonstrated that when it was in need of labor, it could rely on women to do what was considered to be a male-only position. Women knew this was the time to insert themselves into what was previously conceived as male-dominated worlds. But, it was not just the workforce sphere they wanted into.

Young women along with early nonconformists, "pioneered the social movements of the 1960s--civil rights workers, campus activists, and youthful founders of the women's liberation movement" that will be seen later in the 1960s.⁹ Feminist leaders were encouraged by the Civil Rights movement, through which many of them gained experience in organizing such events. Even though these women often played key roles in the Civil Rights movement, they were shut out of leadership roles for the most part. These women were shutout for the same reason they

⁶ Vibiana Bowman Cvetkovic, "Feminine Mystique: *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* in the "Silver Age" of Comics," in Farghaly, 49.

⁷ Farghaly, *Examining Lois Lane*, xv.

⁸ Cvetkovic, "Feminine Mystique," 49.

⁹ Wini Breines, "THE "OTHER" FIFTIES: Beats and Bad Girls," Joanne J. Meyerowitz, ed. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 383.

were cut off from upper management positions in white-collar work environments. They were women. Rather than to be continually pushed to the fringes, these women split off from such movements to from their own.

In order to gain more equality in the work force, the group National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded in 1965. Betty Friedan gave a name and voice to discontented women in her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*.¹⁰ In it, Friedan "homogenized American women and simplified postwar ideology; she reinforced the stereotype that portrayed all postwar women as middle-class, domestic, and suburban, and she caricatured the popular ideology that she said had suppressed them."¹¹ These women formed "a new civil rights group... that could pressure the government to enact and enforce laws against sexual discrimination."¹² NOW had become the "women's rights" branch of the reemerging wave of feminism. While NOW was pressuring the government, the women's liberation movement was generating a huge amount of literature in local communities. "While these journals were produced largely for members of the movement, Gloria Steinem's Ms. Magazine, founded in 1971, expanded the audience to the general public at a national level. It publicized the problems ordinary women faced, published inspirational stories of successful women, and covered grassroots activist efforts across the country."¹³

As the women's liberation movement evolved through the decade, there was a splinter of radicalism. Betty Friedan's generation sought:

not to dismantle the prevailing system but to open it up for women's participation on a public, political level. However, the more radical "women's liberation" movement was determined to completely overthrow the patriarchy that they believed was oppressing every facet of women's lives, including their private lives.

Radical feminists began gaining public recognition through their militant campaign for abortion law repeal, one of their many issues that resounded with their fundamental demand of genuine self-determination.¹⁴ The role that radical feminism played in the overall period was subverting the traditional values and destabilizing what was considered the traditional family makeup. It was not just expectations that drove these women. "Women, including mothers, go to work not only out of sheer economic necessity... but because feminism has made it socially acceptable for women to want a life outside the home." The expansion of women's opportunities led to more

¹⁰ Sara M. Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Random House, 1979), 16.

¹¹ Meyerowitz, *Not June Cleaver*, 3.

¹² Evans, *Personal Politics*, 19.

¹³ "THE 1960S-70S AMERICAN FEMINIST MOVEMENT: BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS FOR WOMEN," TAVAANA, accessed February 15, 2015, <https://tavaana.org/en/content/1960s-70s-american-feminist-movement-breaking-down-barriers-women>.

¹⁴ Alice Echols, *Daring To Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 198, vii.

interesting work and aspirations for the increased independence/mobility that came from earning even a modest wage.¹⁵

There was also an expansion of opportunities in the world of art as the number of feminist works began to rise towards the end of the 1960s. Women have always been the subject of works of art by male artists. The women in these art pieces have always been shown as the idealized feminine body. In the 1960s, sexualized "images of women circulated via mass media. Those in the form of pin ups were usually well known personalities, but like earlier depictions of women they were presented as sexual objects, their sole purpose to flaunt their sexuality for men."¹⁶ Women artists such as Judy Chicago and Hannah Wilke defied the constructs that tradition imposed, producing a new way for the female subject to be shown in the world of art. When interpreted by women, "the female body became a powerful weapon against the social constructs of gender."¹⁷ As these women artists began their work in the 1960s, the dawn of this second-wave feminism coincided with a different era's ending, the "Golden Age of Comics."

The Golden Age of Comics (1930s–1940s) was the time where comics expanded from comic strips and superhero tropes such as alter egos, origin stories, and recurring super villain antagonists were shaped. Female characters at this time were situated in three different archetypes: the career orientated woman (who was always seeking employment as a nurse, a secretary, or a school teacher, but rarely actually employed), the romantic role (the character was either the atypical "Good Girl" who get their heart broken or "Bad Girl" who breaks the boy's hearts), and the perky teenager role. It is during this time period where women also first appear as superheroes. Limited, however, to the style of "'femme fatale', who was a sexually aggressive woman."¹⁸ The Silver Age (1956–1970s) began with the revival of some of the more famous Golden Age male superheroes, but also a new direction with publishers wanting to target a younger audience. Young girls were comic book consumers who represented a largely untapped market at the time of the Silver Age. Such aimed comic books include: Charlton's *Nurse Betsy Crane*, Marvel's *Millie the Model*, and Archie Comics' *Betty and Veronica*. There was even a batch of romance genre comics: DC's *Young Romance*, *Young Love*, and Charlton's *My Secret Life*. After being featured in DC's *Showcase* for two issues in 1957 as the main character, Lois Lane finally starred in her own comic book in 1958.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid., xi–xii.

¹⁶ Jessica Holt, "The Changing Representations of Women: The Art of Hannah Wilke, Lynda Benglis, and Cindy Sherman," *Brooklyn College Undergraduate Research Journal*, Vol. 2 (2010), accessed March 15th, 2015, <http://www.brooklyn.cuny.edu/pub/departments/bcurj/pdf/HoltJessicaART.pdf>, 1.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1–2.

¹⁸ "Women in Comics: Article Covering the Role of Women in Comics Throughout the Ages," Comic Vine, last modified May 21, 2014, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://www.comicvine.com/women-in-comics/4015-43357/>.

¹⁹ Cvetkovic, "Feminine Mystique," 41. It should also be mentioned that the spinoff before Lois Lane, *Superman's Pal, Jimmy Olsen* (1954), was a success. This probably helped convinced the viability of the new comic book.

An issue with *Lois Lane* is that at first glance, the series appears to be just another stereotypical female character in a role similar to the other romance comics. One can see why Lane could be passed over for more popular female characters at the time like Wonder Woman. One of the reasons why *Lois Lane* is important to scholarly attention is that the series requires an in-depth study to achieve any sort of understanding. Vibiana Bowman Cvetkovic is one of the first writers to analyze *Lois Lane*, she suggests that the reason Lois Lane obtained her own title was the result of America's reaction to the "Age of Nuclear Anxiety" and the changing economic/cultural realities. "While a close reading of the *Silver Age of Lois Lane* does not reveal a feminist or even a proto-feminist, it does reveal a strong, smart, independent woman—one who does not completely conform to the standard notions of femininity depicted in the popular culture of the time."²⁰ Cvetkovic describes Lane as "[f]eminine and professional. She dressed fashionably but not fixed. Her demeanor was approachable but proper and no-nonsense. She was well spoken and intelligent. She loved her job as a reporter and she was good at it."²¹ Cvetkovic's observations shows that she remains unconvinced of Lois Lane's character to be a true "feminist," but rather a professional woman who embraces her feminine side.

An issue with Cvetkovic's analysis is that there is little discussion on specific issues of the *Lois Lane* series. Another author to analyze *Lois Lane* is Jennifer K. Stuller, who suggests that "while stirrings of feminism had already manifested in popular culture by the way of television, a feminist consciousness had yet to reach mainstream comics."²² According to Stuller, the issues and concerns of the women's movement do not appear until the late 1960s, starting with #80, and in particular with issues #121 and #122. By this time, Lois Lane "has reflected societal attitudes toward women—particularly career women—for over 70 years. This makes her a unique marker of changing American ideas about gender, perhaps even more so than her contemporary, Wonder Woman."²³ Stuller presents the idea that it was not until "Splitsville for Lois and Superman!" (issue #80) that DC realized that Lois was becoming something more than Superman's girlfriend. However, Stuller suggests that it was in later issues, specifically, "Everything You Wanted to Know about Lois Lane * But Were Afraid to Ask!" and "77 Coffins!" (issues #121 and #122 in 1972) that Lois Lane finally embraced the feminist movement.

Stuller makes a compelling interpretation of the following two issues. The story for issue #121 has Lois returning to Metropolis several weeks after her sister's death. After being mugged, then consequently being rescued by a female bystander, Lane has an epiphany. She quits her job at the *Daily Planet* so that she can work freelance on important stories. She also tells Superman that they are finished, and moves into an apartment with three roommates (all female).²⁴ Stuller

²⁰ Ibid., 42.

²¹ Ibid., 45.

²² Jennifer K. Stuller, "Feminism: Second-wave Feminism in the Pages of Lois Lane," in *Critical Approaches to Comics: Theories and Methods*, ed. Randy Duncan and Matthew J. Smith (New York: Routledge, 2012), 235.

²³ Stuller, "Feminism: Second-wave," 240.

²⁴ Dorothy Woolfolk and Ethan C. Mordden (ed), Cary Bates (w), Werner Roth (p), Vince Colletta and Murphy Anderson (i), "Everything You Wanted to Know about Lois Lane * But Were Afraid to

concludes that, for the representation of women in *Lois Lane*, the "dialogue is contrived and stereotyped, with talk about "woman power" and "chicks sticking together: and clichés that trivialize feminist politics." However, "[r]ather than focus on the affections of Superman, Lois is focused on her career and her friends—making her much more independent, and suggests the dynamic character she's capable of being."²⁵ Stuller's analysis is correct to a point, issues #121 and #122 definitely display Lane with a certain level of women's liberation value. This is a more definite conclusion compared to Cvetkovic's, placing Lane more on the side of feminism than just being feminine and professional.

However, contrary to what Stuller has said, issues before #80 of *Lois Lane* reveal information that shows just as much, if not more connections to the women's liberation movement. By examining the "Letters to Lois" column of these comic books, the importance of these earlier issues becomes clearer. What exactly is the "Letters to Lois" column? If a reader felt compelled enough, he or she could write a letter to the editor of the series and the letter might be published in the column with a response from the editor. The letters are usually written in the style of being critical of the work, praising it, or stating simple opinions/suggestions as to what should happen with the series. The readers' letters cover a wide variety of subjects such as spanking, hairstyles, fashion, and the Lois/Lana/Superman love triangle. Apart from these casual topics, there are numerous letters that are more concerned with Lane's political position, specifically her stance in regards with the then current women's liberation movement.

These letters show direct interaction between the consumers and the producers of this specific comic book. The responses by the editors reveal the kind of mentality and mindset that were a huge part in putting together the comic book that audiences, both the targeted youth and older readers, were taking in. For instance, in the late 1950s (still in the nuclear family era), a letter from Ethel Guinness appears in "The Girl Who Stole Superman's Heart!" (issue #7). In it, she says:

You've given us stories in which we've seen Lois Lane as a waitress, a pretzel-bender, and actress, a WAC and a convict. Apparently, Lois Lane's line is anything and everything, so let's see her as a spy, a model, a big-game hunter, an ambassador, a daredevil, an heiress, and a queen.²⁶

An interesting suggestion, one in which the author of the letter would like to see Lois Lane in more assertive roles than she normally appears. It is also similar to what women felt during the postwar era in regards with entering a previously male dominated work force. Just like these assertive roles, upper management was denied to women.

Ask!, Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane #121 (Apr. 1972), National Periodical Publications, Inc. [DC], 1-24.

²⁵ Stuller, "Feminism: Second-wave," 249.

²⁶ Mark Voger and Kathy Vogelsong, *Hero Gets Girl!: The Life and Art of Kurt Schaffenberger, Illustrator of Lois Lane and Captain Marvel* (Raleigh: TwoMorrows Pub, 2003), 49.

In response to this letter, the editor admits that "our versatile Lois can handle all the professions you suggest, but we think the career she prefers most is being a house-wife for SUPERMAN!"²⁷ A similar response was given to one letter writer when they asked if Lana Lang (Lois Lane's best friend and rival for Superman's love) would ever get her own comic book series. The editor responded by saying that the "only book Lana is interested in is a cookbook--so she can whip up tempting meals for SUPERMAN after she lands him for a husband."²⁸ When asked why Lois Lane could not be trusted with Superman's secret identity, the editor says that "[e]verybody knows that no woman can keep a secret."²⁹ Patricia Newland inquired about why Lois Lane was so persistent in trying to figure out who Superman really was. The editor answered back by asking, "Did you ever know of a woman who could take "No!" for an answer?"³⁰ It is apparent in some of the replies to the readers' letters by editors that the issues brought up were not taken seriously. This might simply be the own editor's opinion on the matter or that they did not feel the column was a place for serious responses at that time.

In some of the letters, the writers seem agitated at the way the series portrays women in certain settings and how they interact with other characters. In Judith Stevens' letter, she voices her opinion by commenting that:

don't you think it was rather mean of SUPERMAN to embarrass Lois Lane in front of Lana Lang? I think it's awful the way you insult women, and particularly the way you heap abuse upon Lois. You're always saying she's snoopy, inquisitive, curious, a pest, and can't keep a secret. Well, men aren't angels, either!³¹

A similar letter comes from Ronnie Raney, saying that he "liked the story, "Lois Lane's Anti-Superman Campaign," but I think you're anti-female. You show nearly all men around Lois' booth when she's campaigning for the Senate. I'm only a teen-ager, but I think more women would be interested in voting for her. Replying back, the editor writes that "[w]hen you're old enough to vote, vote as you please. In the meantime grant these guys the same right. Besides, can you blame them for flocking around a pretty chick?" Like most women trying to enter the political scene, Lane found it hard trying to be taken seriously as politician.

Interesting enough, as early as "The "Superman-Lois" Hit Record!" (issue #45), there is a letter from Elva Evans which goes against Cvetkovic's analysis that Lois Lane "does not completely conform to the standard notions of femininity depicted in the popular culture of the time."³² In Evan's letter, she states "I just adore Lois Lane. She's cute as a button, always getting into hot water. (She reminds me of Mary Tyler Moore, of the Dick Van Dyke TV show, the way she

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Weisinger (ed), "Letters to Lois," #21 (Nov. 1960), 21.

²⁹ Weisinger (ed), "Letters to Lois," #10 (Jul. 1959), 24.

³⁰ Weisinger (ed), "Letters to Lois," #9 (May 1959), 22.

³¹ Weisinger (ed), "Letters to Lois," #16 (Apr. 1960), 12.

³² Cvetkovic, "Feminine Mystique," 42.

is always getting into trouble and crying her pretty little head off.)"³³ In response to this, the editors seemed to agree that Lane sometimes gets in over her head in some situations.

Another response was given to Anne Zeek, in which she asked in her letter about what would happen between Lois and Clark Kent's rivalry at the *Daily Planet*. "Will this rivalry exist even after their... marriage? If so, what would happen if Lois feels that Clark stole a story she was working on?" Replying back, the editor says, "We don't think this problem will come up. SUPERMAN believes that a wife's place is in the home." A common theme among the responses from the editors is beginning to show itself.³⁴ Letters and the responses to them are common throughout the first eighty issues. If there is already this much reader response to Lane in the early years of the series, then the amount of concern after she liberates herself from Superman's shadow in 1968 will be apparent.

Without having to read the entire story in the comic book, there is a blatant enough statement being made on the cover as Lois Lane begins her change in issue #80 in 1968. The cover shows Lane throwing the "Girl Friend" part of the title on the ground. She then demands Superman to leave her magazine as she wants to start a new life without him. As the more independent sounding Lane is shown with her luggage in the background, the only thing Superman can do is stand there, in shock. Inside the issue, sobbing on her bed, Lane says, "I've been kidding myself and everyone else! The whole world knows I've tossed away my life waiting for Superman! I'll bet everybody's laughing behind my back!"³⁵ Lane is determined to start a new life without Superman, even to go so far as to get an entirely new wardrobe, dispose of all the souvenirs from Superman, change her name, and start fresh in a new city. Meanwhile, Superman/Clark Kent has become bored at the *Daily Planet* due to the lack of trouble-prone Lois Lane and her attempts of going after "scoops." The next time that they inevitably cross paths, Superman asks her, "You said you wanted to get me out of your life... is that really true?"³⁶ To which she repeatedly says "yes." With this giant step in the direction of Lois reaffirming her independence from Superman, it would seem as if she is finally breaking her own mold.

The cover to "No Witnesses in Outer Space!" (issue #81) cover shows Superman and Lane in space, with Superman apparently ripping apart Lois' air tube and her exclaiming, "Gasp! Superman's snapped my air-hose because I won't marry him. He's committing the perfect murder!"³⁷ This could just be the writer's hook to get potential readers, maybe they still have Lois Lane breaking the mold. Unfortunately, they did not. Lane eventually proclaims her born-again love for Superman. In "Death House Honeymoon!" (issue #105), when Lane approaches the editor to allow her to cover a story, Lois exclaims, "Let me get you the inside story... It's a woman's story!" Clark Kent responds by stating, that it is too dangerous of an assignment and that "It's a man's job!"³⁸ Perry White, the editor, says, "Clark's right! The... story is no assignment

³³ Weisinger (ed), "Letters to Lois," #45 (Nov. 1963), 22.

³⁴ Weisinger (ed), "Letters to Lois," #22 (Jan. 1961), 21.

³⁵ Weisinger (ed), "Splitsville for Lois and Superman!," #80 (Jan. 1968), 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁷ Weisinger (ed), "No Witnesses in Outer Space!," #81 (Feb. 1968), 1.

³⁸ Bridwell (ed), "Death House Honeymoon," #105 (Oct. 1970), 4.

for a woman! It's yours, Clark!" Lois responds, "That's not fair, Perry! You're discriminating against me because I'm a woman! I protest!"³⁹ Though, short in length, this new attitude of Lois' is only just the beginning and if anything a nod to women's liberation movement's goal for equal employment.

Not too long before that particular comic book issue came out, the federal government began to recognize women's issues in the work force. In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, that included the decisive Title VII. This prohibited discrimination by private employees, employment agencies, and unions on the basis of sex as well as race, color, religion, and national origin.⁴⁰ An agency titled Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was set up to enforce the law's protection of women workers. Feeling that EEOC was not carrying out its job adequately, in 1965, the group National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded. These women formed "a new civil rights group... that could pressure the government to enact and enforce laws against sexual discrimination."⁴¹ Apparently the government had not reached the offices of the *Daily Planet* yet when #105 was published.

In the next comic book, Lois Lane takes on a then relevant cultural issue. In "I Am Curious (Black)!" (issue #106), editor E. Nelson Bridwell created a series of opportunities for cultural frontier-crossing, including juxtaposing the single, white, professional Lois Lane of the 1970s into the black community. Lane receives the assignment of her life, to get the inside story of Metropolis' Little Africa. Lane is shown receiving a glimpse into the daily lives of black men, women, and children. Though this single comic book did not end the racial divide at the time, it does mirror the early activities of women who attempted to be more prominent and active in fighting for civil rights. As mentioned beforehand, young women helped pioneer the social movements of the 1960s, including the civil rights movement. Through working with these early movements, many women gained experience that would help in developing the women's liberation movement.

Not too long after this issue, Lane confronts the social issues of another minority group, as seen in "Indian Death Charge!" (issue #110). Lane takes an assignment to cover a rain dance by a group of Pueblo Indians on a reservation near Santa Fe. The story takes off as Lane and Superman resolve an issue of a dam being built that would potentially destroy the reservation. Afterwards, Lane is thrust into the role of a mother as she is forced to adopt a child of a Native American until the father of said child is found after escaping a POW camp in Vietnam. Again, Lane deals with early movements that young women had a hand in during the 1960s (Native American and the Anti-War Movements).

Some readers were not too acceptable of the inclusion of social issues. Albert Tanner from Baltimore believes that women's liberation should be separate from entertainment when he says:

I must agree with those readers who feel *Lois* has become too much oriented toward "social causes," "minority groups" and so on. A comic book must primarily be a source of

³⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁰ Evans, *Personal Politics*, 16.

⁴¹ Ibid., 19.

entertainment if it is to sell and it is easy to jeopardize its success in this respect by overemphasizing moral messages. This applies to Lois' Women's Lib convictions also... I'm sure the great majority of both men and women readers would not like her as a militant Women's Lib extremist.⁴²

The letter from Tanner suggests that the "social issues," "minority groups," and political viewpoints have caused *Lois Lane* to be less of an entertaining comic book and more of a moral guide trying to exert itself onto readers.

If it is not already clear through analysis, it was clear to the readers that the amount of social issues that Lois confronts in these comic books is a noticeable change. *Lois Lane* is no longer just about Lane chasing Superman, but rather a woman confronting very real social problems of this time. The fact that this is only issue #110 and there is already a letter from a reader stating that "if Lois sounds off about Women's Lib in every issue, she'll get to sound like a broken record," shows that a closer examination of *Lois Lane* has already yielded more convincing evidence of feminism.⁴³

As shown, women's liberation movement issues began to appear more often in the stories themselves after issue #80, but well before and just as prominent as the issue #121. Aside from the stories in the series, there is also an increase in letters concerning this change, showing that the readers took notice. For example, in Mark Thomase's letter:

I complain about--Lois Lane supporting Women's Lib? Heaven forbid! Lois has shown, subtly that she supports it. Why? She is an attractive girl--she nearly has Superman at her feet. She is a reporter on the *Daily Planet* and it looks like she's practically living in luxury. She must get a good salary. Lois has shown that women can get equal pay for equal jobs! What more does Women's Lib want? DO they want to go to Viet Nam and fight in the front lines?⁴⁴

Thomase's letter suggests that Lane has achieved enough personal equality to quit actively supporting the women's liberation movement any further. His last statement implies, however, that women should be grateful for not being too equal as they are not forced to fight in a foreign conflict. Gerard Triano's letter displays a more conservative side of women's liberation:

About the subject of Women's Lib, Lois is carrying it too far and Superman not far enough. He must realize that "woman power" means more than fisticuffs and inane clichés, and that being loved and needed doesn't mean being enslaved. Her actions in the last two issues show that she must believe this. Her crack about "cooking in the kitchen" is the reason that some of the women I know hate the movement. It makes the woman who

⁴² "Your Mystery Columnist," *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* #126 (Sept. 1972), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC].

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁴ Woolfolk (ed), "77 Coffins!," #122 (May 1972), 49.

wants to fulfill herself "just" as a wife and mother feel worthless. What Women's Lib should boil down to is the right of every woman to choose the life she wants for herself and to be able to live it. I hope Lois and Supie both wake up.⁴⁵

This letter suggests that Lane has become too radical in her support of the women's liberation movement. One of the main oppositions of radical feminism at this time came from women who believed that there was nothing to be ashamed of in finding fulfillment as a housewife. Triano falls into this group, as the letter would suggest.

B.J. Reed from Oxnard, California also believes that Lois is taking the women's liberation movement to the extreme by losing her feminine side:

The need for better and equal terms doesn't mean a woman has to stop being female. A woman cannot be a man, is not as strong as a man, and cannot think like a man—I know because I'm married to one, and he doesn't think like I think!

Lois wants many things for her fellow women: equal pay, rights, etc... the same things any man enjoys. But should Lois scream about her rights as a woman, while in the same breath criticizing Superman for wanting to behave like a man? A woman's normal instincts are to be feminine and coy. A man's are to flex his muscles. Who likes a feminine man? Nobody! So who likes a masculine woman?⁴⁶

Reed's letter suggests that Lane has taken feminism so far as to have almost completely lost her gender identity as a woman. What makes letters like these important is that they are able to show the readers' opinions of what they know about the women's liberation movement and then compare it to what they see happening in *Lois Lane*.

Even though there are examples of women's liberation values in the stories of the series, the fact that there are responses from the readers in which they themselves took the time to examine the same values in the character is a validation of Lois Lane's transformation to being more aligned with the feminist movement. While some question or criticize the women's liberation movement's values in the series, there are some letters from readers who believe that *Lois Lane* could without exerting such overtones. Gary Kimber from Ontario ponders if it even possible to have "women's lib in a comic book? How can a medium that sports men in underwear doing impossible feats hope to deal seriously with something so real?"⁴⁷ Keith Griffen from Alabama rejoices when the women's liberation movement overtones in issues are not as heavily asserted. For one issue, he exclaims: "Hooray! The one and only LOIS LANE has returned! Many thanks... for turning out the best LOIS script in a long time... There were no roommates to detract from Lois' role in the tale, and no heavy "women's lib" overtones."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Woolfolk (ed), "Death Rides the Wheels!," #125 (Aug. 1972), 22.

⁴⁶ "Your Mystery Columnist," #126.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Asherman, Allan. "Letters to Lois." *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* #137 (Sept. 1974). National Periodical Publications, Inc. [DC].

Gerard Triano of Elmont, New York was getting bored by the repetitiveness of the Women's Liberation theme: "Why must every ish allude to Women's Lib? I can't tell you how boring the subject has become."⁴⁹ On the other side of the United States, Scott Gibson from Sterling, Colorado believes that audience for *Lois Lane* has become too narrow, saying, "the magazine may be selling well among Women's Libbers, but it's too much for anyone else."⁵⁰ Triano and Gibson's letters suggests that the series has become too specialized in dealing only with women's liberation issues and that it has started to alienate itself from the general readership who apparently do not share the same political views. An example of this alienation is expressed by Susan Bregman who finds Lane's attempts to be a feminist agitating. In her letter, she says, "LOIS LANE is not liberated. LOIS LANE is a fool... Her goal in life seems to be to prove herself better than men... Her concept of liberation seems to be yelling at Superman when he rescues her, instead of batting her eyes and sighing."⁵¹

Even though readers complained about the series, *Lois Lane* was important because when it ended, there were very few other comic books on the market to accompany to the women's liberation movement. DC Comics attempted to introduce feminist values into Wonder Woman during the Diana Prince era (1968–1972). This "new" Diana captured the tone of the women's movement by having the character embrace her civilian side of life more so than her superhero side. This contradicted the Amazonian values, which alarmed editors of *Ms.*, who praised the original version. In 1972 and 1973, "Marvel Comics, keen to hitch its wagon to the women's movement, produced three "women's comics"---*Night Nurse*, *Shanna the She-Devil*, and *The Cat*; all failed after fewer than half a dozen issues."⁵² These never obtained the mainstream popularity or success as the other aforementioned ones. Perhaps this is because these new characters were not as successful at emulating the times in which they were created. It also could be due to the fact that the Silver Age of Comics was coming to an end and publishers began shifting focus on what was being published and for whom it was being published.

Unlike other comic books with a female lead, *Lois Lane* is important because the character resonates with the time period. A lot of social movements occurred at the beginning of the 1960s that carried on well past the end of the decade. Unlike Wonder Woman, a women's movement magazine never championed Lane. Although, at its peak in popularity in 1962, *Lois Lane* was the third bestselling comic book, third only to *Superman* and *Superboy*.⁵³ The comic book series is an important piece to pop culture history as it reflects the second-wave of feminism in a form of media that deserves more attention. Even without superpowers, Lois was

⁴⁹ E. Nelson Bridwell, "Letters to Lois and Rose," *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* #128 (Dec. 1972), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC].

⁵⁰ "Your Mystery Columnist," *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* #126.

⁵¹ Kanigher, Robert. "Down Lois Lane." *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* #133 (Sept. 1973). National Periodical Publications, Inc. [DC].

⁵² Jill Lepore, *The Secret History of Wonder Woman* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 289.

⁵³ John Jackson Miller, "1962 Comic Book Sales Figures," COMICHRON: THE COMICS CHRONICLES, accessed October 15, 2014, <http://www.comichron.com/yearlycomicssales/1960s/1962.html>.

able to reach a mass audience; an audience who read and took in what was presented to them; an independent and intelligent woman who had a career that was fulfilling.

**“No Alcohol, Please. It’s a Family Affair!”: Building Community Support For a
Bluegrass Festival Through Family Friendliness
Seth Bate**

The luthier, or maker of stringed instruments, Stuart Mossman, one of the organizers of the first Walnut Valley Festival in Winfield, Kansas, spoke to the local Rotary Club about his plans during a meeting in September 1972. The *Winfield Courier* summarized his presentation: “Those attending will be people who like country and bluegrass music. Many are over fifty years of age and will bring their families along. Mossman pointed out the entire festival will provide good, clean family entertainment.” The message was reinforced after the fact by Winfield Police Chief A.V. “Gus” Froemming, who praised the event in the newspaper, calling it a “very professional” atmosphere. The *Courier* said “possibly those who may have had qualms about the weekend had confused a bluegrass festival with a rock and roll festival. However, the police chief remarked that ‘this would be a fine place to take the whole family.’”¹

In its first decade, the Walnut Valley Festival made a strong commitment to providing entertainment that was safe and fun for families. The festival’s definition of family friendliness was first and foremost a prohibition on alcohol and illicit drugs, along with social pressure to refrain from nudity. It also included efforts to provide plenty of space, modern facilities, and an atmosphere that made music the central activity. Finally, the festival provided family friendliness by playing up its elements that came from the tradition of folklife festivals and gospel meetings.

In a larger context, the festival’s commitment to family friendliness was indicative of the 1970s wave of nostalgia, preservation of folk traditions, and patriotism. In the minds of some Americans, the ideal of family togetherness was under threat. An activity such as a bluegrass festival could be a poignant, potent reminder of a time when people made music by hand with acoustic instruments—a time that some would nostalgically call simpler.

More specifically, the commitment to family friendliness was a defensive stance because organizers could not be sure of community support for the event, which began in 1972 and continued annually. Without community support for everything from fairground permits to hospitality for out-of-town visitors, the undercapitalized organization could have easily failed. In addition, its organizers risked the judgment of the community where they lived and did business the rest of the year. Winfield residents had reason to be wary. While they had little experience with bluegrass festivals, they certainly were aware of rock music festivals through media accounts and documentary films even if they had not attended one. Such festivals gained as much attention for nudity and illegal drug use as they did for music. It is reasonable to assume most residents of the small, Republican-leaning community would not have been enthusiastic about hosting such an event, particularly because free tickets available to students at the local United Methodist-affiliated Southwestern College would mean mixing college students with the campers.

¹ “Mossman Tells Plans for Bluegrass Festival,” *Winfield Courier*, Sept. 25, 1972; “First Bluegrass Festival Considered ‘Big Success,’” *Winfield Courier*, Oct. 2, 1972.

The effectiveness of the festival's promotional strategy contributed to the annual festival's survival and the community's acceptance, even when some festival behavior did not live up to the family-friendly label.

The new nostalgia

During the Cold War, American families were widely viewed as the building blocks that would form a wall against insecurity, socialism, and what some saw as moral decay. Families, consisting of men and women married for the first and only time and focused on raising children, would steer the country through any damaging internal conflicts. "The family seemed to offer a psychological fortress that would protect them against themselves. Bolstered by heterosexual virility, scientific expertise, and wholesome abundance, it might ward off the hazards of the age." The shift away from the 1950s suburban ideal of family togetherness caused anxiety.² Baby boomers "had been born soon enough to take the lingering traces of an earlier way of life into [their] own imagination." Trends through the 1960s diminished the importance of or replaced domesticity. Robert Cantwell says those who were born in the "upward slope" of the baby boom from 1941 to 1950 experienced an "environment of new neighborhoods, new schools, new businesses, new forms of recreation and entertainment, and technologies that would nearly abolish the world in which your parents had grown up."³ Elaine Tyler May says, "Critics of the youths of the 1960s complained that the family-centered ethic of 'togetherness' gave way to a hedonistic celebration of 'doing your own thing.'" In the late 1960s and 1970s, counterculture became mainstream. "Between 1965 and 1975, the land of togetherness became the land of swinging singles, open marriage, creative divorce, encounter groups, communes, alternative lifestyles, women's liberation, the Woodstock Nation, and the 'greening of America.'" ⁴ People were also talking about sex more publicly and more frequently. Naturally, sexual expression found its way into popular culture, leading to conflicts such as the Wichita City Council attempting to prevent a closed-circuit television broadcast of the musical *Oh! Calcutta!* known for its all-nude scenes. New fashions reflected an increasing openness about sex and sexuality. "A land where teenage girls wore girdles even to gym class became a land of miniskirts, bralessness, topless bathing suits, and nude beaches."⁵

Clothing and hair choices were contested throughout the postwar era into the 1970s. "Allied to the interest in folk music . . . was an intriguing new style of uncertain origin: young women with long, natural hair, peasant skirts, handcrafted sandals and barrettes, young men whose hair had been clipped by their girlfriends, not by the barber, with sideburns or beards, workshirts,

² Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, 20th anniversary edition (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 13–14, 105–106.

³ Robert Cantwell, *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival*, (Cambridge: Harvard, 1996), 318–319. ⁴ May, 211; Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 4.

⁵ May, 90, 111, 3, 210–211; "Commissioners Seek to Block TV Showing of 'Oh! Calcutta!' *Wichita Eagle*, September 15, 1970; Skolnick, 4.

handmade leather belts with brass buckles—all brought to campus by children of urban, middle-class background.” Hair length, in particular, created controversy. A poll in 1965 showed that 80 percent of people who responded believed schools should not allow boys to display long hair. It seems people of all ages and stations were under scrutiny. An AP article in the *Winfield Courier* had Spiro Agnew, vice president of the United States, confirming rumors that he was wearing his hair longer. He treated the situation with humor, claiming it was meant to draw attention from the hair he was losing. *The Wichita Eagle* made a front-page story out of a Baldwin City sixth grade student who was suspended from school for the length of his hair.⁶

Next to sex, perhaps the activity that was most antithetical to family togetherness was drug use, a signature part of the increasingly mainstream counterculture. Getting high in the 1960s and 1970s was sometimes a communal activity but one undertaken with peers or even strangers, not across the generations of a family. “Suddenly it was hip to smoke marijuana and ingest various abundantly available hallucinogens and narcotics, pastimes once reserved for society’s marginal elements. Drug use was widely reported by the news media and became the fodder for what could be called its own genre of drug related popular music.”⁷

The shift away from the ideal of family togetherness, including attitude and behavior changes related to sexuality, hair length, and drug use, did not dislodge the importance of family in the broad culture. Even in 1976, the year when the phrase “the Me Generation” was coined, a survey showed “both men and women were ‘extraordinarily certain’ that marriage and family were of prime importance in their lives.” Similarly, a pollster who found a variety of examples of ways that Americans sought personal fulfillment in the 1970s also found that the majority of people were oriented to normative values. “They strongly believed, for example, that drug use and extramarital affairs are morally wrong, and that women should put their children and husband ahead of their careers.”⁸

In the 1970s, there was a meeting of right and left perspectives in a nostalgic view of the centrality of family life, symbolized in television shows such as “The Waltons” and “Little House on the Prairie” and acted on by parents preparing natural honey-sweetened, carob chip cookies for their children. “Americans indulged in a newfound appreciation of folk art, Americana, and material culture.” This was especially apparent as the bicentennial approached and “celebrations around the country took a local approach, avoiding contentious national issues by focusing instead on folk culture, such as genealogy, quilting, bluegrass music, and local history.” The new nostalgia elevated family, patriotism, community, and the ideal of honest work.⁹

⁶Cantwell, 323–324; May, 210; Associated Press, *Winfield Courier*, August 30, 1970; *Wichita Eagle*, September 16, 1970.

⁷Thomas R. Gruning, *Millennium Folk: American Folk Music Since the Sixties* (Athens: University of Georgia), 2006, 31.

⁸Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise* 146–147.

⁹Christopher Capozzola, “‘It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country’: Celebrating the Bicentennial in an Age of Limits,” in *America in the 70s*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 38; Thomas Borstelmann, *The 1970s: A New Global History From Civil Rights to Economic Inequality* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton, 2012), 8.

Mossman's careful words to the Rotary Club suggest that the organizers felt community pressure to present the event as family-friendly, perhaps even nostalgic. It seems clear, though, that the effort was also sincere; the organizers believed in family, community, and hard work. They ranged from college age to young professionals, mostly young men and women with children of their own. They had ties to community service organizations, local churches, and Southwestern College. "Truthfully, bluegrass is a family type of entertainment," festival president Bob Redford told a Kansas Farm Bureau publication in 1976. "We planned from the start to have one of the top festivals in the country with the event being designed for the entire family." Redford credited the festival's success to the work ethic of co-founder Joe Muret: "I was ready to throw in the proverbial towel. But Joe is the typical farmer with a strong constitution, and he convinced us that we were so far in over our heads that the only way out was to hold another festival."¹⁰

The Walnut Valley Festival was consistent and effective in promoting itself as family-friendly, fitting comfortably into the new nostalgia. Photo and film evidence, along with online recollections, show that it was the norm for participants to have a family-friendly experience, even a multigenerational one. A participant's home movies show a happy toddler in the campground and the grandstand. A yearbook picture of the 1978 festival shows a younger, bearded banjo player in a t-shirt consulting with three older, clean-shaven men in collared shirts. A crowd shot from the same festival shows people on bleachers and the ground listening to music. There are more men than women, and the most provocative elements in the shot are a bare foot and a bored-looking child. The Kansas Farm Bureau article said "It's not unusual to see a 75-year-old man sitting in the Winfield fairgrounds grandstand with his fiddle on his lap tapping his foot. And beside him sits a 'long-haired' college student tapping his foot." It was even possible to have an explicitly Christian experience at the festival, as bluegrass bands typically include a generous amount of gospel music in their sets. Each festival included a gospel sing and/or a church service on Sunday morning.¹¹

Historian Arlene Skolnick says the new nostalgia created a meeting ground for the political right and the political left. At Winfield, it created a common ground between the freaks and the fogies amid the craft and demonstration booths. Even though bluegrass music's strongest lineage is from Appalachia, the rural setting of the Walnut Valley Setting made its music and crafts an authentic, if elevated, celebration of Midwest heritage. "By and large, the region's sustained rural heritage with its attendant interest in land and agriculture, seasons and life cycles, rural communities and interdependence, small towns and cities, as well as the weather, have all come to represent the Midwest to the rest of the nation." Ethnomusicologist Thomas R. Gruning says authentic rural culture was what he sought as a young folkie. Walnut Valley Festival organizers and supporters emphasized that the festival was grounded in rural heritage and,

¹⁰ Norma Sampson, "Bluegrass Festival Features Family Fun," *Kansas Farm Bureau News*, 1976.

¹¹ "Festival Draws Together Common Interests," *The Moundbuilder*, yearbook of Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, 1979; Mike Ward, "Walnut Valley Festival - 1975 & 1976," YouTube video, 6:13, posted December 28, 2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5dy07Hz7QE, October 29, 2014; Sampson, *Kansas Farm Bureau News*, 1976.

increasingly, in the life of the community. “The Tisdale church and the Winfield Jaycees are preparing to meet your food needs,” organizers wrote when promoting the second festival. “Our town of Winfield this year is backing our Festival wholeheartedly.”¹²

Not rock

Some Winfield residents undoubtedly shared these concerns about changing families, including sexual expression and drug use. Organizers of the Walnut Valley Festival had to contend with such concerns in seeking support for their event. The effort was complicated by the high visibility in recent years of rock music festivals. Even people who eschewed popular music or did not know it well enough to tell a Joan Baez from a Loretta Lynn from a Grace Slick knew about the Woodstock festival in 1969 from extensive press coverage and a widely released documentary film the following year. Winfield residents were also likely familiar with Pittsburg Peace, a “Kansas Woodstock” held in Crawford County, Kansas, in September 1970, which commanded statewide headlines. Rock festivals did not cause the shift away from family togetherness, but to some cultural critics and worried parents, they may have symbolized it. “Parents of teenagers . . . were confronted with ‘sex, drugs, and rock and roll’—a new youth culture radically different from their own. To the public at large, these changes seemed to support arguments that Americans were abandoning family ties in general and ties to children in particular.”¹³

Sexual intercourse is not depicted in the documentary about the Woodstock rock festival, but nudity during and after a rainstorm is prominent. People walk around in the rain without clothes, and bare breasts are visible in the muddy aftermath. A man and woman strip to the skin after the rain to put on dry clothes that are offered. In both the film and widely published photographs, festivalgoers in various stages of undress swim and bathe together. “I think skinnydipping is beautiful if you can do it,” says one woman interviewed in the documentary, “but we’ve been made to believe it’s wrong.” Sex was also talked about during and after the festival. A young couple interviewed several times in the film say they reside together in a family situation, “what others might call a commune.” The woman acknowledges that they “ball and everything” but do not necessarily plan to stay sexually exclusive during the festival. Rock singer Grace Slick told talk show host Dick Cavett that she passed the time at Woodstock “getting it on.”¹⁴

¹² Ginette Aley, “Knotted Together Like Roots in the Darkness: Rural Midwestern Women and Region, a Bibliographic Guide,” *Agricultural History* 77, no. 3 (Summer 2003), 455 (accessed October 17, 2014); Gruning, 2; Joe Muret, Stuart Mossman, and Bob Redford, “Welcome to the Walnut Valley Bluegrass Festival and Crafts Fair,” *Bluegrass Central*, September 15, 1973.

¹³ Skolnick, 130; Letter to the editor, *Wichita Eagle*, September 16, 1970; Michael Wadleigh, *Woodstock*, Warner Brothers, 1970, television broadcast on VH1 Classic, November 21, 2014.

¹⁴ *Woodstock*; Mike Evans and Paul Kingsbury, eds., *Woodstock: Three Days That Rocked the World* (New York: Sterling Publishing), 2009, 238. The same episode of Dick Cavett’s show that included Slick’s comment featured a performance of the song “We Can Be Together,” including the line “Up against the wall, motherfuckers,” which was not obscured.

With rock and roll and sex came drugs. Woodstock was known for a possibly tongue-in-cheek announcement about the “brown acid” not being very good, but the documentary account of it specifically and explicitly depicts marijuana use. Both Jerry Garcia and Country Joe McDonald hold up joints to the camera. An unidentified man fashions a pipe and starts using it. There is a whole montage of participants passing joints while Arlo Guthrie’s song “Customs Man” plays. A silent, amateur film of Pittsburg Peace does not show any explicit drug use besides beer drinking, though lingering shots of mushrooms and use of psychedelic designs to delineate scenes speak to the influence of drug culture. There were, however, clearly drugs including marijuana and mescaline widely available and casually used during the festival, which infuriated local residents and state politicians. Not coincidentally, state and local elections in 1970 included candidates voicing strong views on curbing drug sales in Kansas.¹⁵

News of rock festivals may have simply raised Winfield residents’ concerns with logistics and safety associated with a large event. The Pittsburg festival created a great deal of trash and attracted a number of motorcycles. *Woodstock* depicts festivalgoers knocking down and climbing over fences and has several scenes about the difficulty of providing enough food and gasoline. Townspeople are shown with attitudes ranging from supportive to sympathetic but concerned to condemning; organizers consistently describe the participants as peaceful, however.¹⁶

National awareness about rock music festivals was seemingly an obstacle to the fledgling Walnut Valley Festival in 1972 and beyond. Organizers made the case that the festival at Winfield was different. First, it was a bluegrass festival, firmly grounded in the much tamer tradition of folklife and folk music festivals, including traditional crafts. Its focus was on the music, particularly the growing interest in flatpick guitar, an acoustic lead style that made guitar as important as mandolin or banjo in a bluegrass ensemble. Festival literature consistently asked participants to keep alcohol and drugs away from the music and promoted this aspect of the festival. Finally, it was held in a spacious and safe environment.

The festival’s local antecedents were folk festivals put on at Southwestern College in 1967 and 1971. “The Southwestern Folk Festival” was a three-day, two-night affair in April 1967 directed by Sam Ontjes, a senior, with Stuart Mossman and Brent Pierce responsible for publicity. The festival featured headline acts Doc and Merle Watson, Jimmy Driftwood, and Mance Lipscomb, and attendance neared 1,500. “I can’t remember it being any one person’s idea,” Ontjes recalled later. He and a friend had attended the Newport Folk Festival in 1963 and brought back the idea of music workshops as part of a festival program. In subsequent years, Ontjes, Mossman, Bob and Kendra Redford, and others attended a festival in Mountain View, Arkansas, bringing back the idea of including a variety of acoustic music styles in concerts. The 1971 version, called “Walnut Valley Folk Festival,” took place in October 1971, planned by Ruth

¹⁵ *Woodstock*; Robert Blunk Jr., “Pittsburg Peace Festival, Cherokee County, Kansas,” filmed September 4–7, 1970, Kansas Memory video, four parts, 8:56, 6:19, 8:29, 9:37, <http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/222527>, October 29, 2014.

¹⁶ Blunk, “Pittsburg Peace,” Kansas Memory; *Woodstock*.

Huber, Mike Totty, David McMullen, and Mossman. Workshops and craft displays filled the day, and the evening included feature performers Dave Bromberg and Dan Crary.¹⁷

Festivals meant to preserve and expose folk traditions and music date back at least to 1928, when Bascom Lamar Lunsford founded the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina, the first Appalachian folk festival. The nomadic National Folk Festival began in 1934, housed first in St. Louis, Missouri. Interestingly, Wichita was under consideration for hosting in 1970; if that had taken place, it might have changed the direction of the Walnut Valley Festival significantly. As a renewed national interest for folk music grew, George Wein and Albert Grossman organized a festival in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1959. Over the next several decades, the Newport Folk Festival would have a major impact on defining the notion of folk music for many Americans, and it influenced Ontjes as he directed the Southwestern Folk Festival. At Newport and the festivals that came after it, preservation of folk traditions went hand in hand with pop music that was influenced—in some cases, deeply, and in others, slightly—by more grassroots and less commercial artists.¹⁸

Walnut Valley Festival organizers demonstrated a strong commitment to musicianship and craftsmanship, in part to send a message that their festival was about something more substantial than skinny-dipping or sharing joints. This music-first attitude started with Mossman and other organizers declaring the festival's first contest, for flatpick guitar performance, a national championship. Mossman told Winfield Rotarians before the first festival he hoped Winfield would become known as the home of the championship. A year later, Mossman, Redford, and Muret wrote, "Last year's comments confirmed our interest in making a National Flatpicking Championship available to the Midwest. Our contestants came from every part of the nation and one came all the way from Hawaii . . . This year we have added a Fiddle contest, and we hope to add more next year if interest is shown." A few years later, a writer gushed about Mark O'Connor, who won both the flatpick guitar and fiddle contests in 1977. The writer asked why there were only 31 guitar contestants when the campground was full of pickers. "As one contestant explained simply, 'The entry fee is only a few dollars, but a lot of people who plan to enter change their minds when they hear some of the jamming going in the campground the day before the contest. You can easily be persuaded into thinking . . . an appearance on your part could lead to public embarrassment.'" After his double win, O'Connor commented on the steep level of competition: "I won the 1975 guitar contest, but I didn't even make the cut last year." By 1979, festival veteran and guitar clinician Crary was writing, "Have you been to a flatpicking contest lately? In many ways, they're an amazing experience. At last year's National Flatpicking

¹⁷ Sam Ontjes to Rex Flottman, email, March 29, 2011; "Walnut Valley Folk Festival" in *The Moundbuilder*, yearbook of Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, 1972.

¹⁸ Michael Ann Williams, *Staging Tradition: John Lair and Sarah Gertrude Knott* (Urbana: University of Illinois), 2006, 11, 144; Erinn R. Barefield, "The Kerrville Folk Festival: The Path to Kerr-Version," master's thesis, Texas State University-San Marcos, 2010, 12; Gruning, 30.

Championship Festival in Winfield, Kansas, the field of contestants included at least thirty players who were doing things unheard of ten years ago.”¹⁹

Along with the contests, organizers booked some widely recognized talent for the first few festivals. Byron Berline was a Caldwell, Kansas, native who had performed and recorded with Chris Hillman of the Byrds in the country-rock act The Flying Burrito Brothers. Berline brought his bluegrass band The Country Gazette, including fellow Burrito Brother Roger Bush, to the first festival. A picture published in *Frets* showed Dan Crary, Tony Rice, Norman Blake, and Doc Watson on stage together at the festival in 1973. At a time when acoustic lead guitar was only beginning to be explored, those were among the preeminent practitioners. The high level of musicianship extended beyond the stages. Good festival settings “offer weekend, amateur, and semiprofessional players places to meet and play with each other and with professionals in the context of the campground. For some, the opportunity to spend extended periods of time in which music is the central daytime and evening activity is the primary attraction.” Walnut Valley Festival organizers emphasized the importance of this jamming culture, and local press showed it in action, almost every year publishing pictures of multigenerational amateur picking circles.²⁰

Along with quality music, organizers invited craft vendors who combined artistry and tradition. Everyone could agree on the inherent goodness of fresh-pressed cider, a hand-stitched quilt, and an Irish ballad.²¹ “We had 45 craft booths last year which created a lot of interest,” organizers wrote after the first festival. “Most of them made enough profit that they plan to come again this year and are helping us line up some 100 craft exhibits.” Photos of craft booths tend to feature women shopping at them, as in a photo from 1979 in *The Moundbuilder* of Southwestern College student Ellen Pederson buying jewelry.²²

Festival organizers in the 1970s worked hard to promote the festival as family-friendly and specifically as an environment that restricted alcohol and drugs. Allies in the local press and acoustic music media cooperated. A typical advertisement was for the 1974 festival, held September 20–22. It began with the assumption that the entire family would attend and that the pace would be slow. “Relaxing isn’t so hard. Just pack up the family and get yourself to Winfield, Kansas, for a grand way to wind down your summer bluegrass style.” The ad listed demonstrations and activities typical of a folklife festival, such as doll making, basket weaving, quilt making, and woodcarving, and instructed visitors, “Be sure the kids see how grandmother

¹⁹ “Mossman Tells Plans for Bluegrass Festival,” *Courier*; Muret, Mossman, and Redford, *Bluegrass Central*, September 15, 1973, 5; Dan Rhodes, “Weekend at Walnut Valley,” *Bluegrass Unlimited*, December 1977, 28, 31; Dan Crary, Flatpicking Workshop, *Frets*, July 1979, 70.

²⁰ *Winfield Courier*, September 30, 1972; Jim Hatlo, “Dan Crary,” *Frets*, February 1980, 34; Gruning, 110.

²¹ Clamjamfrey, a band from Connecticut that played Irish music, was booked the Walnut Valley Festival in 1979, and the local press said the performance was the first by an Irish band at a Kansas festival. “Something Different,” *Winfield Courier*, June 2, 1979.

²² Muret, Mossman, and Redford, *Bluegrass Central*, September 15, 1973; “Walnut Valley Festival,” in *The Moundbuilder*, yearbook of Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, 1980.

used to make lye soap!" The ad is tagged with a friendly but clear warning: "No alcohol please. It's a family affair."

The ban on alcohol and drugs was a consistent festival rule from the beginning and a part of every piece of print advertising reviewed in the research process for this paper. In an interview with a bluegrass magazine in 1977, director Bob Redford claimed that a festival survey showed that one hundred percent of respondents wanted good security. "'I believe if you advertise something, you should back it up,' Redford said of his no alcohol or drugs on the grounds rule." It is not clear if the distinction between the fairgrounds, where possession of alcohol could get a person removed, and the campground, where moderate and discreet alcohol consumption was typically tolerated, was in place from the beginning of the festival, but it seems to be the way Redford was operating by 1977: "He observed, without sounding pious, he is a lay minister at his Methodist church. 'I'd give my eye-tooth to control the drinking in the campsites, but it is close to impossible. Although I don't drink, that doesn't mean I am against all people who do drink.'" The festival newsletter reiterated, "If you have to have booze with your bluegrass, you are emphatically not welcome in Winfield in September. . . . We don't want or need you and your alcohol at Winfield."²³ Being able to claim with a measure of confidence that the festival removed people who had alcohol or drugs was important in Winfield, which had a strong tie to the only recently United Methodist Church²⁴ and at least one operating chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at the time. Winfield did not allow the sale of liquor by the drink until 1996 and did not allow the sale of packaged liquor for another decade. When it came to policy on alcohol and drugs, the festival was family-friendly.

The festival was also not a place where the cultural contests regarding clothing and sexual expression were waged. Based on viewing photographs in newspapers and Southwestern College yearbooks, women who performed and attended dressed with a higher concern for the fall Kansas weather than for any attempt at sexual expression. Commonly worn long skirts, prairie dresses, and flannel shirts were family-friendly and perhaps even indicative of the new "nostalgic rhetoric of family, flag, neighborhood, and work."²⁵

Walnut Valley Festival organizers emphasized its operations and facilities as part of the case for the event's family friendliness. No Woodstock fence climbing would be necessary. "For those of you who have not been to Winfield before, we would like to let you know a little about our facilities. We have a very large fairground where our Festival is held. The all-weather grandstand holds at least 5,000 people and we have room in front of it for 3,000 more." Promotional materials for the second festival claimed that \$60,000 had been invested into the "unlimited shady" camping area, including electrical hookups, restroom facilities, and access to fresh water. "We are trying to make this the cleanest and most comfortable festival you ever attended, with something of interest for everybody." An account of the June Jamboree, a summer festival put on by the Walnut Valley Festival operation in June 1979, begins with a staff member assuring, "We had a good, well-behaved crowd." The music press reinforced the Walnut Valley Festival

²³ Rhodes, *Bluegrass Unlimited*, 30.

²⁴ Before a 1968 merger, the church had been simply Methodist.

²⁵ Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise* 134.

reputation for smoothness and safety. A bluegrass magazine said the festival was “headed up by a stocky, partially–balding, intelligent man named Robert ‘Bob’ Redford. He says proudly, ‘I’m an organizer.’ The Association informed its patrons ‘Dogs, drugs, motorcycles and alcohol are not permitted on grounds. Offenders will be removed from the festival site.’ Amazingly, not one dog was seen on the grounds; not one motorcycle interrupted the festival, and no one suffering from overindulgence was seen in our area.”²⁶

The festival’s effectiveness in communicating its message is shown in the way the event was increasingly knitted into the fabric of the Winfield community through the 1970s. Though the contractual arrangements between the college and the festival shifted over the years, the first Walnut Valley Festival was presented in conjunction with Southwestern College, and all students received free tickets. Its inclusion in most of the college yearbooks through the 1970s is evidence that the festival remained a significant event in the college calendar. In 1978, the Winfield High School yearbook includes a picture of a festival stage in the same photo spread as prom, homecoming, and a school theatre performance. Community authority figures blessed the event in local media coverage. In addition to the police chief praising the professionalism of the first festival, city commissioner Homer Hetherington praised the organizers’ “over planning,” and Mayor Milton Nida commended the city personnel who assisted. The town’s fire chief, Joe Sanders, was an enthusiastic participant in campground jamming, as shown in newspaper photos from 1978 and 1979. Even the state’s attorney general, Curt Schneider, spent time in the festival campground, combining music with a campaign stop.²⁷

The festival’s family–friendly reputation stayed intact even though some participants and performers enthusiastically participated in public nudity, alcohol consumption, and drug use—or at the very least, songs about drug use. Several scenes in a home movie show nude people swimming and bathing in the river, reminiscent of *Woodstock*. Online responses to the video include these comments from Walnut Valley Bluegrass Festival Facebook users Julie Bales Buresh and Connie Phillips Lawson: “That was back when nobody had showers. We used to jump in the river in our clothes to bathe.” “Saw my first naked man while riding with my sister through the grove (didn’t block the roads then). Must have been about 1975 or so. The river shots in this film reminded me of that. He was swimming. Maybe it was one of these people! LOL.”²⁸

Recollections in online discussion groups suggest that alcohol consumption was an assumed part of the experience for some festivalgoers. “Back then, of course, the shows started on Friday

²⁶ Muret, Mossman, and Redford, *Bluegrass Central*, September 15, 1973; “Winners Take Home Big Prizes,” *Winfield Courier*, June 4, 1979; Rhodes, *Bluegrass Unlimited*, 1977.

²⁷ Muret, Mossman, and Redford, *Bluegrass Central*, September 15, 1973; “Mossman Tells Plans for Bluegrass Festival,” *Courier*; *Royal Viking*, yearbook of Winfield High School, Winfield, Kansas, 1978; “It’s Becoming a Tradition,” *Winfield Courier*, September 14, 1978; “Harmonica Player,” *Winfield Courier*, June 4, 1979; “Schneider Predicts Knockout of Liquor Petitions,” *Winfield Courier*, September 16, 1978.

²⁸ Ward, “Walnut Valley Festival – 1975 & 1976,” YouTube video; Facebook Group, “Walnut Valley Bluegrass Festival,” comments posted September 22, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/2208526957/>, November 27, 2014.

night and lasted through Sunday night. The shorter length made for perhaps a bit more intensity—get down, set up, start partying,” wrote Jeff Boyer. “In a weird way, I miss the old ‘all or nothing’ feeling of the shorter fest. It had a kind of frontier rawness to it—fewer frills, fewer shows, frenetic activity all the time, run to a show, hurry to a jam, ‘don’t stop now,’ forget about food, don’t worry about showers, ohmygod it’s almost over, seems like we just got here . . . boyhowdy, back when we were all young—we sure knew how to PARTY!!” While presumably drug use was part of some participants’ partying, there is documentation of a story and song about drug use at the “Spring Thing,” a bonus event put on by the Walnut Valley Festival in April 1976. In a recording, John Hartford introduces a song he wrote for festival favorite Norman Blake, a guitar wizard, and gets four seconds of enthusiastic calls from the audience at the mention of the name. When Hartford goes on to say the song is about “two freaks who decide they are going to get together and smoke some dope,” he gets a full nine seconds of applause before he can continue. One interpretation is that the Spring Thing audience was more than twice as enthusiastic about marijuana as it was about guitar performance.²⁹

Boyer said a spirit of camaraderie prevented the party atmosphere from marring the Walnut Valley Festival for most people; this perhaps was another way of saying that the family-friendly ideals were shared even among the people who included beer and weed in their festival weekend. “The 1975–79 or so festivals (including the 1976 Spring Thing and the 1979 June Jamboree) were fairly rough and rowdy by current standards—hard partying all around as the event moved from a relatively small, confined affair to the megafest we’ve come to know and love. It seemed to me that those of us who had been with the Walnut Valley gatherings from the beginnings began to exert our own ‘calming down’ notices to those among us going a bit beyond enthusiasm. ‘Let’s not ruin a good thing with unnecessary rowdiness,’ seemed to be the consensus being communicated by gesture, expression, and appeal. We had a notion from the beginning of the ‘Winfield spirit’—helping out where possible, leaving the campgrounds in good condition, cooperating with fellow campers and staff, accepting some responsibility of our own to make the festival run smoothly. It seemed to work—many of the uninitiated became converts and adjusted their partying actions instantaneously.”³⁰

A bluegrass festival hosted by a small town fit naturally within the new kind of nostalgia around family, community, patriotism, and work that emerged in the 1970s. At the same time, the newsworthiness of rock music festivals such as Woodstock in New York and Pittsburg Peace in southeast Kansas may have also made Winfield residents worry about such an event. Sensing that community support was critical, Walnut Valley Festival organizers presented a festival firmly

²⁹ Yahoo Groups, “Winfield-I,” comment posted on September 16, 2006, <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/winfield-I/info>, November 27, 2014; John Hartford, posted by user catthinkof1nottaken, “John Hartford – ‘I Thought You Were Holding’ – The Walnut Valley Spring Thing 1976,” YouTube video, posted March 4, 2014, <http://youtu.be/RI1ivL1FqOY>, October 29, 2014.

³⁰ Yahoo Groups, “Winfield-I,” comment posted on September 28, 2000, <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/winfield-I/conversations/messages/1674>, November 27, 2014.

rooted in the folk tradition, featuring high quality musicianship. In advertising and by featuring crafts and traditional demonstrations, the festival organizers attempted to appeal to all ages and even to connect to the emerging nostalgia culture. Perhaps most importantly, the festival's attention to operations and security, including a consistent message that alcohol and drugs were not welcome, created a safe and family-friendly environment at least around the grandstand. The "Winfield spirit" helped extend that environment into the less rigorously controlled campground when participants began to celebrate in a rowdier fashion. The Walnut Valley Festival survived the 1970s and has continued annually ever since. It is hard to pinpoint if or when the festival was fully accepted by the community, but by the late 1970s, the *Winfield Courier* was running advertisements from Winfield businesses that hoped to benefit from the visitors. "Bluegrass Fans and Participants," one such ad read, "For Your Convenience, Sonic will stay open until 1 a.m. or later Friday and Saturday." If "America's favorite drive-in" was excited to see bluegrass fans, then the Walnut Valley Festival must have been a fine place to take the whole family.³¹

³¹ Advertisement, *Winfield Courier*, September 14, 1989.