

Gender & Sexuality: A Transnational Anthology
from 1690 to 1990

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WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY STUDENTS,
HST 114/WGS 377, FALL 2019

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA



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Gender & Sexuality: A Transnational Anthology from 1690 to 1990 is a collaborative project created by the students of Dr. Yarfitz's class, Gender and Sexuality in World History, in fall 2019 at Wake Forest University. This book is the cumulative product of a semester of research where students selected a specific primary source and situated that source within its historical context. Our hope is that future students in this class will continue to expand on the sources in this volume.

While the class is centered around world history, our sources are primarily from the United States due to accessibility, however we have included a few global sources, and hope that the global scope of this project can be expanded upon in later editions. Our sources range from the late 1600s to the 21st century. The book is divided into five main topics: power, gender roles, gender stereotypes, reproductive rights, and education.

The first section focuses on power and explores the historic power dynamics in gender formations. The second section on gender roles presents roles throughout history using the analytical tools established during our time in this class. The third section on gender stereotypes observes stereotypes in multiple facets, including portrayal and the movements that fought against them. Section four explores the reproductive rights revolution and its pioneers, and the last section engages with the approaches that educational institutions take in the context of gender and sexuality, and how that places students in precarity, requiring forms of self advocacy.

Signed,

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PART I
POWER

I. Witch Hunting or Women Hunting?: A Look at the Historical Subordination of Women

KARLY BRUDER

Introduction

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Americas and Europe experienced an era of witch-hysteria that resulted in the accusation of millions of individuals, hundreds of thousands of which ended in executions.¹ One of the most notable and fervent “Witch-Hunts” occurred in Salem, Massachusetts, where over two hundred individuals were tried, twenty of which ended in executions, beginning with the execution of Bridget Bishop.²

Witches at this time were considered “people who practiced witchcraft, using magic spells and calling upon spirits for help or to bring about change. Most witches were thought to be pagans doing the Devil’s work”.³ The presence of the Devil is what separated witchcraft from healers or wise women. The publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* is credited with causing the widespread fear of witches as well as providing Protestants and Catholics with the

1. Molland, Judy. “Of Senate Hearings, Witch Trials and the Terrible Fear of Women.” *Off Our Backs* 22, no. 6 (1992): 12–13. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20834100.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae1b60e1af750f6e8a7965b27143211d>

2. Smithsonian. “A Brief History of the Salem Witch Trials.” Accessed November 13, 2019. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/a-brief-history-of-the-salem-witch-trials-175162489/>.

3. Editors, History.com. “History of Witches.” HISTORY. Accessed November 5, 2019. <https://www.history.com/topics/folklore/history-of-witches>.

authority to identify and condemn supposed witches.⁴ It was believed that witches were handmaidens of the Devil, did his bidding, and engaged in carnal relations with him, the ultimate act of defiance to the church.⁵

The view and history of women as witches must be questioned. Incidentally, there is no evidence in the *Malleus* or other early literature that excluded the definition of a witch to just females.⁶ In fact, females were not the only victims of accusations. In Salem, six males were convicted and sentenced to death.⁷ Witch hunts and witchcraft were not specific to women, but developed into a very heavily gendered issue. This imbalance can be shown in numbers, “In England, Europe and New England, at least 200,000 and perhaps as many as eight million people were executed as witches during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and approximately 90% of these people were women, while the men involved were their husbands, brothers and sons,” as well as in the general public understanding based on historical trends that developed the image of witch as strictly female.⁸

This stereotype is rooted in a deeply patriarchal era. History is created by and written by people in power, and this in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was almost strictly if not strictly men. In these societies, based deeply on religion, women were “consigned to rigid roles— mother, wife, caretaker. They had one job: producing obedient, religious children. Women who stepped outside these rigid boundaries were seen as working with Satan.”⁹ In addition, claims in court did not have to have evidential proof, and testimonies from witnesses as well as claims of spectral evidence was enough to convict those accused.¹⁰ This among other power

4. “History of Witches.”

5. “Of Senate Hearings, Witch Trials and the Terrible Fear of Women.”

6. Blécourt, Willem de. “The Making of the Female Witch: Reflections on Witchcraft and Gender in the Early Modern Period.” *Gender & History* 12, no. 2 (July 2000): 287. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.00185>.

7. “History of Witches.”

8. “Of Senate Hearings, Witch Trials and the Terrible Fear of Women.”

9. University, Connie Hassett-Walker “Perspective | What the Salem Witches Can Teach Us about How We Treat Women Today.” *Washington Post*. Accessed October 21, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/06/10/what-the-salem-witches-can-teach-us-about-how-we-treat-women-today/>.

10. “Spectral evidence was when the witness would testify that the accused person’s spirit or spectral

imbalances allowed innocent women to be used as scapegoats.¹¹ Women were the typical target because of the construction of society that placed men in positions of power and gave them advantages to decide the fates of women. Even in the occasion of a male accusee, repercussions for similar evidence and convictions led to less severe punishments and less frequent executions.¹²

This pattern of the abuse of power by males in order to maintain the subordination of women is not a new concept. It can be argued that the witch hysteria was not so much caused by a fear of dark magic, but simply a fear of unruly women.¹³ Women who defied the Puritan and Christian ideas that lived so deeply within these communities were perceived as threats to the order. Being “poor, vulnerable, unruly and sexually promiscuous turned these women into targets of the criminal justice system”.¹⁴

One notable woman who found herself a victim of this misogynistic system was Bridget Bishop of Salem Massachusetts. Bishop fit the mold of the type of innocent woman to be targeted. She has been documented as being “known throughout the Salem area for her un-Puritan like behavior of flamboyant dress, tavern frequenting, and multiple marriages”.¹⁵ Bridget is perhaps one of the most famous cases of speculated scapegoat use.¹⁶ In additional

shape appeared to her/him in a dream at the time that their physical body was at another location. It was because of this ‘evidence’ that 19 people were hanged and one man was pressed to death” Destination Salem. “Bridget Bishop,” June 10, 2016. <https://www.salem.org/bridget-bishop-hanged-june-10-1692/>.

11. Scapegoat is defined as “a person who is blamed for the wrongdoings, mistakes, or faults of others, especially for reasons of expediency” Lexico Dictionaries | English. “Scapegoat | Definition of Scapegoat by Lexico.” Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/scapegoat>.
12. For breakdowns and analyses of gender, accusations, and outcomes in different regions and times, see: Swales, J. K., and Hugh V. McLachlan. “Witchcraft and the Status of Women: A Comment.” The British Journal of Sociology 30, no. 3 (1979): 349–58. <https://doi.org/10.2307/589913>.
13. For more on this argument: “This fear of female sexuality which drives men to deride and objectify women, this male need for control, has been around for a very long time. The ways in which men have maintained power over women is not a natural phenomenon, but a constructed one; in the early modern period, a time of immense social changes, the persecution of witches was used as a means to hold on to the male status quo in the emerging social order.” “Of Senate Hearings, Witch Trials and the Terrible Fear of Women.”
14. University, Connie Hassett-Walker “Perspective | What the Salem Witches Can Teach Us about How We Treat Women Today.” Washington Post. Accessed October 21, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/06/10/what-the-salem-witches-can-teach-us-about-how-we-treat-women-today/>.
15. Destination Salem. “Bridget Bishop,” June 10, 2016. <https://www.salem.org/bridget-bishop-hanged-june-10-1692/>.
16. “Some historians speculate that a reason Bridget Bishop was accused in the 1692 Salem witchcraft craze was that her second husband’s children wanted the property that she had possession of as an inheritance from Oliver.” Divinity, Jone Johnson Lewis “Bridget Bishop: First Person Executed in the Salem Witch Trials.” ThoughtCo. Accessed November 5, 2019. <https://www.thoughtco.com/bridget-bishop-biography-3530330>.

support of her innocence, she has posthumously been exonerated of all crimes.¹⁷

This inherent disbelief of victims can be seen when looking at the transcript of Bishop's examination. As an accused woman, she does not receive proper representation nor an adequate chance to defend herself. In Bishop's trial, her persistent denial of any knowledge of these crimes as well as repeated claims of innocence are apparent. However, her testimony is blatantly ignored, and the eyewitness testimonies of her accusers, as well as spectral evidence, is all that it took to lead the court to sentence her to death. Both Judges were powerful male forces in the community, and used their power and influence to manipulate outcomes to fit their agenda. Viewed as guilty before given a fair trial, Bishop, and countless other women and individuals in her position, were as good as convicted upon accusation. Her only chance at escaping execution would have been to falsely confess, but Bishop maintained her innocence through all of her accusations.¹⁸ Bishop was not the first woman to be accused of witchcraft, but the first to be executed in the Salem trials.

17. A 2001 bill passed by Massachusetts Governor Jane Swift formally exonerated Bishop and four other wrongly executed females for all crimes. Representative Paul Tirone stated "It brings closure to a lot of the families. These people were victims. They gave up their lives". For more, see: "Executed Salem Witches Exonerated | WWRN - World-Wide Religious News." Accessed November 19, 2019. <https://wwwn.org/articles/9431/>.

18. Bishop was previously accused of witchcraft in 1680 by her second husband Thomas Oliver. Oliver stated that bishop was a terrible wife who sat up at night with the devil. Bishop received no punishments for this claim. "Courtroom Examination of Bridget Bishop by Sarah Nell Walsh." Accessed November 19, 2019. http://saalem.lib.virginia.edu/people/bishop_court.html.

Examination of Bridget Bishop¹⁹

Recorded by Samuel Parris²⁰

April 19th, 1692

Examination by Esq's²¹ John Hathorne²² and Jonathan Corwin²³

As soon as she came near all fell into fits²⁴

Hathorne/Corwin: Bridget Bishop, You are now brought before authority to give acc'o of what witchcrafts you are conversant in.

Bishop: I take all these people [turning her head and eyes about] to witness that I am clear.

Hathorne/Corwin: [speaking to the afflicted] Hath this woman hurt you?

Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putman, Abigail Williams, Mercy Lewes affirmed she had hurt them.²⁵

Hathorne/Corwin: You are accused by 4 or 5 of hurting them, what do you say to it?

Bishop: I never saw these persons before, nor I never was in this place before.

19. Access to the original primary source: "SWP No. 013: Bridget Bishop Executed, June 10, 1692 - New Salem - Pelican." Accessed October 21, 2019. <http://saalem.lib.virginia.edu/n13.html>.

20. Reverend Samuel Parris was one of the most powerful and influential figures in Salem, MA. He preached of the work of the Devil in his parish, and was a driving force of the beginning of the persecution of witches in the region. "Important Persons in the Salem Court Records." Accessed November 5, 2019. http://saalem.lib.virginia.edu/people/#parris_samuel.

21. Esqr. or Esq. is an abbreviation for Esquire used to denote a man of law in American standards. TheFreeDictionary.com. "Esq." Accessed November 19, 2019. <https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Esq>.

22. John Hathorne was perhaps the most prominent magistrate within Salem and acted as a Judge for a majority of the Salem Witch Trials. Hathorne's created legacy is of a prosecutor of innocent accusees who "always began with a presumption of guilt rather than innocence". In addition Hathorne boosted the number of accusations by pressuring those accused to confess and submit other names for a chance at escaping an execution sentence. "Important Persons in the Salem Court Records." Accessed November 19, 2019. http://saalem.lib.virginia.edu/people/#hathorne_john.

23. Johnathan Corwin is another notable Judge in the Salem Witch Trials. In addition to coming from a powerful family of court officials, Corwin was also brother-in-law to Hathorne. Brooks, Rebecca Beatrice. "Jonathan Corwin: Salem Witch Judge," January 26, 2016. <https://historyofmassachusetts.org/jonathan-corwin-salem-witch-judge/>.

24. Italicized sections are written observations of the courtroom by recorder Samuel Parris and were not spoken by any individual within the court.

25. Four of the individuals who placed witchcraft accusations on Bishop. "Courtroom Examination of Bridget Bishop by Sarah Nell Walsh." Accessed November 19, 2019. http://saalem.lib.virginia.edu/people/bishop_court.html.

Hathorne/Corwin: They say you bewicht your first husband to death.²⁶

Bishop: If it please your worship, I know nothing of it.

The afflicted charge her with having hurt them in many ways and tempting them to sign the Devil's Book, at which she seemed to be angry and said it was false.

She shakes her head and the afflicted were tortured upon the motion of her head.

Sam Braybrook affirmed that she had told him that she had been accounted a Witch these 10 years but she was no Witch, the Devil cannot hurt her.

Bishop: I am no Witch.

Hathorne/Corwin: Why if you have not wrote in the book yet tell me how far you have gone?²⁷ Have you not to do with farmiliar Spirits?

Bishop: I have no familiarity with the Devil.

Hathorne/Corwin: How is it then, that your appearance doth hurt these?

Bishop: I am innocent.

Hathorne/Corwin: Why you seem to arch Witchcraft before us, by the motion of your body, which seems to have influence upon the afflicted?

Bishop: I know nothing of it. I am innocent to a Witch. I know not what a Witch is.

Hathorne/Corwin: How do you know then that you are not a Witch? And yet know not what a Witch is?

Bishop: I do not understand or know what you say.

26. In reference to Bishops previous accusations of witchcraft by one of her husbands and her step children, believed to be driven by the motive of acquiring her land, Divinity, Jone Johnson Lewis "Bridget Bishop: First Person Executed in the Salem Witch Trials," ThoughtCo. Accessed November 5, 2019. <https://www.thoughtco.com/bridget-bishop-biography-3530330>. For more on Bishops previous accusations, see: "The Witchcraft Trial of Bridget Bishop," October 10, 2011. <https://historyofmassachusetts.org/bridget-bishop-witch-or-easy-target/>.

27. It was of Puritain belief that a Witch gained demonic powers and/or sealed their relationship with the Devil by signing his book with ink or blood. A confession to signing his book resulted in immediate conviction as a witch and was widely sought by the Judges and prosecutors. Divinity, Jone Johnson Lewis "Why Was 'Signing the Devil's Book' an Important Sign of a Witch?" ThoughtCo. Accessed November 19, 2019. <https://www.thoughtco.com/signing-the-devils-book-3528203>.

Hathorne/Corwin: How can you know you are no Witch and yet not know what a Witch is.

Bishop: I am clear; if I were any such person you should know it.

Hathorne/Corwin: You may threaten, but you can do no more than you are permitted.

Bishop: I am innocent of a Witch.

Hathorne/Corwin: What do you say of those murders you are charged with?

Bishop: I hope, I am not guilty of Murder.

Then she turned up her eyes, and the eyes of the afflicted were turned up.

Hathorne/Corwin: It may be you do not know, that any have confessed today, who have been examined before you, that they are Witches.

Bishop: No, I know nothing of it.

John Hutchinson and John Hewes in open court affirmed that they had told her.

Hathorne/Corwin: Why look you, you are taken now in a flat lye.

Bishop: I did not hear them.

Karly Bruder is in her first year at Wake Forest University. A Massachusetts local; she is interested in Salem and Witches in her free time.

2. Woman Sculptors in Relation to Antislavery and Women's Rights Movements

SAHARA WILLIS

Harriet Hosmer, *Oenone* (1855)¹



Harriet
Hosmer,
Oenone
(1855)

1. See "Women Artists in the Washington University Collections," Women Artists in the Washington University Collections | Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, accessed November 2, 2019

Introduction

Overview

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, American women vocalized their criticism of slavery and their support for women's rights² through the creative medium of sculpture. These women contemplated and responded to debates surrounding slaveholding³ and the progressive role of women in relation to politics. Themes of race, gender, and power were prevalent in their work. They each used visual arts as a means to convey their political sentiments, ultimately denouncing the act of holding slaves as immoral and taking a stance in advocacy for women to play a salient role⁴ in political affairs.

Women frequently came across hardships when trying to establish themselves as professional artists. They lacked equal access to art education and grappled against the notion that art spaces and studios were public, therefore not appropriate for women. For sculptors, nude art was often the muse for creation, these women were faced with an obstacle as the study of human anatomy and life drawing (which usually utilized nude models) was regarded as wrongful for women in the nineteenth century. That being said, these women sculptors faced conflicted expectations within their craft; they were in need of the education that

2. Throughout the late 1800s and the early 1900s, many activists in antislavery joined the women's rights movement. These women worked diligently to gain the right to vote, establish socioeconomic equality and carry out other social reforms. See "Women Suffrage in the Progressive Era - American Memory Timeline- Classroom Presentation: Teacher Resources," Library of Congress, accessed November 21, 2019, <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/progress/suffrage/>
3. Slaveholding is the practice of owning slaves. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries people were kidnapped from the continent of Africa, forced into slavery in the American colonies and exploited to work as indentured servants. See History.com Editors, "Slavery in America," History.com (A&E Television Networks, November 12, 2009), <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/slavery>
4. Women gained the right to control their earnings, own property, and, in the case of divorce, take custody of their children. By 1896, women had gained the right to vote in four states (Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah) See "Women Suffrage in the Progressive Era - American Memory Timeline- Classroom Presentation: Teacher Resources," Library of Congress, accessed November 1, 2019, <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/progress/suffrage/>

threatened to deprive them of the qualities that fabricated their gender and sexuality⁵. Even in the face of these obstacles, a number of American women became successful sculptors in the mid-nineteenth century. The personal ties they had in the push for equality, encouraged them to speak up in the face of adversity.

These trailblazing artists became known as “the white marmorean flock,” a term coined by Henry James⁶. Each with a commitment to abolitionism and women’s rights, in association with other like-minded non-conformers. While the persons who sat as the subjects of neoclassical sculpture were compatible with the “woman’s sphere”⁷ the artists themselves and the process’ within of their work did not fall into this sphere.

The Artists

Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), was known for her work with suffrage organizations and she often showcased works with themes of victimized woman to portray her ideologies. Mary Edmonia Lewis (1843?-1911?) used sculpture to commemorate and exemplify abolitionist efforts and also through memorializing inspirational events such as the Emancipation Proclamation with her drawings. She was involved in several antislavery organizations and held a strong commitment to abolitionism. Anne Whitney (1821-1915) often broke norms of artistic conventions with European and American influences in her direct representations of black figures, including the allegorical female Africa and the biographical Toussaint L’Ouverture.⁸ Other artists of this stature, working in the

5. This concept is known as Unsex or deprivation of one's sexual power.

6. The White Marmorean Flock refers to a group of nineteenth-century expatriate American sculptors working in the Neoclassical style. The Neoclassical style is used generally to describe art or architecture with classical influences.

7. The term “woman’s sphere” commonly refers to domestic life; Tasks involving housekeeping or childcare.

8. See “Introduction.” Included in *How Did Women Sculptors Contribute to and Draw Support from the Antislavery and Woman’s Rights Movements, 1855-1873?*, Documents selected and interpreted by Laura R. Prieto. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2008).

Neoclassical style include Louisa Lander, Emma Stebbins, Margaret Foley, Florence Freeman, and Vinnie Ream.

Sculptors were often pulled towards symbolic means of expression like utilizing the physical form of an enslaved woman as a means to concretely represent the social constructs and conceptual ideas of race, gender, and inequality. In doing so these women frequently pushed the bounds of nineteenth-century artistic convention in order to critique slavery and women's status in America. They stood with other reformers that served as their advisors, financial supporters, and allies as they worked diligently to create a stance for social reform through visual communication. These women stood at the forefront of this progressive movement and created in solidarity with each other.

Hosmer and Oenone

As we delve further into the white marmorean flock, Harriet Hosmer's work is notable. She preferred Neoclassical idealism to more naturalistic trends and rendered mythological and historical figures, such as Oenone, Beatrice Cenci, and Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, with nobility and grandeur⁹. Hosmer's work showcases her craftsmanship and embodies many of the ideologies she stood firmly by throughout her career.

Now we'll take a closer look at Hosmers' *Oenone*.

9. See "National Museum of Women in the Arts," Harriet Goodhue Hosmer | National Museum of Women in the Arts, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://nmwa.org/explore/artist-profiles/harriet-goodhue-hosmer>

Analysis

Oenone (1855) was Hosmer's first full-length, full-body sculpture. The sculpture depicts the nymph abandoned by her lover, for Helen of Troy. The story of Oenone became popular in the mid-nineteenth century with the publications of Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem Oenone.¹⁰ With his poem, Tennyson focused on the tragic love that Oenone, daughter of the river-god Oeneus, felt for her husband Paris when he abandoned her for Helen in the episode that sparked the Trojan War.¹¹ Hosmer's statue and portrayal of the myth follows similar themes of mourning and victimization.

In Oenone, Hosmer highlighted her subject's reserve and capability to overcome and maintain their beauty in the face of objectification, sexual assault, and even utter tragedy. She takes a lot of influence from Greek mythology. For instance Daphne, who was unwilling to be an object of the god Apollo's lust and sexual desires, Medusa, who was raped by the god Poseidon, and Oenone who is also victimized by male infatuation. Hosmer's Oenone demonstrates her ability to evoke emotion through the craftsmanship of soft curves and understanding of the nude body, while also displaying the subject's reserve and emotional state through the position of her body.¹²

10. Tennyson published two different versions of the poem, the first in 1832 and the second in 1842

11. The Trojan War is one of the most important events in Greek mythology in which war was waged against the city of Troy by the Achaeans. See "Women Artists in the Washington University Collections," Oenone | Women Artists in the Washington University Collections, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://pages.wustl.edu/womenartists/articles/10534>

12. Hosmer's sculptural interpretation of the story shows Oenone looking downward in mourning but with a serene expression and idealized form characteristic of the neoclassical style. See "Women Artists in the Washington University Collections," Oenone | Women Artists in the Washington University Collections, accessed November 2, 2019, <https://pages.wustl.edu/womenartists/articles/10534>.

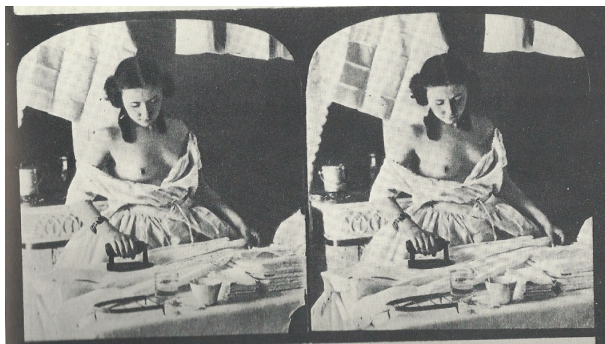
In lieu of a biography, I leave you with a quote:

Art and culture are the greatest weapons against hate agendas, entrenched ideologies, and power structures that harbor and promote the business of divisiveness.

FANTASTIC NEGRITO

3. Laundry: Eroticism in Mundane Activity

OLIVIA THONSON



Stereoscope
(1861). In *Nus
d'Autrefois*,
Marcel Bovis
François
Saint-Julien
(ed.), *Arts et
Metiers
Graphiques*,
Paris, 1953

Introduction

This stereograph¹ holds high cultural significance and value. It's not famous nor is it well-known; however, the purpose behind the stereograph demonstrates implicit and explicit societal messages of the time period. The image was included in the book *Nus d'Autrefois*², a collection of 19th-century French pornography and erotica. The dress the woman is wearing, her tight corset, hairstyle, and loose sleeves, as well as the objects pictured, indicate this stereoscopic image was taken during the Victorian Era in the early 1860s. In the foreground, there is a young woman ironing laundry,

1. A stereograph image includes two nearly identical photos that when viewed in a stereoview, creates a three-dimensional image.

2. *Nus d'Autrefois* is a collection of 19th-century French pornography and erotica edited by Marcel Bovis François Saint-Julien and published by Arts et Metiers Graphiques in Paris in 1953. It includes a variety of subjects and different styles of photography.

her dress has fallen off of her shoulder and her breast is exposed. Behind the woman, a hanging cloth is visible as well as an oven with a kettle sitting on one of the burners. The longer exposure time insinuates the photograph was posed and most likely intended for the distribution of pornographic material. During the Victorian era, the technological advancements of photography contributed to a rise in the development and distribution of erotica. Due to this phenomenon, there was a shift in laws and norms regarding the censorship and dissemination of suggestive art. Through analyzing the woman's posing and her mundane tasks, information concerning the role of gender, issues of socio-economic class, as well as a dominant power hierarchy between the sexes in Victorian society become evident.

Stereography and Erotica

The stereoscope was developed in the late 1830s and marked an important technological advancement for photography. Stereoscope images consisted of two daguerreotypes³ or another form of a photographic process, taken from slightly different angles. Through the binocular vision, two lenses on the stereoscope merge the photograph into one three dimensional image. However, the stereoscope did not just have a technological or scientific impact, it demonstrated a new social development in photography and had an unquantifiable effect on the way people in the Victorian era saw the relationship between the senses, especially touch and vision.⁴ The stereoscope gained commercial prominence during the 1850s after scientist David Brewster improved the design, creating a handheld

3. Daguerreotype is the first photographic process which used chemicals and a light-sensitive camera to create a one time positive. It was created by Louis Daguerre and introduced to the international scene in 1839. However, with the invention of cheaper and more accessible methods, the daguerreotype quickly became a dated technology.

4. John Plunkett, "Feeling Seeing: Touch, Vision and the Stereoscope," *History of Photography* 37, no. 4 (November 1, 2013): 389–96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2013.785718>.

device, which was able to display photographs. The stereographs ranged from travel to staged views and after the development of the wet collodion photography process, prints were affordable, costing only pennies. This allowed middle-class families the ability to travel virtually. The stereoview quickly became a household product and there was a new emphasis placed on visual culture.⁵ The French poet Charles Baudelaire⁶ described the prevalence of stereoscopic pornography as “a thousand hungry eyes...bending over the peep-holes of the stereoscope, as though they were attic-windows of the infinite.”⁷ Similarly to the advent of photography, pornography and erotica became popular with stereography. For viewers, many believed that stereoscopes merged their senses, as they were essentially looking at an optical illusion. Erotic photographs began to be produced in large quantities to fit the new medium.⁸

Today, the study and analysis of Victorian and other 19th-century pornography are rarely found as many early images have not been disseminated or preserved within the art community. There were commonly three categories of 19th-century nude photographs. The first and least morally scrutinized image was the academic nude. These were nude photographs for academic use and study. The other two categories were for pure erotic sensation: eroticism in mundane activities and overtly sexual images. The overtly sexual images were not distributed by studios and sold on an almost “underground” pornographic market in order to disseminate images without the French government knowing. The less overt, and erotic photos, like the primary source pictured above, were posed.⁹ In this stereoscope, the woman’s breast is in the center of the image and is illuminated, intentionally drawing a voyeuristic gaze upon

5. Schools, toys, photographs, and news began to shift to use stereoscope imagery as a tool for education, creating a culture around vision.

6. Charles Baudelaire is a very well-known poet from the 19th century. His work had an influence on modernism as well as the production and structure of poetry entirely.

7. Clive Thompson, “Stereographs Were the Original Virtual Reality,” *Smithsonian*, accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/innovation/sterographs-original-virtual-reality-18096477/>.

8. Isobel Crombie, “Private Pleasures: An Example of French Photographic Erotica | NGV,” accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/private-pleasures-an-example-of-french-photographic-erotica/>.

9. Crombie.

her figure. The overall whiteness of the image draws attention to her skin tone. She is pictured washing and ironing clothes which is undoubtedly a domestic duty. There is not only a gendered dynamic to this photography, but it also demonstrates the classist and patriarchal power structure of 19th-century French Victorian society. The stereoscope, making the image three-dimensional offers a different dimension of realism, accentuating the woman's breast and figure as well as her mundane task.

Victorian pornography was a product of culture, politics, and customs of the time period. However, erotic material characterized as anything from posed eroticism in mundane activities to overtly sexual images were placed under judicial surveillance in both France and Britain. In France, a specific police unit was created and tasked to monitor the distribution and creation of erotic and pornographic photographs. The Dossier BB3¹⁰ was used by authorities to help find those involved with the distribution of pornography. The police are responsible for the prosecution of well-known photographers and models between 1855 and 1868.¹¹ The censorship on erotica and pornography did not just include photography, but also famous pieces of artwork such as *Olympia* by Manet.¹² Yet, although the police had a unit that served for over thirteen years and the Dossier BB3 survived, there are very few documents from that time period that remain. In Britain, the House of Commons passed a law that banned street and cheap pornography, leaving expensive erotic books that only the upper class could afford. While the laws and government response to pornography differed based on geopolitical borders, the response against Victorian-era photographic and especially stereoscopic pornography was tied primarily with the debate around purity and class issues.¹³ Although the medium of

10. The Dossier BB3 is a 303-page handwritten document about the production of pornography and erotic images. It holds confiscated stereoscopes of overtly sexual photographs, but also academic nudes, in which artists sold pornography under the guise that it was for education. It also detailed arrest histories.

11. Colette Colligan, "Stereograph," *Victorian Review* 34, no. 1 (2008): 75–82.

12. Thomas B Hess and Linda Nochlin, *Woman as Sex Object; Studies in Erotic Art, 1730–1970* (Alvin Garfin, Newsweek, Inc, 1972).

13. Kathleen Frederickson, "Victorian Pornography and the Laws of Genre," *Literature Compass* 8, no. 5 (2011): 304–12, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2011.00800.x>.

erotica and pornography has changed between centuries, and even decades, the Victorian era paved the way for the erotic material which exists currently today.

When looking at this primary source and analyzing it through an American feminist perspective, one could conclude that the woman in the stereoscope was suppressed by patriarchal forces and made to stay at home and work only within the household. Thinking about it this way, one would draw their conclusions based on the 1950s in American society¹⁴, where women were relegated to the domestic sphere and purely secretarial jobs. This is demonstrative of the change around the analysis and study of the roles of gender. Looking at the primary source, in the specific context of its time period and geographic location, however, it would insinuate a message not only about gender and patriarchal relationships but about class. In 19th century Victorian France, laundry was a task that middle to upper-class wives would not do as it was reserved for someone of lower socioeconomic status, like a laundress or a housemaid. Thus, men could potentially look at this image through a status of superior power and extrapolate that this woman is not only there for doing laundry, but to satisfy their sexual needs or wants as well. The power relationship between the figure and the observer demonstrates that the female body is there for the sole reason to be objectified. There were power dynamics and relationships within the laundry industry in general. Middle to upper-classmen would look at working women and lower-class women in order to satisfy a certain sexual desire. In 19th century Paris, the laundry industry employed around twenty-five percent of the female workforce.¹⁵ The occupation of a laundress signified being in a lower socioeconomic class. Victorian society, especially those in the middle class, began to create and shift pornography to be centered around

14. When analyzing gender, many tend to think of and discuss stereotypical 1950s American gender roles. The woman controlling the domestic sphere (raising children, cleaning the house, doing the laundry), and the man as the breadwinner. This would skew the analysis of the stereograph as it is not about domesticity, but about power structures and classism.

15. "Women Ironing» Norton Simon Museum," accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/M.1971.3.F/M.1979.17.P>.

class hierarchy: the occupation of laundresses at the center of it. The penny fiction periodical chroniques scandaleuses became a staple of Victorian pornographic and erotic culture. Through this popular middle-class publication, the lower class and lower class occupations, such as laundresses, began to be associated with loose morals and heightened sexual promiscuity. Due to these stereotypes, the working class became the center of Victorian sexuality.¹⁶ However, the lower and working classes never made the decisions, their bodies and figures, like the woman in the stereoscope, existed for the sexual and labor exploitation by the middle and upper class.¹⁷

Many French artists played off the idea of a promiscuous working class and created erotic art centered around the idea of a sexual affair with or the sexual promiscuity of a laundress. Novelist Emile Zola published *L'Assommoir*¹⁸ in 1877. The main character, a poor laundress was characterized by her lack of morals and her sexual promiscuity due to her patriarchal working structure.¹⁹ In Octave Uzanne's *Femme à Paris*,²⁰ he wrote that laundresses and ironers "have a shocking reputation for folly and grossness...[they] descend sometimes to the lowest forms of prostitution..."²¹ Similarly, in some of Edgar Degas'²² work, he also depicted laundresses in his artwork, usually in an urban environment, mirroring the setting of the stereoscope image. In addition, Degas' paintings had erotic and pornographic undertones in which the women subjects can be analyzed as they were open to sexual advances.²³ These artists and

16. Allison Pease, *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

17. Pease.

18. *L'Assommoir* was a twenty-volume series by Emile Zola about the working class, poverty, and alcoholism in Paris. The novel portrays his viewpoints on social and moral determinism and placed the blame directly on the low-income people, rather than the political and economic policies of the time.

19. Jaimee Grüring, "Dirty Laundry: Public Hygiene and Public Space in Nineteenth-Century Paris," n.d., 317.

20. A popular history of France during the time.

21. Eunice Lipton, "THE LAUNDRESS IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH CULTURE: Imagery, Ideology, and Edgar Degas," *Art History* 3, no. 3 (September 1980): 295-313, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8365.1980.tb00080.x>.

22. Edgar Degas was a French artist who lived from 1834-1917. Degas was born into a wealthy family and had a complete education of the classics. He is very well-known for his sculptures and drawings of dancers. He is known to be one of the creators of Impressionism. Yet, he continually referred to himself as a realist. Degas also liked to draw laundresses and people of a lower class.

23. Grüring, "Dirty Laundry: Public Hygiene and Public Space in Nineteenth-Century Paris."

writers, like the rest of the middle to upper-class Victorian society, viewed laundresses as objects for over-sexualization and scrutiny. Their work only furthered the classist stereotypes and hierarchy which existed.

While at first, the photograph does not seem like an overt important cultural relic, the subject matter demonstrates the cultural significance of this erotic stereoscope to 19th century Victorian France. Although an inherently mundane task, laundry, and laundresses became a symbol of sexual promiscuity. This stereoscope demonstrates that it was not only an issue of gender but one of class, as the middle to upper class sexualized and took advantage of those in a lower socioeconomic status. While posed, this stereoscopic pornography furthered the stereotype of French laundresses, promoted gendered power struggles, and capitalized off of inherently perverted male voyeurism.

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4. Eliza Burt Gamble's Refutations to Darwinian Theory of Evolution and the Societal Norm of Male Superiority

JACKIE DEQUATTRO

Introduction

This primary source is an excerpt from a book titled *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man* published by Eliza Burt Gamble in 1894.¹ This book was revolutionary for its time because of Gamble's feminist refutations to Darwin's theory of evolution. Gamble, although making clear her appreciation for Darwin's exceptional mental breadth, clarifies in her book that his scientific theory is not completely objective. She believed that Darwin's conclusions were a product of the societal norms in the Victorian era and that in his attempt to prove the superiority of men, he ignored certain facts he himself discovered. Therefore, her book is both a critique of Darwinian theory and an academic and scientific justification for the superiority of women.

Eliza Burt Gamble grew up in Concord, Michigan with her mother and her older sister.² Being raised by a widowed mother, some

1. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>

2. Michigan State University. "Women in Science | Biographies | Eliza Burt Gamble." Women in Science. Accessed December 2, 2019. <http://womeninscience.history.msu.edu/Biography/C-4A-2/eliza-burt-gamble/>.

believe, is partly the reason Gamble grew to be the strong, empowered feminist she was. Moreover, after Gamble's mother passed away in her later teenage years, Eliza was left to provide for herself, and through that she found a career in education, more specifically serving as the superintendent of East Saginaw school district. The self-reliance and independence that Gamble gained through her childhood also bolstered her feminist ideologies, some of which included believing firmly in human rights and individual liberties, making her a natural supporter of women's suffrage. She became involved in the movement in the late 1860s and helped organize in 1876 the first suffrage conference in Michigan.³ However, even through her work with the women's suffrage movement, Gamble believed that the movement addressed only the surface issues of sexual equality.⁴

In the year 1882, Gamble was convinced she could prove her long-held hypothesis that "the female organization [was] in no wise inferior to that of the male."⁵ and address society's preconceived notions about sexual inequality. To do this, Gamble set out to Washington D.C. where she studied the collections at the Library of Congress,⁶ and after years of tirelessly researching and writing, Gamble published *The Evolution of Woman*.

In her book, Gamble's main argument revolves around Darwin's ideologies from his novel published in 1871, *The Descent of Man*. In his work, he claimed that the inferiority of the female sex became apparent at the age of reproduction when secondary sexual characteristics were observable.⁷ *The Descent of Man* discusses that the secondary sexual characteristics of men enabled and aided their pursuit of women, making them the superior species, however, Gamble counters this point by stating that the female's exercise

3. Michigan State University. "Women in Science | Biographies | Eliza Burt Gamble." Women in Science. Accessed December 2, 2019. <http://womeninscience.history.msu.edu/Biography/C-4A-2/eliza-burt-gamble/>.

4. J. David Hoeveler, *The Evolutionists* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007)

5. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.

6. Mary Cohart, *Unsung Champions of Women* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975)

7. Michigan State University. "Women in Science | Biographies | Eliza Burt Gamble." Women in Science. Accessed December 2, 2019. <http://womeninscience.history.msu.edu/Biography/C-4A-2/eliza-burt-gamble/>.

of discerning taste and choice in sexual selection makes them in fact superior: “if it is through [the female’s] will, or through some agency or tendency latent in her constitution that Sexual Selection comes into play, then she is the primary cause of the very characters through which man’s superiority over woman has been gained.”⁸ Gamble considered this evidence not only of female superiority, but also the higher mental capacity and intelligence of women because it is through a woman’s “power of choice”⁹ they have been “the directing and controlling agency in the development of [man] through which, the human species was reached.”¹⁰ Gamble argues that the determining capability of the female marked complexity through which the species was founded upon, establishing their characteristics as more developed and therefore more remarkable than the characteristics of man.

According to Gamble’s novel, the high specialization of women and their complexity is marked by the constancy of their sexual characteristics, whereas the variability of the male’s sexual characteristics showed low organization and an inability to perform legitimate functions. Gamble argued this concept by explaining that in environments lacking resources like food, light, and moisture, males were the predominant sex born, but in communities wealthy in resources, the female sex was more commonly produced, supplementing the evidence for women having organizational superiority. Gamble also mentioned that “statistics prove that in towns and in well-to-do families there is a preponderance of girls, while in the country, and among the poor, more boys are born,”¹¹ leading her to assert that the female “represents a higher development than the male.”¹²

Another argument that Gamble uses to reinforce her claim of

8. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.
9. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.
10. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.
11. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.
12. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.

female superiority is that some of the preconceived strengths that men have over women prove to be “useless, if not an actual hindrance to [them].”¹³ She asserts that even though man’s greater size was necessary through natural selection, their larger size and weight has now caused their power of endurance to fall below the power of women. Gamble discusses how this supposed attribute of superiority in men actually acts as an impediment and example of structural superiority in women.

As evident from her multifaceted argument, Eliza Gamble’s *The Evolution of Women* was both well-constructed and complex, working as an ingenious plea for the supremacy of the female sex. The heart of Gamble’s argument illustrated the feminist ideologies that she grew up being inspired by. Gamble provided scientific and evidence-based arguments refuting the Darwinian theory that had asserted the inferiority of the female sex was natural within society.

The Evolution of Woman

Eliza Gamble

Sexual Selection, we are told, resembles artificial selection, save that the female takes the place of the human breeder. In other words, she represents the intelligent factor or cause in the operations involved. If this be true, if it is through her will, or through some agency or tendency latent in her constitution that Sexual Selection comes into play, then she is the primary cause of the very characters through which man’s superiority over woman has been gained. As a stream may not rise higher than its source, or as the creature may not surpass its creator in excellence, it is difficult to

13. Gamble, Eliza Burt. *The Evolution of Woman; an Inquiry into the Dogma of Her Inferiority to Man*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894. <http://tinyurl.com/tinyurl/BmBh50>.

understand the processes by which man, through Sexual Selection, has become superior to woman.

“He who admits the principle of sexual selection will be led to the remarkable conclusion that the nervous system not only regulates most of the existing functions of the body but has indirectly influenced the progressive development of various bodily structures and certain mental qualities. Courage, pugnacity, perseverance, strength and size of body, weapons of all kinds, musical organs, both vocal and instrumental, bright colors and ornamental appendages have all been indirectly gained by the one sex or the other, through the exertion of choice, the influence of love and jealousy, and the appreciation of the beautiful in sound, colour or form; and these powers of the mind manifestly depend on the development of the brain.”¹⁴

While the female has been performing the higher functions in the processes of reproduction, through her force of will, or through her power of choice, she has also been the directing and controlling agency in the development of those characters in the male through which, when the human species was reached, he was enabled to attain a limited degree of progress.

Since the origin of secondary sexual characters is so clearly manifest, perhaps it will be well for us at this point to examine also their actual significance, that we may be enabled to note the foundation upon which the dogma of male superiority rests.

Although the gay coloring of male birds and fishes has usually been regarded as an indication of their superiority over their somber-colored mates, later investigations are proving that these pigments represent simply unspecialized material, and an effort of the system to cast out the waste products which have accumulated as a result of excessive

14. *The Descent of Man*, pg. 617

ardor in courtship. The same is true of combs, wattles, and other skin excrescences; they show a feverish condition of the skin in the over-excited males, whose temperature is usually much higher than is that of females. We are assured that the skin eruptions of male fishes at the spawning season “seem more pathological than decorative.”¹⁵ In the processes of reproduction, the undeveloped atoms given off from each varying part are reproduced only in the male line.

The beautiful coloring of male birds and fishes, and the various appendages acquired by males throughout the various orders below man, and which, so far as they themselves are concerned, serve no other useful purpose than to aid them in securing the favors of the females, have by the latter been turned to account in the processes of reproduction. The female made the male beautiful that she might endure his caresses.

From the facts elaborated by our guides in this matter, it would seem that the female is the primary unit of creation, and that the male functions are simply supplemental or complementary. Parthenogenesis among many of the lower forms of life would seem to favor this view. We are given to understand that under conditions favoring catabolism, the males among rotifera wear themselves out, under which conditions the females become katabolic enough to do without them.

“Among the common rotifera, the males are almost always very different from the females, and much smaller. Sometimes they seem to have dwindled out of existence altogether, for only the females are known. In other cases, though present, they entirely fail to accomplish their proper function of fertilization, and, as parthenogenesis obtains, are not only minute, but useless.”¹⁶

15. Geddes and Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex*, p. 24

16. *The Evolution of Sex*, p. 20

So long as food is plentiful, the females continue to raise parthenogenetic offspring, but with the advent of hard times, when food is scarce or of a poor quality, the parthenogenetic series is interrupted by the appearance of males. Although, unaided by the male, the female of certain species is able to reproduce, he has never been able to propagate without her co-operation.

Concerning the conditions which underlie the production of females and males we have the following from *The Evolution of Sex* by Geddes and Thomson:

“Such conditions as deficient or abnormal food, high temperature, deficient light, moisture, and the like, are obviously such as would tend to induce a preponderance of waste over repair, –a katabolic habit of body,–and these conditions tend to result in the production of males. Similarly, the opposed set of factors, such as abundant and rich nutrition, abundant light and moisture, favor constructive process, i.e., make for an anabolic habit, and these conditions result in the production of females.”¹⁷

Among the lower orders of animal life—notably insects, we are assured that an excess of females denotes an excess of formative force, and that an excess of males indicates a deficiency on the part of the parents. In the case of bees, the queen, which is the highest development, is produced only under the highest circumstances of nutrition, while the birth of the drone, which is the lowest result of propagation, is preceded by extremely low conditions.

The working bee which, being an imperfect female, may not be impregnated, will, however, give birth to parthenogenetic offspring, such offspring always being male. In the case of aphides, the sex depends on the conditions of nutrition. During the summer months while food is plentiful and nutritious, females are

17. *The Evolution of Sex*, p. 50

parthenogenetically produced, but with the return of autumn and the attendant scarcity of food, together with the low temperature, only males are brought forth. It is observed that in seasons in which food is abundant, cladocera and aphides lose the power to copulate; they nevertheless multiply parthenogenetically at a marvelous rate of increase, "giving birth to generation after generation of parthenogenetic females, so long as the environment remains favorable, but giving birth, as soon as the conditions of life become less favorable, to males and to females which require fertilization."¹⁸ We are assured also that if caterpillars are shut up and starved before entering the chrysalis stage, the butterflies which make their appearance are males, while the highly nourished caterpillars are sure to come out females. In the case of moths innutritious food produces only males.

Experiments show that when tadpoles are left to themselves the average number of females is about fifty-seven in the hundred, but that under favorable conditions the percentage of females is greatly increased. The following is the result of one series of observations by Yung. In the first brood, by feeding one set with beef, the percentage of females was raised from fifty-four to seventy-eight; in the second, with fish, the percentage rose from sixty-one to eighty-one, while in the third set, when the nutritious flesh of frogs was supplied, only eight males were produced to ninety-two females.¹⁹

It is stated that although scarcity of food is an important factor in determining the appearance of males, temperature also plays an important part in their production. Kurg having found a few males in mid-summer in pools which were nearly dried up, was induced to attempt their artificial

18. Prof. W. K. Brooks, *Pop. Science Monthly*, vol. xxvi., p. 327

19. Geddes and Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex*, p. 42

production. We are told that he was so successful that “he obtained the males of forty species, in all of which the males had previously been unknown.” He proved that “any unfavorable change in the water causes the production of males, which appear as it dries up, as its chemical constitution changes, when it acquires an unfavorable temperature, or, in general, when there is a decrease in prosperity.” From which observations, and many others quoted from During, Professor Brooks concludes that “among animals and plants, as well as in mankind, a favorable environment causes an excess of female births, and an unfavorable environment an excess of male births.”²⁰ According to Rolph, also, the percentage of females increases with the increase of favorable conditions of temperature and food.

Among insects, the males appear first, thus showing that less time is required to develop them from the larval state. Of this Mr. Darwin says: “Throughout the great class of insects the males almost always are the first to emerge from the pupal state, so that they generally abound for a time before any females can be seen.”²¹

Recent observations show that among the human species nutrition plays a significant part in determining sex. Statistics prove that in towns and in well-to-do families there is a preponderance of girls, while in the country, and among the poor, more boys are born; also, that immediately following epidemics, wars, and famines, there is an excess of male births. On examination, it was found that in Saxony “the ratio of boy-births rose and fell with the price of food, and that the variation was most marked in the country.”²²

That the female represents a higher development than the male is proved throughout all the various departments

20. *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. xxvi., p. 328

21. *The Descent of Man*, p. 212

22. W. K. Brooks, *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. xxvi., p. 326

of nature. Among plants, staminate flowers open before pistillate, and are much more abundant, and less differentiated from the leaves, showing that they are less developed, and that slighter effort, a less expenditure of force, is necessary to form the male than the female. A male flower represents an intermediate stage between a leaf and a perfect, or we might say, a female flower, and the germ which produces the male would, in a higher stage, produce the female. In reference to the subject of the relative positions of the female and male flowers in the Sedges, Mr. Meehan observes:

“In some cases the spike of the male flowers terminates the scape; in others the male flowers occupy the lower place; in others, again they have various places on the same spike. It will be generally noted that this is associated together with lines of nutrition, –those evidently favored by comparative abundance sustaining the female flowers.”²³

To this Mr. Meehan adds: “And this is indeed a natural consequence, for, as vitality exists so much longer in the female than the male flowers, which generally die when the pollen has matured, it is essential that they should have every advantage in this respect.”

The most perfect and vigorous specimens of cuniferous trees are of the female kind. We are told that in its highest and most luxurious stage the larch bears only female blossoms, but that so soon as its vigor is lost male flowers appear, after which death soon ensues.

In the *Evolution of Sex*, by Geddes and Thomson, is the following:

“In phraseology, which will presently become more intelligible and concrete, the males live at a loss, are more katabolic, –disruptive changes tending to preponderate in the sum of changes in their living matter or protoplasm.

23. *Native Flowers and Ferns*, vol. i., p. 39

The females, on the other hand, live at a profit, are more anabolic, –constructive processes predominating in their life, whence indeed the capacity of bearing offspring.”²⁴

Among the lower orders of animals, there appears an excess of males, and among the higher forms of life, man included, the fact that the male is the result of the cruder, less developed germ, has been clearly shown, not alone by the facts brought forward by Mr. Darwin, but by those enunciated by all reliable writers on this subject. As a result of the excessive eagerness in males, and the consequent expenditure of vital force among the lower orders of life to find the female and secure her favors, they are generally smaller in size, with a higher body temperature and shorter life. Among the higher orders, the human species for instance, although man is larger than woman, he is still shorter lived, has less endurance, is more predisposed to organic diseases, and is more given to reversion to former types, facts which show that his greater size is not the result of higher development. We are assured that the liability to assume characters proper to lower orders belongs in a marked degree to males of all the higher species—man included.

Doubtless man's greater size (a modification which has been acquired through Sexual Selection) has been of considerable value to him in the struggle for existence to which he has been subjected, but the indications are already strong that after a certain stage of progress has been reached, even this modification of structure will prove useless, if not an actual hindrance to him. On mechanical principles, every increase of size requires more than a corresponding increase of strength and endurance to balance the activities and carry on the vital processes, yet such have been the conditions of man's development, that

his excess of strength does not compensate for his greater size and weight, while his powers of endurance fall below those of women.

We are informed by Mr. Darwin that by a vast number of measurements taken of various parts of the human body in different races, during his Novara Expedition, it was found that the men in almost every case presented a greater range of variations than women, and, as Mr. Wood has carefully attended to the variations of the muscles of man, Mr. Darwin quotes from him that “the greatest number of abnormalities in each subject is found in males.” He adduces also the testimony of several others who have practically investigated this subject, all of whom agree in their statements that variations in the muscles are more frequent in males than in females. These variations usually consist in a reversion to lower types—a reversion in which muscles proper to lower forms of life make their appearance.

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5. Sex, Drugs and Feminism: The Punk Adventures of Kathy Acker

COLLIN CHEUNG

Introduction

Born in 1948, Kathy Acker became one of the most influential American writers in her generation. The topics of her writings pioneered the way for the punk movement that emerged in the mid-1970s. Acker's writing style distinguished herself from other postmodernist writers at the time. One of her most notable techniques, which some would consider plagiarism, was to lift texts from other authors and distort them to contain a new context, whether it be altering the text or adding new text to it. To be more polite, this technique could also be called appropriation or sampling. Acker challenged traditions and expectations through appropriating past texts. Another reason Acker's writing is impressively unique is that she perfectly mixes her personal identity with her fictitious characters. This made her writing structure completely complex for "if she infuses too much of the personal, it becomes autobiography; if she relies too much on simple narrative, it becomes mundane".¹ In any of her writings, you can definitely see a part of Acker in her characters. One of the main topics for her writing has always been sexuality. She would take her personal experience from working in

1. Hardin, Michael. Review of *Review of Rip-off Red, Girl Detective and the Burning Bombing of America: The Destruction of the U. S., , Essential Acker: The Selected Writings of Kathy Acker, , Amy Scholder*, by Kathy Acker, Amy Scholder, and Dennis Cooper. *Modern Language Studies* 33, no. 1/2 (2003): 95–98. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3195312>.

the sex industry and apply it to her work, generally in a political way.² Her goal was to disrupt society's expectations for women by bringing light to taboo topics such as the female sexual experience. This goal will become a main tenet in punk feminism for years to come.

Acker's Works

Rip-Off Red, Girl Detective was the first novel Acker wrote, but it was only published posthumously. The cover of the book is a photo of Acker with the New York skyline.³ *Rip-Off Red* was a “pornographic mystery story” that examines the nature of desire and love in female sexuality. The story contains a tremendous amount of sex, explicit language, and homoerotic experiences. The novel begins with the protagonist having sex with her husband, but it eventually leads to her having sex with different female lovers on multiple occasions.⁴ *Rip-Off Red* is an attack on social institutions, specifically the norms of family and society. Acker explores the notion of desire, love, and female sexual experience.⁵

The Childlike Life of the Black Tarantula was published in 1973 as her debut novel. The original book cover was designed by Leandro Katz, an Argentinian writer, visual artist, and filmmaker. Instead of using metaphors and allusions as most other authors do, Acker lifts texts from other authors to combine with her own passages. This radical style is exhibited in this novel, as she appropriated texts from authors, William Butler Yeats and Marquis de Sade. This book discusses female sexuality without the traditional sense of

2. Scholder, Amy. *Essential Acker*. (New York: Grove Press, 2002).

3. Presumably, the background is of the Twin Towers

4. One of the women the protagonist has sex with is the mother of another female lover.

5. Hardin, Michael. Review of *Review of Rip-off Red, Girl Detective and the Burning Bombing of America: The Destruction of the U. S., , Essential Acker: The Selected Writings of Kathy Acker, , Amy Scholder*, by Kathy Acker, Amy Scholder, and Dennis Cooper. *Modern Language Studies* 33, no. 1/2 (2003): 95–98. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3195312>.

poise and rationality.⁶ Eye on Design. “Exploring the Radical Feminist Texts of Kathy Acker, One Book Design at a Time,” May 23, 2019. <https://eyeondesign.aiga.org/exploring-the-radical-feminist-texts-of-kathy-acker-one-book-design-at-a-time/>. Instead, she examines it with the use of vulgar language and explicitly detailed descriptions. Similarly, to most of her other books, this novel contained a tremendous amount of sex and death; however, since this was the first published book of Acker, *Black Tarantula* actually set the standard for the rest of her following novels.

The Interview

The primary source comes from an unexpurgated transcript of the interview “Devoured by Myths” between Kathy Acker and Sylvère Lotringer.⁷ Lotringer is a literary critic, cultural theorist, and editor. His childhood was full of non-traditional thinking as he was born in Paris during the German occupation. He describes himself as a “foreign agent provocateur.” This is one of the reasons why one of his major interests is in “alternative social movements that challenge current power relations”, which also explains his relation to Kathy Acker and the punk feminist movement.⁸ The general audience for the interview were likely open-minded thinkers that were also interested in alternative social movements.⁹

6.

7. Scribd. “Devoured by Myths.” Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://www.scribd.com/doc/280589299/Devoured-by-Myths>.

8. “Sylvère Lotringer - The European Graduate School.” Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://egs.edu/faculty/sylv%C3%A8re-lotringer>; Lotringer and Acker were also close friends and sexual partners. Livingstone, Josephine. “What Does Kathy Acker Deserve?” *The New Republic*, September 14, 2017. <https://newrepublic.com/article/144803/kathy-acker-deserve>.

9. These people likely knew about Acker and her writing or at the very least, would take her ideas and opinions seriously.

Devoured By Myths: The Unexpurgated Interview With Sylvère Lotringer and Kathy Acker

Lotringer: Before I met you, I had heard of that writer called the Black Tarantula.¹⁰ I was very intrigued. I must say I had a visual picture that was quite different from what I discovered. Why did you take that name?

Acker: I was living in 'Frisco with Peter – Peter Gordon – in the Haight-Ashbury section right after the hippy period.¹¹ The section became a very whoppy town for about two years, and then it became gay and started to spruce up.¹² There was a wonderful theater group that used to be the Cockettes, and right before I came to San Francisco, in the early seventies, changed to the Angels of Light.¹³ Some of the Angels of Light lived up the street from us, and I became friendly with them. According to the guide, every bar at the time was gay, but it's not quite true. It was this ambience in which everyone was sort of androgynous. You weren't gay, you weren't straight, it was very loose. And everybody

10. The nickname is a reference to her debut novel, *The Childlike Life of the Black Tarantula*

11. San Francisco. Peter Gordon is a composer and experimental musician. He and Kathy married in 1976, but they eventually divorced. IMDb. "Peter Gordon." Accessed November 18, 2019.

<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0330518/bio>. Gordon met Acker in San Diego in '72. She accompanied him and a friend on a cross-country drive to New York. After the drive, they lived together for seven years. Baines, Josh. "Stream Two Unheard Tracks by New York Disco Legends Peter Gordon and David Van Tieghem." *Vice* (blog), November 23, 2016. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/d7jqcz/peter-gordon-david-van-tieghem-unheard-tracks-stream. Haight-Ashbury is a neighborhood in San Francisco known as the "hippie counterculture district" of the 60s. "The Summer of Love" of 1967 brought over 100,000 people to the neighborhood for a psychedelic period of free-thinking, creative expression, free love, drugs, and food. Moorehead, Karlin. "Haight-Ashbury: The Hippie Epicenter." *Groovy History*. Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://groovyhistory.com/haight-ashbury-the-hippie-epicenter>.

12. Whoppy, or whoopee, is "used to express exuberance". It is also used to denote fun or merrymaking, sometimes sexually. "Definition of WHOOPEE." Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/whoopee>.

13. The Cockettes were an ensemble of hippie women, gay men, and babies who performed midnight musicals at the Palace Theater in North Beach. Their last performance was in the fall of 1972. They were major influences for the glitter rock era of David Bowie and Elton John. They also influenced *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. The Cockettes. "History." Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://www.cockettes.com/history/>. The Angels of Light were a breakout group from the Cockettes as a reaction for the Cockettes' perceived commercialization. The Angels were a theater group that formed in early 1971 and gave free shows in local theaters. "ANGELS OF LIGHT | Wild Life Archive." Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://wildlifearchive.org/angels-of-light/>.

changed their names, everybody wore makeup, everybody dressed up all the time.¹⁴

Lotringer: Even Peter?

Acker: Peter enjoyed watching. Peter's eyes got very big at all this. I would go up the street for these orgies. Peter never came. I remember I had a girlfriend for a time, Vanessa, who used to sing with Prissy Condition.¹⁵ Vanessa was this beautiful, beautiful black girl, and she would come in and sort of whop Peter around. She would say, "I'm gonna fuck your girlfriend now," and Peter would just giggle. He didn't know what else to do! Ah, Vanessa was something. And so everyone changed their names. I was writing, but I didn't want to make a thing about it, you know; it was as if I had two lives. I hang around them and also I was a writer. So I made up as tore of name for myself, and that name was Rip-Off Red. And I wrote a novel at that point, *Rip-Off Red Girl Detective*, which is the first novel I've ever written.¹⁶ Very luckily it has never been published. It was a pornographic mystery story, and it was supposed to earn me lots of money (in my very deluded brain).

Lotringer: How old were you then?

Acker: When I wrote *Tarantula*, I was twenty-three.¹⁷ So I was around twenty-two. Where did I write *The Black Tarantula*? Oh, memory, it gets everything mixed up. I definitely was with Peter when I wrote *Rip-Off Red*. And we

14. This highlights the immense disconnect from societal standards of the "punk feminist" scene at the time. No matter the gender, race, or sexuality, everyone participated in becoming a "different" person for the night.

15. I could not find any available information on the internet about Prissy Condition or a Vanessa in connection with Kathy Acker. I have searched multiple databases without finding any evidence for either one. Presumably, Vanessa was the singer in this small band called Prissy Condition.

16. *Rip-Off Red* is written in a journal-like fashion as it is broken up by dates. It begins on April 20th with a description of the protagonist, Rip Off Red. In this description, one can see how Acker infuses her personal experiences into her characters. The novel starts with her having sex with her husband Peter. This goes on for a couple of pages. Afterwards, she masturbates on a plane heading to New York, has sex with a grocery boy, and a female lover named Sally Spitz. This was only the first few pages of the novel. Acker, Kathy. *Rip-Off Red, Girl Detective*. (New York: Grove Press, 2002).

17. Similar to *Rip-Off Red*, *The Black Tarantula* also separates the passages by dates; this time, it begins in July 1973. This novel continues with the high quantity and very detailed descriptions of sex. A different protagonist than Rip Off Red goes on a sex spree with multiple unnamed lovers, both men and women. I find *Tarantula* to be different than *Rip-Off Red* in the way that the latter contains more dialogue, whereas *Tarantula* contains more narration and personal thoughts of the protagonist. Acker, Kathy. *The Childlike Life of the Black Tarantula*. (New York: Printed Matter Inc., 1978).

were in 'Frisco. Before that I was doing *The Black Tarantula* down in San Diego. I was the Black Tarantula before I was Rip-Off Red.¹⁸ So there goes that apocryphal story. [laughs]

Lotringer: Why the Black Tarantula?

Acker: I don't remember. I honestly don't. I like it. I like tarantulas in those days, and I probably like them now. Mexican kids keep them as pets. And they're really, like, sensual... they're really soft and furry. Everyone thinks they're horrible but they're not terribly dangerous. The worst they do is sting like a bee.

Lotringer: That was quite a punk name...

Acker: Yea, but this was way before punk. I guess I was kind of punk.¹⁹ I wasn't a very good hippy. We just liked the Velvet Underground – we didn't have anyone really to like in those days.²⁰ Well, I sort of felt like a hippy, I mean I eat healthy food, but I never really was into free love. I am just not that loose. And play those days, the men really had all the power, all they did is to get these women pregnant. It wasn't really much fun, you end up with five babies and no boyfriend²¹

Collin is a first-year student at Wake Forest University. He wants to major in Biology and is very excited for the next four years at Wake!

18. She started *The Black Tarantula* before *Rip Off Red*. However, she finished the latter in San Francisco before finishing and publishing *Tarantula* in 1973. *Rip Off Red* remained unpublished for more than twenty-five years.

19. Acker has always been the icon for "punk feminism" even before it existed.

20. The Velvet Underground was a rock & roll band from that formed in 1964. They performed until 1973 when they took a twenty-year hiatus. The band was known for their attempt to integrate the avant-garde with rock. They are one of the most influential bands in rock, underground, experimental, and alternative music – the cornerstones for the punk movement. AllMusic. "The Velvet Underground | Biography & History." Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/the-velvet-underground-mn0000840402/biography>.

21. The norm of shotgun marriage has been gradually disappearing since 1969. The events that Acker is recounting in the interview takes place around the same year. Shotgun marriage rates were decreasing inversely to the use of reproductive technology. The rate of out-of-wedlock births increased by hundreds of thousands in a span of ten years. Prior to the late 60s, most out-of-wedlock births were followed by a shotgun marriage i.e. The father is forced to marry the mother to create a traditional family environment for the child. With the decline of shotgun marriages, many women were left with children but no partner to help support them. Yellen, George A. Akerlof and Janet L. "An Analysis of Out-of-Wedlock Births in the United States." *Brookings (blog)*, August 1, 1996. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/an-analysis-of-out-of-wedlock-births-in-the-united-states/>.

PART II

GENDER ROLES

6. Life Beyond Widowhood

CAROLINE FAHRINGER

Introduction

Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton was often overlooked because of the presence of her husband, Alexander Hamilton. She was born in 1757 to a rich, social family with a father that was a Revolutionary War Major General. After marrying Alexander Hamilton in 1780, Elizabeth (Eliza) began to receive credit for pushing Alexander's career; Eliza helped revise speeches and entertained the military officers he brought over.¹

In her lifetime, she mothered eight children and created a home for her family. While her husband was alive, she lived a social and public life that allowed very little privacy from the nation's eye.² She suffered embarrassment when her husband conducted an extramarital affair and made the details of said affair public. Due to this event, she burned most of her correspondence letters with Alexander, which leads to historians wondering what Eliza was left feeling. This led to a difficult time of the Hamilton's life, especially as four years later their eldest son was killed in a duel defending Alexander. Elizabeth was not fond of duels, and had even less reason to be when in 1804, Alexander was killed by Aaron Burr.

She is said to have preserved his legacy, but it is also her legacy because of the time and energy she put into helping him. In the time period after his death, she searched for his letters and persuaded

1. Military wives dealt with long periods apart from their significant other, while having to keep country morale high. They tended to band together in order to keep their feelings positive. Elizabeth was given an advantage due to her heritage. She watched her mother handle military men because of her father's involvement in the military. She was expected to keep a clean house that was ready for company. Alexander Hamilton was said to be close to George Washington, so Elizabeth would have had to be ready for very prestigious company.
2. Being the wife of a military man led to very public outings, such as attending the theater and balls.

Congress to purchase them.³ With the help of one of her sons, they were able to publish Alexander's writings. Her selflessness allowed her to provide a better lasting impression of her husband. Elizabeth Hamilton felt that it would be pertinent for her to restore her family's name after the passing of her husband.

3. The Works of Alexander Hamilton 1850 edited by John Church Hamilton, the third youngest Hamilton child. Syrett, Harold C., and Jacob E. Cooke. "The Papers of Alexander Hamilton." *The Historian* 19, no. 2 (1957): 168-81.

Elizabeth Hamilton by Daniel Huntington⁴



4. "Eliza Hamilton Portrait JN2017-01694.Jpg (3544x4096)." Accessed November 20, 2019.
<https://americanhistory.si.edu/sites/default/files/Eliza%20Hamilton%20Portrait%20JN2017-01694.jpg>.

The Orphanage

While participating in the socialite lifestyle with Alexander, Eliza participated charity work, but after his passing, she took it to a greater extent. In 1806, Eliza, along with Isabella Graham, founded the first private orphanage in New York City, the Orphan Asylum Society. She felt very close to the subject of an orphanage due to Alexander being orphaned at a young age. The Hamilton's also fostered a young girl, Fanny Antill, when her mother passed away early on in Fanny's lifetime.⁵

After the Revolutionary War, women began to gain power, be more productive, and benefit our new nation, America. Elizabeth was able to use the prestige and status of her husband. Her societal placement assisted her in finding homes for orphaned children and to receive supplies to keep the Orphan Society stocked.

She served as the second directress of the Orphan Society until 1821 when she became the first directress. This position involved raising funds, collecting donated items, and supervising the education of children. Before her death in 1854, she gave her position over to one of her daughters. During a time period where men ruled much of the political and social power, she was able to create a better life for herself.

The orphanage still exists today but serves a different function. It is called the Graham Windham and offers schooling to foster care children. It has helped to benefit thousands of children as, "The Orphans shall be educated, fed and clothed, at the expense of the Society and at the Asylum. They must have religious instruction, moral example, and habits of industry inculcated in their minds."⁶

5. Chernow, Ron. Alexander Hamilton. New York :Penguin Books, 2005.

6. Graham Windham Records, MS 2916, the New-York Historical Society

The Portrait

This portrait was painted by Daniel Huntington, a prominent artist in the late nineteenth century, when Eliza retired in her nineties.⁷ There is weariness in her look and she does not mind that she has aged. The portrait still hangs in Graham Windham today.

Her choice of the black dress is similar to two of her other portraits done after the passing of her husband. This choice is often shown as a sign of mourning and showed others in society that she was a widow. Also, Elizabeth does not smile in this portrait. She does not attempt to hide her wrinkles or age, which was uncommon in this time frame. Her eyes “betokened a sharp intelligence [and] a fiercely indomitable spirit.”⁸

A woman sitting for a portrait in her nineties was rare, but having the artist exhibit the true person was even rarer. Women in this time period were to exhibit a perfect outward appearance in the public eye. Often times, women would have the artist change their appearance in portraits to seem more attractive to those who witnessed it. Elizabeth was not one to succumb to social norms, as her wrinkles are present and her smile is missing.

Now

The musical phenomena *Hamilton* revived the public's knowledge of Eliza Hamilton and her contribution to New York City.⁹ Her philanthropy efforts in creating the Orphan Asylum Society, New York City's first private orphanage, did not go unnoticed, specifically in the closing song of the musical when she sings, “I help to raise hundreds of children”. The publicity that *Hamilton* received

7. National Gallery of Art, “Daniel Huntington.” Accessed November 18, 2019.

8. Chernow, Ron. *Alexander Hamilton*. New York :Penguin Books, 2005.

9. National Museum of American History. “Who Tells Eliza's Story? Philanthropy and ‘Hamilton: An American Musical,’” November 2, 2017.

increased Graham Windham's donation funds which allows for the better lives of many children, which is exactly what Elizabeth would have wanted. Not only have donations increased, but the events that were once empty are now lively and bringing in.

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7. Degrading Women Through Language and Imagery Within LIFE Magazine

MIA DOLAN

Introduction

Below is an article that was featured in the July 6, 1942 issue of LIFE magazine, which includes a combination of images and text.¹ This publication was released during the United States' involvement in World War II. Women played a crucial role in contributing to the war effort on the homefront through working jobs in factories, offices, and practices, while (mainly) men were fighting on the battlefield. An impressive seven million women who had not previously been wage earners joined the workforce.² For the first time, the media created an image of a strong and capable woman on a large scale through figures such as Rosie the Riveter. However, this article from the same time period displays women in a more degrading manner.

This piece contains a great deal of material that can be analyzed in terms of how women are discussed and portrayed. First, we have the image of a woman (Marjorie Woodworth) being tossed into the air by a few soldiers on the beach. The caption says "You must enjoy being bounced in a blanket by soldiers".³ The language of this

1. "LIFE." Time Inc., July 6, 1942. This is where my primary source comes from.

2. McEuen, Melissa A. "Women, Gender, and World War II." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History, June 9, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.55>.

3. "LIFE."

caption, along with the image itself, is extremely condescending. It implies that men are the strong forces fighting for the country while women just sit back and relax on the homefront. Additionally, the woman in the picture is photographed in a remarkably powerless position. She appears to have little control over herself (as shown by her body position and the shock on her face), and certainly less control than the soldiers who are flinging her into the air. This clearly demonstrates Woodworth as a subordinate to the soldiers below her.

Next is the written portion of the piece. This component gives an explanation of how a woman should entertain soldiers, making it seem like the duty of a young woman to go out and charm the soldiers as an acknowledgment for their hard work in army training. Rather than advertising for substantial, meaningful work that women can engage in to help their nation in the war, they push for the superficial importance of keeping the soldiers' company and providing them with entertainment. The language used gives the impression that putting a smile on the faces of these dedicated soldiers is the least that a woman can do for her country. It is almost as if the article is saying that women do not have other skills to contribute. To take it one step further, if they do not engage in "this type of war effort", then the assumed alternative is relaxing at home while the rest of the country is pitching in to win the war.⁴

There are a number of words and phrases within the text that have a demeaning connotation towards women, specifically in the sense that they are inferior to men. First, we have the phrase "For a girl to keep up with their [the soldiers'] fun is very hard work".⁵ While this sentence may be included to emphasize the tremendous energy that the soldiers hold, it gives off the implication that women have to "keep up" with men, and that women are always one step behind. This same undertone is exemplified in the next paragraph, which states "The young lady proving here that she can take it

4. "LIFE."

5. "LIFE."

for Uncle Sam is 21-year-old Marjorie Woodworth of Hollywood”.⁶ This sentence is implying that a woman must “prove” herself of being capable of competing on the same level as a man. LIFE also mentions Uncle Sam here, which is a significant name to include, as Uncle Sam represents many values that hold importance on a national level. Involving this substantial character signifies that it is a woman’s duty for the good of her nation to carry out the critical work of “entertaining” the soldiers. The next phrase that has a degrading connotation to it is “Whatever the boys did, Marjorie did, or tried to do”.⁷ This again provides the readers with the undertone that women will never be capable of successfully doing the same jobs or activities as a man. However, this “hard” work does have its rewards in the form of “warm masculine appreciation”, because what greater benefit is there for a woman than attention from a male?⁸ The mention of this “reward” is especially disappointing. Women at this time were being recruited for jobs in the workforce by propaganda that promoted the incentive of helping the United States win the war. The United States War Manpower Commission even put out a declaration of “Women Workers Will Win the War” to emphasize the vast importance of women bringing their skills to the workforce.⁹ However, it appears as though the writer of the article in LIFE magazine believes that American women think that a greater incentive than winning the war is receiving male attention.

The last portion of the text that portrays a rather demeaning message of female inferiority is when the article discusses Woodworth’s upcoming movie. The exact phrase is “Though she is a person of increasing importance in the movie world – Hal Roach is releasing her first starring picture, *The Devil With Hitler* – Marjorie ... ”.¹⁰ First off, the mention of this movie is rather random and unnecessary, especially within such a short article. Nevertheless, the part that is especially triggering is the referral of Woodworth’s

6. “LIFE.”

7. “LIFE.”

8. “LIFE.”

9. McEuen, “Women, Gender, and World War II.”

10. “LIFE.”

director Hal Roach. This simple sentence brings Woodworth's achievement back to that of a man's. The mention of the movie is irrelevant in the first place, however the mention of Hal Roach is even more insignificant, and it connects Woodworth's accomplishments with Roach rather than her own hard work.

Overall, this demeaning language and imagery within this article contrasts from the more positive image that Rosie the Riveter. It is possible that articles like these contributed to the failure of lasting institutional change for women in the workforce. According to Sarah K. Murnen, degrading language in this sense reflects male power over women through objectification and subordination.¹¹ If publications like these perpetuate the thought that women are not to be taken seriously, there is little chance that society will be eager to bring about significant change.

11. Murnen, Sarah K. "Gender and the Use of Sexually Degrading Language." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (December 2000): 319-27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2000.tb00214.x>.

LIFE Magazine (1942): Speaking of Pictures ... Here is a Girl's Guide For Entertaining Soldiers



What you see here is a new pattern of entertainment for girls who visit their soldier friends in U.S. Army camps. All

over the country girls are finding it a patriotic pleasure to brighten the lives of these boys, but they are also finding it no pink tea.¹² Stiff training makes the boys husky.¹³ They are full of vim.¹⁴ They are full of fun. For a girl to keep up with their fun is very hard work. But this hard work has its rewards in the form of warm masculine appreciation.

The young lady proving here that she can take it for Uncle Sam is 21-year-old Marjorie Woodworth of Hollywood.¹⁵ Marjorie was snapped by LIFE's photographer while visiting some of her soldier friends stationed near a Southern California beach.¹⁶ Though she is a person of increasing importance in the movie world – this month Hal Roach is releasing her first starring picture, *The Devil With Hitler* – Marjorie did not go Hollywood on the boys.¹⁷ Instead of signing autographs or dining with officers, she jumped into her bathing suit like a good sport. Whatever the boys did,

12. "Pink tea" is an informal way of referring to any trivial or silly social gathering, where usually the majority that attend are women ("Pink Tea Dictionary Definition | Pink Tea Defined." Accessed November 12, 2019. <https://www.yourdictionary.com/pink-tea>.) This is another example of the language that is degrading towards women, suggesting that women regularly engage in gatherings that are unimportant and idiotic.
13. Stiff training refers to the training that soldiers underwent at army camps in preparation for fighting on the war front for the United States. Training at these camps included constant drills, leadership lessons, and exercises to ensure extreme physical shape. It also included a variety of survival and combat training ("THE WAR . At War . Face of Battle . Training | PBS." Accessed November 12, 2019. https://www.pbs.org/thewar/at_war_battle_training.htm.) Husky means big and strong, burly. (www.dictionary.com. "Definition of Husky | Dictionary.Com." Accessed November 12, 2019. <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/husky>.) This word emphasizes the physical strength and manliness of the soldiers.
14. Extreme energy and enthusiasm. This word usually has a connotation of toughness and strength; someone who is described as "full of vim" is usually thought of as strong and robust ("Definition of VIM." Accessed November 12, 2019. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vim>.) Again, emphasizes the strength and masculinity of the soldiers.
15. Uncle Sam is a figure symbolizing the United States and all that it stands for, who first emerged during the War of 1812. Uncle Sam became a popular character in WWII propaganda ("Uncle Sam | History, Artist, Drawing, Propaganda, & Facts | Britannica.Com." Accessed November 12, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Uncle-Sam>.) Marjorie Woodworth was an American actress in the 1940s. Hal Roach "discovered" her when she was in college and Hollywood immediately looked to make her an it-girl, as she modeled for cosmetic and fashion companies. However, she failed to make a lasting impression and her acting career decreased until she retired from acting in 1947. She wrote columns about the US Navy during WWII and often visited army camp Camp Huachuca in Arizona to entertain the soldiers ("Marjorie Woodworth -- Hollywood Star." Accessed November 12, 2019. <http://www.woodworth-ancestors.com/woodworth-people/Marjorie-Woodworth/index.htm>.)
16. John Florea, who worked as a photographer for LIFE from 1941 to 1949, captured the two pictures of Woodworth. He was mainly a war photographer and spent time photographing on the battlefields during WWII. He also took pictures of stars of Hollywood, including Marilyn Monroe ("John Florea - Artists - Steven Kasher Gallery." Accessed November 6, 2019. <http://www.stevenskasher.com/artists/john-florea>.)
17. Hal Roach was a prevalent American director and producer who was active in the film industry from the 1910s to the 1990s. During WWII, Roach made many propaganda, morale, and training films (Encyclopedia Britannica. "Hal Roach | American Director and Producer." Accessed November 12, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hal-Roach>.) *The Devil With Hitler* is a short comedy film from 1942 in which the Devil is threatened to be replaced by Hitler in Hell unless the Devil can get Hitler to commit a good deed. This summary is placed in a footnote to emphasize its irrelevance to the article (*The Devil with Hitler* (1942) - IMDb. Accessed November 12, 2019. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0034651/plotsummary>.)

Marjorie did or tried to do. LIFE herewith presents these pictures as a guide to other girls involved in this type of war effort.

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8. Analysis of Women in Wartime Advertisements

MARIANA ROCHA-GOLDBERG

Mother, when will you stay home again?

Some jubilant day mother will stay home again, doing the job she likes best—making a home for you and daddy, when he gets back. She knows that all the hydraulic valves, line support clips and blocks and electric anti-icing equipment that ADEL turns out for airplanes are helping bring that day closer.

Meanwhile she's learning the vital importance of precision in equipment made by ADEL. In her post-war home she'll want appliances with the same high degree of precision and she will get them when ADEL converts its famous Design Simplicity to products of equal dependability for home and industry.

ADEL

ADEL PRECISION PRODUCTS CORP.
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA, HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA
SERVICE OFFICES: DETROIT, HAGERSTOWN, SEATTLE
FOR WAR (AND PEACE) BUY BONDS



ADEL EQUIPMENT SERVES UNITED NATIONS' AIR FORCES ON EVERY BATTLE FRONT

Introduction

During the Second World War, the role of women was highlighted within the United States in order to mobilize the citizens to help the military effort.¹ This meant that women now had to fill-in for their male counterparts who were fighting the war on the other side of the world.² Shifting the expected gender roles of women made it important for advertisements to establish what these new roles were. Previously, the expected gender roles were that the woman would stay home and care for the house while the male held a job and was the breadwinner of the family.³

As can be seen today, advertisements are a major aspect of marketing, and it establishes a form of consumer culture by influencing the consumer to buy what they see advertised. Such advertisements targeted all aspects of a woman's life in the United States during this time period. For example, these new advertisements portrayed women in the factory setting, previously a predominantly male-run field, and even as hard-working mothers who dedicate their work to their children and male spouse. Eureka Vacuum Cleaner Co. released an advertisement titled "Uniform... Slacks... or Kitchen Apron" suggesting that women could now have a variety of professions and no longer be restricted solely to the household.⁴ To further analyze advertisements during this time and how they established gender roles, I will be focusing on an ADEL

1. An example of this can be seen in the Victory Liberty Loan advertisement from 1918 during the First World War, where the woman's role as a military wife was established. University, Special Collections, Wake Forest. 2017. For Home and Country: Victory Liberty Loan. Photo. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/zsrspecial/36229933074/>.

2. Starting during the First World War, women were expected to take on new jobs and roles in their daily life in order to sustain their families and the rest of the United States, as described by Mabel Daggett in her *Women Wanted* book. Daggett, Mabel Potter. *Women Wanted; The Story Written in Blood Red Letters on the Horizon of the Great World War*. New York: G. H. Doran Co. <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/Bz7Mu9>.

3. University, Special Collections, Wake Forest. 2017. Les Foyers Du Soldats - Y.M.C.A. - Union Franco-Americaine. Quand Tu Parles de La Femme, Pense a Ta Mere, a Ta Soeur, a Ta Fiancee, et Tu Ne Diras Pas de Betises. Photo. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/zsrspecial/36256972153/>.

4. "Uniform... Slacks... or Kitchen Apron." Eureka Vacuum Cleaner Co., April 1943, *Saturday Evening Post*. In the advertisement, it states "You're wearing the uniform of your country - whether it's the brown of the WAACS or the blue of the WAVES - the slacks of the factory volunteer or the apron in your kitchen. And you women of America have proved that you are among the world's best soldiers" (Eureka, 1943). The advertisement restricts women to only three possible lifestyles, all having to do with the support of their male counterparts.

Precision Products Corps advertisement. This advertisement shows a mother and her daughter both dressed similarly as if they were to go off and work in a factory. The daughter asks “Mother, when will you stay home again?” implying that the mother’s role as a housewife changed when the husband left for a recently employed factory worker. The advertisement is for ADEL, which produces equipment for militarization as well as household products.⁵ ADEL released a series of advertisements all featuring a young woman and her daughter, both tend to be white, blonde, and smiling. In all of the advertisements, the daughter poses a question often about the mother and her role in this new lifestyle or about the father as a soldier. The main focuses of these advertisements are to sell the products, bring more attention to what the corps is doing for the militarization effort, and highlighting what the ideal wife of a soldier must do while her husband is off fighting the war.

Using the six categorizations of the depiction of women by Goffman, in his *Gender Advertisements*, to analyze this advertisement, it will show how exclusive and structured the expected gender roles for women were at this time.⁶ The first of Goffman’s categories are “relative size.” In this advertisement size does not show gender roles, instead, the relative size differentiates between the mother and the daughter. The mother is larger as she stands over her small young daughter. The second category is “feminine touch” because oftentimes the hands of women are used in advertisements to bring attention to something. In this advertisement, the daughter is holding both of her hands behind her back as if she is very calm and composed while her mother has a more relaxed hand resting on the bicycle. Analyzing this in the framework of gender roles, when her hand is looked at and put in the context of her body position, the audience can see that the mother is standing in a more masculine manner. Her body

5. ADEL Precision Products Corps was a production company for parts needed in the militarization of the United States. They produced parts for the machinery used in battle, such as plane parts like hydraulic valves and electric anti-icing systems.

6. Goffman, Erving. *Gender Advertisements*. United Kingdom: Macmillan Education, Limited, 1979

positioning seems very laid back and “un-lady-like” which would not be commonly seen during this time. This is used to show how the mother has to take on a new role that just happens to make her a little more masculine in the way she carries herself. Next is “function ranking” focusing on what positions women are given in advertisements, which tend to be subordinate to men.

As explained previously, the woman in the advertisement is in a new position that had not been available to women before. This ties to how women were not expected to be seen in this way, making the advertisements shocking and different from the rest. Fourth is the “family scene” describing how often times when there is a woman in an advertisement, she is a wife, mother, or caretaker. This is a limiting view of what a woman can be in her life and it revolves around a misogynistic culture. In this source, the woman is a mother and is being asked when she will return to her caretaking position. The description next to her also makes the woman out to be solely a caretaker and that is all she is capable of doing, “Some jubilant day mother will stay home again, doing the job she likes best – making a home for you and daddy, when he gets back.” By stating it is the “job she likes best” further limits the woman because it objectifies her and makes her a dehumanized being that has to care for the family and household over everything. The next category is not relevant to this source, but it is followed by the last of Goffman’s categories, “licensed withdrawal.” This category is to bring attention to the level of involvement of the woman shown in the advertisements. The most common way a woman is portrayed is being distracted and uninvolved in her surroundings. This can be seen in the source because the mother is smiling at her daughter and does not seem to be interested in what she is saying at all. As well, the daughter does not seem to have any expression on her face. This is used to portray the female as unintelligent, passive, and ties to the idea of female domesticity.

Women during the Second World War would see advertisements like these and connect them to the shift of what women were expected to do. No longer were they supposed to solely stay at

home and care for their families, now they were expected to get a job to help the soldiers while also providing for their family, keeping the household, and taking care of the children. Although the adoption of a new position for females was a big step for feminism, the American culture did not celebrate the extremely hard work that all women had to do in order to stay afloat.

ADEL Precision Products Corps, 1943 Advertisement⁷

Mother, when will you stay home again?⁸

Some jubilant day mother will stay home again, doing the job she likes best – making a home for you and daddy, when he gets back.⁹ She knows that all the hydraulic valves, line support clips and blocks and electric anti-icing equipment that ADEL turns out for airplanes are helping bring that day closer.

Meanwhile she's learning the vital importance of precision in equipment made by ADEL. In her post-war home she'll want appliances with the same high degree of precision and she will get them when ADEL converts its famous Design Simplicity to products of equal dependability for home and industry.¹⁰

7. In the drawing, the mother has a pin on her overalls. This pin is the ADEL identification badge that all employees were to have if they worked in the factory or anywhere else for them. "Badge, Identification, Adel Precision Products Corp." 2016. National Air and Space Museum. March 18, 2016. <https://airandspace.si.edu/collection-objects/badge-identification-adel-precision-products-corp-II>.

8. In another ADEL advertisement, the daughter asks the mom "Mother, is your job at ADEL important?" During the war, ADEL released several advertisements with a mother and a daughter, often in matching outfits and hair. The daughter is usually asking about the mother's position at ADEL or about the war. For example, "Mother is ADEL a soldier like dad?" The focus of these advertisements is to bring focus to the company and its products while also establishing the gender roles of women who stayed to keep the home front together.

9. In this context, "making a home" means the care and upkeep of the household, a job often left for the mother and wife of the family. The advertisement also further establishes the societal norms of what a good American family should be and how the mother should feel about her position in the family.

10. This part of the advertisement refers to the time after World War II when the soldiers come back home and the world is at peace.

ADEL
ADEL PRECISION PRODUCTS CORP.
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA, HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA
SERVICE OFFICES: DETROIT, HAGERSTOWN, SEATTLE
FOR WAR (AND PEACE) BUY BONDS
ADEL EQUIPMENT SERVES UNITED NATIONS' AIR
FORCES ON EVERY BATTLE FRONT

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9. "There's more to Bunnyhood than stuffing bosoms."

CARLY WARREN

Introduction

There are many words that come to mind when one hears the words "Playboy Bunny."¹ These words can range from whore to beautiful to half-naked to Hugh Hefner. Playboy Bunnies as described in an ad recruitment are "[a]ttractive young girls [who] earn \$200-\$300 a week at the fabulous New York Playboy Club, enjoy the glamorous and exciting aura of show business, and have the opportunity to travel to other Playboy Clubs throughout the world ... serving drinks, snapping pictures or greeting guests at the door."² These Bunnies are dressed "in brightly colored rabbit costumes, complete to the ears and white cottontails."³

There is a major illusion of Bunnies, and the reality is that they are "over-commercialized, overworked, and underclothed waitress, not the mythical sexy, rich, body-beautiful idea that most people have."⁴ Not all Bunnies have the perfect body either, but due to the corset-like costume helps make female curves more prominent.

1. "Playboy Bunny" is a female cocktail waitress who worked at the Playboy Bunny Club.[footnote] "Who created Playboy magazine and spun it into a media and entertainment-industry giant – all the while, as its very public avatar, squiring attractive young women (and sometimes marrying them) well into his 80s" Laura Mansnerus, "Hugh Hefner, Who Built the Playboy Empire and Embodied It, Dies at 91," *The New York Times*, September 27, 2017, sec. Business, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/27/obituaries/hugh-hefner-dead.html>.

2. Gloria Steinem, "A Bunny's Tale Part I," *Show Magazine*, May 1963, 114.

3. James K. Beggan and Scott T. Allison, "The Playboy Rabbit Is Soft, Furry, and Cute: Is This Really the Symbol of Masculine Dominance of Women?," *Journal of Men's Studies*, Thousand Oaks 9, no. 3 (April 30, 2001): 341, <http://dx.doi.org/10.3149/jms.0903.341>.

4. Bloomington women's Liberation, "Top Job in Country," *Off Our Backs* 2, no. 2 (1971): 13-13.

The costume also makes any flesh on the body go up towards the bosom.⁵ The moving of the flesh is not enough, so in order to appeal to men, the Bunnies stuffed their costumes often with a whole plastic dry-cleaning bag. Some bunnies said that due to the plastic, they sweat too much and lose weight in their chests, which is not optimal, and therefore stuffed with absorbent tissues or cotton.⁶ The heels also accentuate the legs making them look more toned.⁷ These heels may look good, but many Bunnies work around six to ten hours constantly standing in these shoes their legs begin to “get numb from the knee up.”⁸

Bunnies not only had to deal with physical issues but also had to deal with obnoxious men treating them as sex objects. Men often grabbed the Bunnies’ cotton tails and or tried to touch them, but Bunnies would have to tell them, “Sir, ... you are not allowed to touch the Bunnies.”⁹ Men often “treated the Bunnies as if they had no feeling or personalities of their own.”¹⁰ Bunnies were also controlled by many rules, such as “[the] tray must never leave [their] hand unless ... serving or clearing food from a table. A Bunny must never sit down or lean against anything, never eat or drink anything, never smoke, and never, never think about going to the bathroom until she is off duty!”¹¹

Bunnies are paid \$50 a week. On top of a low wage, “the Club takes 50 percent of the first \$30 worth [tips] of those that are charged, 25 percent of amounts up to \$60 and 5 percent after that.”¹² Bunnies are only able to keep all tips that are cash. Therefore Bunnies do not live the lavish life that the magazine and advertisements portray to the public. There are very few people who spoke the truth about the ongoing inside of the club and the jobs. Gloria Steinem was one of

5. Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part I,” 92.

6. Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part II,” *Show Magazine*, June 1963, 112. Steinem collected an “unofficial list of Bunny Bosom Stuffers: 1) Kleenex 2) plastic dry cleaner’s bags 3) absorbent cotton 4) cup-up Bunny tails 5) foam rubber 6) lamb’s wool 7) Kotex halves 8) silk scarves 9) gym socks” Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part II,” 114.

7. Bloomington women’s Liberation. “Top Job in Country.”

8. Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part II,” 68.

9. Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part II,” 66.

10. Bloomington women’s Liberation. “Top Job in Country.”

11. Bloomington women’s Liberation. “Top Job in Country.”

12. Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part I,” 114.

the few individuals who spoke out; she went undercover as “Marie Catherine Ochs” to write an article for Show Magazine about the inside world of the famous Playboy Club in New York.¹³

Shown below is Steinem’s, or should I say Ochs’ recounted experience.

13. Gloria Steinem, “A Bunny’s Tale Part I.” 99.

Gloria Steinem's 1963 Show Magazine¹⁴

I've spent an informative Sunday with the Bunny Bible, or the Playboy Club Bunny Manual, as it is officially called. From the introduction ("You are holding the top job in the country for a young girl) to appendix ("Sidecar: Rim glass with lime and frost with sugar"), it is a model of clarity.¹⁵

Some dozen supplements accompany the bible. Altogether, they give a vivid picture of a Bunny's function. For instance:

... You ... are the only direct contact most of the readers will ever have with Playboy personnel.... We depend on our Bunnies to express the personality of the magazine.

... Bunnies will be expected to contribute a fair share of personal appearances as part of their regular duties for the Club.

... Bunnies are reminded that there are many pleasing means they can employ to stimulate the club's liquor volume, thereby increasing their earnings significantly.... The key to selling more drinks is Customer Contact ... they will respond particularly to your efforts to be friendly.... You should make it seem that [the customer's] opinions are very important....

There is a problem in being "friendly" and "pampering" the customer while refusing to go out with him or even give him your last name. The manual makes it abundantly clear that Bunnies must never go out with anyone met in the club—customer or employee—and adds that a detective agency called Willmark Service Systems, Inc., has been employed to make sure that they don't.¹⁶ ("Of course, you can

14. Gloria Steinem, "A Bunny's Tale Part I" 114.

15. Extremely detailed do's and don'ts of being a Bunny

16. "Representatives of Willmark, Inc., [were] retained by the Playboy Club to pose as customers while testing Bunnies for efficiency, cheerfulness, clean tails, etc., and whether or not Bunnies will accept

never tell when you are being checked out by a Willmark Service representative.") The explanation written for the Bunnies is simple: Men are very excited about being in the company of Elizabeth Taylor, but they know they can't paw or proposition her. "The moment they felt they could become familiar with her, she would not have the aura of glamour that now surrounds her. The same must be true of our Bunnies." In an accompanying letter from Hugh Hefner to Willmark, the explanation is still simpler: "Our licenses are laid on the line any time any of our employees in any way engages, aids, or abets traffic in prostitution...." Willmark is therefore instructed to "Use your most attractive and personable male representatives to proposition the Bunnies, and even offer ... as high as \$200 on this, 'right now,' for a promise of meeting you outside the Club later." Willmark representatives are told to ask a barman or other male employee "if any of the girls are available on a cash basis for a friendly evening.... Tell him you will pay the girls well or will pay him for the girls." If the employee does act "as a procurer," Willmark is to notify the club immediately. "We naturally do not tolerate any merchandising of the Bunnies," writes Mr. Hefner, "and are most anxious to know if any such thing is occurring."

If the idea of being merchandised isn't enough to unnerve a prospective Bunny, there are other directives that may. Willmark representatives are to check girls for heels that are too low, runs in their hose, jewelry, underwear that shows, crooked or unmatched ears, dirty costumes, absence of name tags, and "tails in good order." Further: "When a show is on, check to see if the Bunnies are reacting to the performers. When a comic is on, they are supposed to laugh." Big Brother Willmark is watching you....

dates(they aren't supposed to) with or without the lure of money. Gloria Steinem, "A Bunny's Tale Part II," 110.

Once the system is mastered, there are still instructions for specific jobs. Door Bunnies greet customers and check their keys. Camera Bunnies must operate Polaroids. Cigarette Bunnies explain why a pack of cigarettes can't be bought without a Playboy lighter; hatcheck Bunnies learn the checking system; gift-shop Bunnies sell Playboy products; mobile-gift-shop Bunnies carry Playboy products around in baskets, and table Bunnies memorize thirteen pages of drinks.

There's more to Bunnyhood than stuffing bosoms....

The wardrobe mistress stopped me as I passed. "Baby," she said, "that costume is way too big on you." It was true that I had lost ten pounds in the few days since the costume had been made, and it was also true that, for the first time, it was no more uncomfortable than a tight girdle. She marked the waist with pins and told me to take it off. "I'll have it fitting you right when you come tomorrow," she said. "Needs two inches off on each side."

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10. A Look at Esquire: How Advertisements Have Been Used to Construct Gender Standards

FRANCESCA MILITO

Introduction

In the changing economic and social conditions, men looked for guidance on how they were supposed to change with the culture of America. Esquire magazine took advantage of the current climate, giving men a place to find guidance on how they should be living their lives.¹ In 1933, the magazine came out with its first issue and it is argued that it sought to create a new type of male, ones that were consumers. It was generally women who were pegged with this label, but the current climate pushed that women were wrong in their decision making and lifestyle.² This idea opened up a realm of subjects that the magazine could use to show men the new lifestyle they should desire and attempt to create for themselves. Esquire offered a wide range of articles that pertained to “food, clothing, decorating and etiquette”.³ It launched the first men based magazine that was constructed around the trend of “leisure” for men.⁴

1. The Political and social climate in the sixties was going through changing times. In prior years, America had been recovering from the war and was coming off of the depression. It was these events that led to the change in how masculinity was defined and produced. The start of this change started prior to the sixties, but continued well into it as men found their new roles. Brad Congdon, *Leading with the Chin: Writing American Masculinities in Esquire, 1960-1989* (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 6.

2. Kenon Breazeale, “In Spite of Women: ‘Esquire’ Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer,” *Signs* 20, no. 1 (1994): 1-22, 1-2.

3. Congdon, *Leading with the Chin*, 6.

4. Leisure was a developing trend that Esquire used as a basis in many of their articles and was brought

The contents of the magazine generally had a basis for undermining women and their own recommendations on men's lifestyles. It aimed to establish a male dominant point of view that overruled any and all things that women said, illustrating the idea that women were controlling men's lives and by following the suggestions in the magazine, men would be able to relinquish this power from women.⁵ Esquire aimed to form a relationship with the reader, appealing to what they wanted, making the magazine a one-stop-shop for all things to do with "toughness, confidence, and lack of fear of confidence".⁶ In doing so, the magazine held a range of periodicals from well known writers to satisfy the academics and displayed sexualized cartoons and images of women for men's own personal enjoyment.⁷ The periodical was able to redefine masculinity, molding it throughout the sixties within the economic and social tension of the United States.

Being a magazine, a heavy part of its content is advertisements. Advertisements are a way of communicating to the general public what they should buy to achieve certain qualities and appear in a certain way.⁸ It targets consumers' needs and desires. In the fifties and sixties, the majority of advertisements would appeal to women as they were pegged as the largest consumers compared to men.⁹ Women were in charge of shopping whether it was for themselves or their husbands. Esquire changed this culture. The content as a whole pushed the idea that women were wrong in their

about by President Roosevelt. It was all apart of men's new identities. The term was used in reference to how men spent their time when they were out of the office in hopes that it would help to increase consumerism around their new lifestyle. The new identity was formed on the basis of boosting the economy by creating consumers out of men. Esquire's creation promoted this new lifestyle.

Breazzeale, "In Spite of Women.", 3.

5. Breazzeale, 6.

6. It was important to create a magazine in which the reader was involved in the magazine in a sense, or they made it feel like they were. By doing this the content was able to appeal even more to the reader if multiple suggestions were made about the same thing. It kept them involved and engaged Tom Pendergast, "Horatio Alger Doesn't Work Here Any More: Masculinity and American Magazines, 1919-1940," *American Studies* 38, no. 1 (1997): 72.

7. Pendergast, 72-74.

8. Up until the creation of Esquire, women were usually the target for most advertisements as talked about within "In Spite of Woman". It showed them what they should strive to be and what they needed to do it. As Esquire emerged, advertisements began to target men in their magazine showing them what it would take for them to masculine. Adlin Asha, "Women in Advertisements," *Language in India* 10, no. 3 (March 2010): 18-23.

9. Breazzeale, "In Spite of Women", 3.

recommendations, leading men to take their lifestyles in their own hands based on what they would see in the magazine.¹⁰

While it was a men's magazine, there were advertisements that were intended for a female audience. The image shown is an example of a female based advertisement. The promotion is for perfume and includes a woman who gives off the idea that she is naked from the neck down as no clothing is apparent. The woman also appears to have a sexualized expression. This is in reference to their facial expression and how the advertisement has had her pose. When only focusing on the image it may not be apparent that this is an advertisement for perfume or an advertisement at all. It could simply be a sexualized image of a woman for the enjoyment of the readers.¹¹ When looking further at the advertisement as a whole, below the image appears the words, "Want him to be more of a man? Try being more of a woman." The context infers a few things to its target audiences. The first being that by wearing perfume, it makes a woman more attractive to a man. Secondly, it touches on gender stereotypes between men and women on what it takes to be attractive. It alludes to the idea that certain qualities contribute to the femininity and masculinity of genders, and that those qualities are the most desired. Further, the advertisements promise a certain lifestyle that attracted consumers.¹² Advertisements embedded the idea in consumers that the products they were advertising would enhance their lives.

As mentioned previously, the magazine was styled to go against the word of women, yet it included these advertisements that were obviously targeted towards them. This was a growing occurrence by the magazine and it did not go unnoticed by the reader.¹³ The reason

10. Breazeale, 4-9.

11. Esquire often included sexualized images of women, simply for the enjoyment of their readers. The woman presented in the magazine were what society perceived as an attractive women and often included what they called "pinups". Pinups were specifically known to be "masturbatory aids", without the images actually being considered completely pornographic. Pendergast, "Horatio Alger Doesn't Work Here Any More", 74.

12. Jennifer Scanlon, ed., *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 201.

13. Readers have previously commented to the publication about the inclusion of women advertisements on the basis that it was supposed to be a men's magazine. It is unclear why they pushed these comments aside, but the inclusion of the advertisements continued. Pendergast, "Horatio Alger Doesn't Work Here Any More", 72.

for the inclusion of these advertisements can be explained possibly by the new type of man the publication was establishing. The ideal man they were creating made women lesser than the male gender. In the context of the advertisement, it gave men the option to either urge their wives to buy this perfume or buy it for their wives to fulfill their ideas of what the advertisement is offering them. It gave men the chance to make their own decisions without involving their significant others, establishing a sense of power over them. It was another way to promote the evolving idea of masculinity.

Esquire magazine was one of the first publications to target men as consumers instead of women. It brought about new ideas of how being masculine involved what they bought clothing wise, what they drank, and the activities they were involved in. This was all applied while lessening the voice of women in respect to their own lifestyle choices, they no longer had a say in it.¹⁴ The advertisements that were chosen to be displayed in the magazine pushed the standards that they were setting for men, it all had an intention for the magazine and its goals. The issues made big waves in the lives of men and continued on to create a well known foundation in the lives of their own consumers in the United States.

14. Breazeale, "In Spite of Women."

Perfume Advertisement in *Esquire*



Esquire
Magazine,
January
1966, United
States

*Want him to be more of a man?
Try being more of a woman.*



for the woman who knows
EMERAUDE parfum de COTY

ESQUIRE, JANUARY 23

Francesca Milito is a Freshman at Wake Forest University.

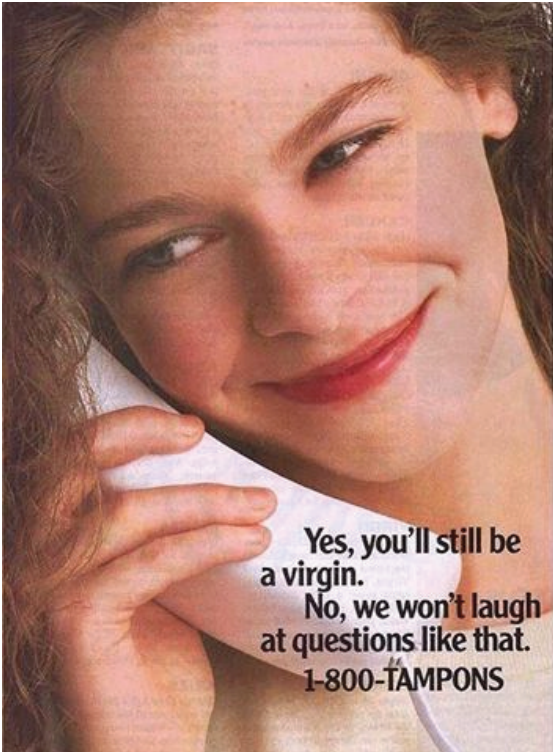
II. Like a Virgin Menstruating for the Very First Time

MIKAYLA THOMAS

Introduction

Recently, the company Always received praise for removing the Venus symbol from their menstrual pads packaging to be more inclusive to the people who do not identify as women who have a period¹. This was a huge step in removing stereotypes about menstruation, something societies have embedded into norms about bodies and sexuality. Menstrual product companies have not always been known to break stigmas but rather perpetuate them. In this section, I will analyze how advertisements of the early 90s reflect on centuries-old myths on menstruation and female bodies. This is proven by a Tampax advertisement from 1990 that was in Seventeen magazine.

1. Venus symbol is ♀




**Yes, you'll still be a virgin.
No, we won't laugh at questions like that.
1-800-TAMPONS**

If you're thinking about trying TAMPAX® Tampons, there are probably a million things you'd like to know.

To begin with, you are a virgin until you have had sexual intercourse. So you absolutely cannot lose your virginity by using tampons. You can even use them for your first period.

And don't worry about your tampon getting lost. A TAMPAX® Tampon is made to expand and conform to the inside of your body. So it stays in place. Plastic Applicator TAMPAX® Tampons are easy to use, with a smooth, rounded tip. And Slender Regular has a slim, flushable and biodegradable applicator. More questions? See below.

More women trust their bodies to



Analysis of Ad

In this advertisement, Tampax is trying to sell their tampons as well as the experience of calling their hotline, 1-800-TAMPONS. Using the categories Merskin (1999) did in their study of menstrual product advertisements, scientific (diagrams, designs), athletic (activities, sports), stationary figure (posed but not engaged in activity), or no-figure (text only, cartoons), we can analyze this advertisement as stationary. If the ad was reassuring that using tampons was safe and discussed how tampons worked in a paragraph, wouldn't it have been easier to show a diagram?

Merskin's study also calculates the textual elements used in the study: fear, secrecy, freedom, peace of mind, comfort, and other. The Tampax advertisement uses fear of losing virginity to a tampon and secrecy of having a confidential hotline to call. One would suspect that the ad would focus on the product, but Tampax is playing on the idea that menstruation is something to be feared because it could indicate you are close to losing your virginity, whether from being able to have children or from inserting tampons². There had to have been a societal idea that you could not talk about your period to your friends or family members for fear of embarrassment, which is why having a hotline where you could ask questions you worried you would be laughed at for asking could have been assuring to teenagers. This fear of asking a stupid question implies that dealing with your menstruation was something you had to do naturally and on your own. While Tampax is perpetuating negativity towards not being a virgin, they do promote positivity of talking about your period.

When Madonna sang about being "Like a Virgin", what was she actually talking about? The construction of the term "virginity" has varied from the hymen tearing to any type of sexual penetration to any type of sexual act. This ad explicitly states that you are a virgin until you have had sexual intercourse, but the emphasis on the implied importance of being a virgin is where the ad is now viewed as problematic. There are a few reasons why Tampax would have sided with many public health specialists of the 90s as they were viewing unplanned pregnancies as a national epidemic³. Part of this epidemic stemmed from the uneasiness most people felt talking about sex publicly⁴. If Tampax was emphasizing the value of virginity in Seventeen magazine, teenage girls would be more likely to discuss the ad with each other, thus focusing on peer support rather than relying on adult support⁵. One interpretation

2. Merskin, "Adolescence, Advertising, and the Ideology of Menstruation."

3. Khouzam, "Promotion of Sexual Abstinence."

4. Lebow, "Contraceptive Advertising in the United States."

5. Merskin.

teens could take away from the ad is the taboo that comes with any kind of object insertion in their vagina. In order to engage in sexual activities without penetration, they construct what is called “technical virginity”⁶. Most people associate virginity with strong religious beliefs, but most adolescents who have not had vaginal sex are motivated by the desire to avoid pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases⁷. I argue that because teenagers are more fearful of life-altering consequences from vaginal penetration than from religious beliefs, this is another effect of consistent advertisements that emphasize the importance of keeping your virginity.

In light of the strides menstrual companies have made—from inclusive packaging to the types of products available—it is important to note it has been nearly thirty years between an ad promoting virginity and the removal of female symbols from packaging. The culture of shame that this type of advertisement promoted—shame if your hymen was not intact, shame if you were raped or non-consensually penetrated, shame if you were not a woman but had a period, shame if you already used tampons without thinking about if you would be a virgin—was what made people scared to talk about who they were or what forms of discrimination they faced.

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6. Uecker, Angotti, and Regnerus, “Going Most of the Way.”

7. Uecker, Angotti, and Regnerus.

12. Gender Roles Across Borders

REBECCA RODRIGUES

Introduction

The piece I have chosen deals heavily with the gender roles among the Latin culture. Written by Vicki L. Ruiz in 1998 and published in the United States, her work goes into the psychological and political attributes that affect the wellbeing and comfort of Latina women. Vicki's work centers around Latina women immigrated from Mexico and their families, specifically, the raising of their children in modern oppressed society. We are introduced to a very different perspective, not quite like any we have seen in other modern-day American families. Ultimately, we see the day-to-day conflict of raising a family in a completely different culture, language, and society.

Imagine leaving everything you know, abandoning all you have built, and waving goodbye to the only family you've ever known. Imagine the heartbreaking thought that you may never see any of it again. Imagine the loss of the most delicious foods, the mouthwatering smells only to become a memory. Imagine listening to certain songs and knowing you won't hear the instruments dance that way again. Imagine hearing one language your entire life and being able to comfortably let words flow from your tongue to not being able to ask for water anymore. Imagine holidays much smaller and much harder. Imagine birthdays preferred to be forgotten. Imagine being unable to bury the loved ones who grew alongside you. Imagine starting over, because without doing so there would be nothing else for you besides despair.

Now imagine building your own family. Building everything from the ground up again, kissing the heads of your spouse and children because they're all you know. Imagine knowing it's finally safe and you can send your children to school knowing you'll see them again. Imagine the new recipes you've come to learn, the smells giving you a new warmth and satisfaction. Imagine hearing new music and dancing to it with a new grace. Imagine learning a second language and growing more confident in it and now you become bilingual. Imagine holidays becoming all the more cherished and personal. Imagine birthdays becoming bigger celebrations of a better life. Imagine living freely. Imagine starting over, because there was no other choice, but you find peace in that.

To magnify the severity of this journey, imagine being a woman and being told you have to handle and raise a family according to the standards of the new world you walked into. Despite all you've been through, the weight of the world only grows heavier on your shoulders.

Vicki L. Ruiz takes us on those emotional and very real experiences, all while experiencing the oppression of Americanizing immigrants. Is it necessary? Can it be avoided? What emotional distress comes with this journey, and more importantly who is it truly helping? The need to control modern American culture is toxic alone, yet in order to find peace, it is evident Latina women in these situations prefer to blend in, in order to be overlooked and left alone.

From Out of the Shadows : Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America¹

As a child Elsa Chávez confronted a “moral” dilemma. She wanted desperately to enjoy the playground equipment² close to her home in El Paso’s Segundo Barrio³. The tempting slide, swings, and jungle gym seemed to call her name⁴. However, her mother would not let her near the best playground (and for many years the only playground)⁵ in the barrio. Even a local priest warned Elsa and her friends that playing there was a sin⁶—the playground was located within the yard of the Rose Gregory Houchen Settlement, a Methodist community center.

While one group of Americans responded to Mexican immigration by calling for restriction and deportation⁷, other groups mounted campaigns to “Americanize” the immigrants⁸. From Los Angeles, California, to Gary, Indiana, state and religious-sponsored Americanization programs swung into action. Imbued with the ideology of “the melting pot,” teachers, social workers, and religious missionaries envisioned themselves as harbingers of salvation and civilization⁹. Targeting women and especially children, the vanguard of Americanization placed their trust “in the rising generation.”¹⁰ As Pearl Ellis of the Covina City schools

1. Ruiz, Vicki L. *From Out of the Shadows : Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*. Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2008. Accessed December 2, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central.

2. The term “desperately”, signifies that gravity of how something so simple isn’t attainable. We aren’t told why, but it is evident that something is very wrong.

3. We’re given a glimpse of the locating/setting for this work.

4. The innocence in this sentence really shows how sad it is that as a child, Elsa couldn’t do a very simple activity. It shows the desperation for safety and purity of innocence.

5. This shows the lack of income or support for this community. Having only one playground signifies that funding is going elsewhere (not towards the healthy development of a child)

6. Showing the severity of the matter, it is taken to the extreme where religious factors are brought in in order to frighten the children from playing.

7. Why is the response required at all? Restriction and deportation are extreme verdicts.

8. “Americanize” meaning take away their cultural roots and all that they knew before. Discrediting who they were and what their traditional culture signifies.

9. Teachers, social workers, and religious missionaries all take it upon themselves to “fix” the “crisis” when in reality not every immigrant is a sob story that needs a hero.

10. The rising generation applies a lot of pressure to all the mothers, in this case, targeting the women to disregard their own goals and not put themselves first in any manner.

explained in her 1929 publication, *Americanization Through Homemaking*¹¹, “Since the girls are potential mothers and homemakers, they will control, in a large measure, the destinies of their future families.”¹² She continued, “It is she who sounds the clarion call in the campaign for better homes.”¹³

Just an immigrant writing about other fellow immigrants ;)

11. Homemaking is different in various countries, to enforce one way over another pushes the concept that one culture is superior to another. “Gender and Cultural Adaptation in Immigrant Families - Dion - 2001 - Journal of Social Issues - Wiley Online Library.” Accessed November 20, 2019. <https://spssi.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/0022-4537.00226>.
12. The fact that the mothers are put in a position where they control the destiny of their family name is empowering, however strenuous to the capacity one can take alone.
13. Better homes, signifying that leaving all you had behind and sacrificing everything isn't enough if your home doesn't match with the American cultural standards. “Gender and Cultural Adaptation in Immigrant Families - Dion - 2001 - Journal of Social Issues - Wiley Online Library.” Accessed November 20, 2019. <https://spssi.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/0022-4537.00226>.

PART III

GENDER STEREOTYPES

13. The African American Women and Her Labor in Antebellum South Slavery

HAILEY MORRISON

Introduction

For years, slavery, whether the narrative told domestically or internationally, has been told from a perspective that most regarded only men and the punishments they received. While this narrative is true and should be analyzed extensively to understand the true perceptions of enslaved persons, the narrative of women has largely been erased. The erasure of women's experience in slavery provides limitations for understanding women's position in both the private and public sectors during slavery in the Antebellum South. Throughout this chapter, there will be an extensive analysis of the daily interactions of African American women in the Antebellum South during slavery, and how they navigated everyday life. Most accounts of which will be from interviews and or texts with authors who were enslaved, with other authors coming from more modern academic backgrounds. This chapter argues that black women's positions in slavery need more scholarship granted towards the topic to be able to adequately study the lives of African American women throughout slavery.

Image 376 of Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. II, North Carolina, Part 2, Jackson-Yellerday

Ophelia Whitley

Ophelia Whitley was a formerly enslaved woman from Wake County, North Carolina.¹ Throughout her autobiography, recounted in an oral history-styled project to continue the histories of former slaves, she described the punishments that she once endured. It is important to note that the entire biography given by Ophelia Whitley, was typed out in the dialect in which she *may* have spoken. In portraying this about the language used in the interview, I do so because some white authors gave this dialect to depict African American speakers in a derogatory way. Throughout the Federal Writers' Project, an initiative to relay the histories of the lives of former slaves, each interview is written out in this dialect, with each interview having an editor.² While editing any is part of the process for all transcriptions, who is to know what these editors may have erased or altered? Being that the history of this country with slavery has never been, and probably will not be depicted transparently, this is crucial to ponder while understanding slavery as the staple of this nation's economy for numerous years. Though I trust that the content of the interview given by Ophelia Whitley was not tampered with, it is important to layout possibilities, ultimately highlighting the violent history this nation has regarding African Americans, and how the histories told by the government are not always consistent with what occurred.

Ophelia Whitley was born in 1841, to her mother Eliza, and father,

1. Whitley, Image 376 of Federal Writers' Project. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mesn.112>.

2. Whitley.

Thomas—on a plantation owned by Augustus Foster.³ The first account Whitley gives after explaining her family of eleven siblings was that of a whipping she received that she still remembered. On May 12, 1937, whenever this interview was conducted, was just four years shy of Ms. Whitley's 100th birthday, and she still remembered a punishment she had received when she was little. She recalled:

"I 'members one whuppin' I got when I wus little 'bout a big matter that looked little at de time. Mens would come by in kivered wagons (we called dem speckled wagons) an' steal Marse Gus' n***** chilluns. He had lost a heap of money dat way..."⁴

In stating this, the stealing of enslaved children was rather popular during the time amongst different plantations. Ms. Whitley recalled being forbidden from going near the street, to keep her slave owner, Foster, from losing what was considered his property... his slaves. One time, Ophelia went down to the end of the street, to one of those speckled wagons that had been known for taking slaves, and she recalled the experience:

"One day we sees a drove of dese wagons comin' an' we flies down ter de road. De marster ketches us an' I flies, but he hobbles ter our cabin on his crutches an' he pinches me, pokes me wid de crutch an' slaps my face".⁵

Though this does not depict an *immensely* graphic image of a wound from slavery, the harassment and violent ways in which enslaved women alike to men were treated, were dehumanizing. Though this is just one account of the labor an enslaved woman from the south endured, this account shines a light on narratives that compare to ones such as these. Additionally, the intensity of the labor was

3. Whitley.

4. Whitley. Written in the dialect that may or may not have been spoken in. Though Ophelia Whitley does not delve into if she was involved with reproductive labor, the understanding of what her status means economically, was very clear to her; she understood that she was indeed property; this is a widely accepted notion by enslaved black women in the antebellum South.

5. Whitley.

evidently detrimental to the wellbeing, human rights, and familial relationships of these women.

Black Women in Antebellum South Slavery

The theme of labor holds a lot of weight for African American women and has since the institution of slavery finally ended. Though labor in slavery was divided by sex, for the most part, the labor that both men and women performed was equally back-breaking and unbearable. In “Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow” by Jacqueline Jones, she states: “As blacks, slave women were exploited for their skills and physical strength in the production of staple crops; as women, they performed a reproductive function vital to individual slaveholders’ financial interests and the inherently expansive system of slavery in general”.⁶ Black women and men were both exploited in ways that are different from one another and should be studied as such. Practices such as ‘buck breaking’ were popular amongst plantations; though there is little scholarship given regarding the practices of buck breaking in the United States. When referencing to the sexual division of labor, in early America, the work of black men and white women simply conformed to different patterns not limited to the slaveholding South.⁷ This is important to note, because the idea of “Other” comes into play here, being that if you are not a white man or woman, you are thus subjected to the idea of “Otherness”; whether that is in regards to the education one is seen as “fit” to receive, or in simple occupations, this concept can be seen throughout the institution of slavery in the United States.

When considering the dress of these enslaved women, unquestionably, the attire required to be worn was not nearly seen

6. Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 12.

7. Jones, 12.

as ethical. “Dressed in coarse osnaburg gowns; their skirts ‘reefed up with a cord drawn tightly around the body, a little above the hips’ (the traditional ‘second belt’); long sleeves pushed above the elbows and kerchiefs on their heads, female field hands were a common sight throughout the antebellum South.”⁸ Especially in areas where cotton was grown, women worked in the heat of the sun for up to fourteen hours a day.⁹ The labor of black women even included mistreatment by way of abusing the bodies of black women as vessels for reproduction and nothing more. Jones states: “If work is any activity that leads either directly or indirectly to the production of marketable goods, then slave women did nothing but work.”¹⁰ The concept that these women were only good for the area of reproduction and/or the production of goods, was a mindset adopted by slaveowners, lawmakers, and various other officials that were in seats to make monumental decisions regarding the institution of slavery. In some situations, women were impregnated with their slave master’s child, not having any agency over their bodies. On the same hand, black women were also told by the white men that owned them, that they did not want “runts” or even girls; slave women understood the economic benefits and downfalls, even down to the children that they bore with their bodies—forced, or not.¹¹

An example of women knowing their places economically can be seen through the example given by Jones. A black enslaved woman from North Carolina, the mother to fifteen children brought her children with her on the field, sneaking to feed the child, and then returned to hoeing or picking.¹² This exemplifies the work that black women so frequently did, and how the presence of even children was never more important than the production of the plantation. The duality of roles that African American women played was

8. Jones, 15.

9. Jones, 15. The text refers specifically to North Carolina (and other states) in relevance to the Cotton Belt and the occupations enslaved women had regarding the cotton industry, which was extremely popular throughout the south.

10. Jones, 14.

11. Jones, 14. Many women were wet nurses as well, a concept that is also in direct relation with the concept that black women’s bodies are only good for reproduction purposes.

12. Jones, 14.

nothing short of phenomenal given the circumstances they lived through. The violence of the Atlantic Slave Trade can evidently be argued as one of the first events that institutionally degraded the value of African American lives, and this trend is very much visible in the government and various other places in society currently.

Through analysis of historical accounts from women who endured slavery and texts that depict the labor and conditions that slavery so often presented; one may infer that even in the current day, black women are often marginalized from most narratives. This page not only calls for additional scholarship attributed specifically to the labor of black women throughout slavery but also calls to further examine and include the narratives of African American women. The inclusion of such narratives, however, are not monumental unless portrayed in a way that is transparent and depicts fully the violent history of black women in the Antebellum South.

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14. A Fair Break From the Straight World

CHARLOTTE FANNING

Introduction

In his two-part series for popular Canadian news magazine *Maclean's*, Sidney Katz presents, considering the social climate, a completely radical perspective on gay men, or “the homophile world.”¹ The term “homophile” comes from a gay rights movement that preceded the Stonewall Riots of 1969.² This movement was characterized by cautious and slow reform, focusing primarily on framing the similarities between homosexuals and heterosexuals to protest discrimination and injustice.³ Part one of this series, “The Homosexual Next Door,” was published four years prior to the modification of Canada’s Criminal Code; until 1969, homosexual acts were punishable by up to five years in prison.⁴ This piece is a report on the lives of gay men, especially Jim Egan who appears under the name Verne Baldwin to avoid arrest. Egan was a prominent gay rights activist throughout his life and in 1949 began protesting the way gay people were written about in news.⁵ He made multiple contributions to American queer publications including *One* and *The Mattachine Review*.⁶ The piece that follows was the first pro-gay

1. Sidney Katz, “The Homosexual Next Door,” *Maclean's* 7, no. 4 (February 22, 1964): 10–11, 28–30.
2. On June 28, 1969, patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York, revolted against a raid by the New York Police Department Public Morals Squad. This sparked the gay rights movement as it is recognized today. Amy Crawford, “Pride and Prejudice: Interpreting the Legacy of the Stonewall Uprising 50 Years Later,” *Smithsonian* 50, no. 3 (June 2019): 8–8.
3. Roy Cain, “Disclosure and Secrecy among Gay Men in the United States and Canada: A Shift in Views,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 1 (1991): 29.
4. Scott Steele and Mary Nemeth, “Coming Out,” *Maclean's* 107, no. 20 (May 16, 1994): 40.
5. Shantel Ivits, “The Story of Jim Egan,” *BC Reads: Adult Literacy Fundamental English – Reader 4*, November 9, 2015, <https://opentextbc.ca/abealfreader4/chapter/the-story-of-jim-egan/>.
6. Marc Stein, “Sex With Neighbors: Canada and Canadians in the U.S. Homophile Press,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 64, no. 7 (June 7, 2017): 972–73, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2017.1280999>.

article published in a major Canadian news magazine. Consequently, Katz and Egan are often cited as notable instigators of the Canadian gay rights movement.⁷

In the second part of his series, titled “The Harsh Facts of Life in the ‘Gay’ World,” Katz extends upon the idea that homosexuality cannot be “cured” or prevented and is caused by factors that precede birth. Bear in mind that the American Psychological Association considered homosexuality to be a mental illness classified as a “sexual deviance” until 1974.⁸ Katz’s view contradicted what most professional psychologists and the general public believed at the time, which was that abnormal parent-child relationships barred proper social development, resulting in homosexuality, correctable by psychological and hormonal therapy and a willingness to change. Katz also argues that gay men are no more sexually promiscuous, immoral, or otherwise more discernable than others. Perhaps the only inherent difference between gay men and heterosexual men, he suggests, is their sexual orientation.⁹ Note that Katz refers to same-sex attraction between men as a “condition” and a “problem” throughout the series. Although this would certainly be politically incorrect today, his writing was considered groundbreakingly accepting and progressive at the time of publication; this lexicon and its public perception is reflective of the social atmosphere of Canada in the 1960s.

Canadian social history is often discussed in conjunction with or in comparison to United States social history. Today, Canada is generally viewed as more progressive in granting gay rights than the United States. Canada decriminalized homosexual acts in 1969, followed by the US in 2003, and recognized same-sex marriage in 2005, ten years before the US. Marc Stein argues that decriminalization under Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott

7. Martin Morris and Blake Wesley Hawkins, “Towards a New Specialization in Health Librarianship: LGBTQ Health,” n.d., 20.

8. Cain, “Disclosure and Secrecy among Gay Men in the United States and Canada,” 25.

9. Sidney Katz, “The Harsh Facts of Life in the ‘Gay’ World,” *Maclean’s* 7, no. 5 (March 7, 1964): 18.

Trudeau was a turning point in the social histories of Canada and the United States. Before then, Canada was viewed as the more socially conservative.¹⁰ Until 1964, Canada lacked its own defined gay rights activist groups and publications comparable to those in the United States.¹¹ The US had LGBTQ+ magazines such as *The Mattachine Review*, *One*, and *The Ladder*. “The Homosexual Next Door” contains many references to these publications, to which members of the Canadian gay community made significant contributions. In 1964, the Association for Social Knowledge was formed in Vancouver, and *The Mattachine Review* published a directory of 23 Canadian homophile groups and publications, pivotal to the visibility of the gay rights movement in Canada.¹²

Although Canada lagged behind the United States in forming gay rights organizations and a visible movement, Canadians made political change far sooner. While Canadian Parliament could approve changes to criminal law on a federal level relatively easily, the United States had to gain approval by each state. Gary Mucciaroni and Miriam Smith argue that Canadian citizens were not in fact more in favor of gay rights than United States citizens, but that political institutions in each country made for two different gay rights histories.¹³ Understanding these histories, whose differences help contextualize the social atmosphere of “The Homosexual Next Door,” is necessary to understand the significance of the piece as it was read in 1964.

10. Stein, “Sex With Neighbors,” 964.

11. Stein, 976.

12. Stein, 978.

13. Gary Mucciaroni and Miriam Smith, “Political Institutions and Lesbian and Gay Rights in the United States and Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*; Cambridge 42, no. 4 (December 2009): 1076–77, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423909990618>.

The Homosexual Next Door: A Sober Appraisal of a New Social Phenomenon (1964)

A million adult Canadians are homosexual. Some are “married” couples living quietly but well in suburban bungalows. Most of the others are ordinary citizens in all respects but the one that makes them criminals before the law and outcasts before society. This is a report on how they live and where they think their new drive for “respectability” will take them

A club for homosexuals is flourishing on Yonge Street, Toronto’s main thoroughfare. The membership of seven hundred includes men and women, doctors, lawyers, teachers, businessmen, professional athletes, entertainers, hairdressers, clerks, civil servants and university students. Indeed, it would be very difficult to find a profession or occupation which is not represented in the membership.

The existence of such a club, operating openly on the principal street in the centre of a large Canadian city, underlines the rapidly changing nature of the homosexual problem. For one thing, the homosexual, in growing numbers, is becoming bolder in his campaign to be accepted as a member of society in good standing. Homosexuals are demanding the right to live their private lives in their own way without censure or penalty. At present, the legal bar to equality is Section 149 of the Criminal Code, which states that “every one who commits an act of gross indecency with another person is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for five years.” Sexual union between two members of the same sex is interpreted at “gross indecency,” making a practicing homosexual, *ipso facto*, a criminal. Civil service jobs are denied him. Private employers, sensitive to public opinion, will usually fire even a valued employee upon learning that he is a homosexual. Homosexuals often

have difficulty in renting apartments or homes. Restaurants, hotels and other public establishments usually discourage their trade. Most churches reject them because of their “wicked and evil” ways. Verne Baldwin (whose name is disguised, as are all others in this report), a highly educated forty-three-year-old homosexual, speaks for the newly militant homosexual when he says, “As the first step towards justice, Section 149 should be abolished. It’s a vicious law. Nobody is harmed by two consenting adults who perform, in private, what comes naturally to them. Negroes and other minorities are now protected by anti-discrimination legislation. We homosexuals are society’s remaining scapegoats.”

The impressive size of what I will call The Club’s membership – in addition to the seven hundred regular members there are seven hundred guests who visit frequently – suggests the scale of the homosexual problem. Inspector Herbert Thurston of the morality squad, Toronto Metropolitan Police, estimates that there are forty thousand homosexuals in Toronto. Homosexuals I have spoken to place the figure at seventy thousand.¹⁴

Much of the confusion about the actual size of the homosexual population is due to the mistaken notion that all adults are either exclusively homosexual or heterosexual. This is not so. In 1948, Dr. Alfred Charles Kinsey introduced a zero to six “heterosexual-homosexual rating scale” which is now widely used by social scientists. Kinsey established the following categories:

1. Exclusively heterosexual.
2. Predominantly heterosexual; only incidently

14. The Morality Department of the Toronto Police was established by mayor William Howard in 1886 originally to patrol instances of infractions of public order such as public intoxication, brothels, gambling, cruelty against women and children, and prostitution. Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto, UNKNOWN: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 17, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=4672191>.

- homosexual.
3. Predominantly heterosexual but more than incidently homosexual.
 4. Equally homosexual and heterosexual.
 5. Predominantly homosexual but more than incidently heterosexual.
 6. Predominantly homosexual but incidently heterosexual.
 7. Exclusively homosexual.¹⁵

According to Kinsey, and other surveys seem to concur, nine percent of the adult male population belong in categories four and five; four percent in category six. Applying the Kinsey yardstick to Canada's adult population, there are 244,000 exclusively homosexual males and 549,000 who are predominantly homosexual: 793,000 men. If one adds to this figure the number of female homosexuals, it's fair to state that there are well over one million men and women in Canada directly involved in the homosexual problem. In these articles, I will principally be concerned with the male homosexual. Lesbians are less obtrusive, less discriminated against and raise fewer social problems.¹⁶

I have tried to make a realistic appraisal of the homosexual as a person by getting to know large numbers of them at the Toronto club and elsewhere. I have learned that the homosexual is rarely the weird sex monster so often depicted in psychiatric case histories, police records and lurid fiction. A surprisingly high proportion of homosexuals are indistinguishable from heterosexuals. Only a small

15. Kinsey published two reports known collectively as the Kinsey Reports in the mid-twentieth century. These reports contributed to a major change in public perception of sexuality. His research suggested that people do not fit exclusively into categories of sexual orientation and also challenged the classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder. Cain, "Disclosure and Secrecy among Gay Men in the United States and Canada," 28.

16. The differences of both power and perceived qualities between women and men are apparent in this statement. In a male-dominated culture, it is understandable that gay men were more visible than lesbians to the public eye. George Chauncey, *Gay New York* (BasicBooks, 1994), 27. Additionally, intimacy between women and intimacy between men was not understood as equally normal. Women in some cultures were historically seen as having little sexual passion, so even sexual or romantic intimacy was often not interpreted the same as that in heterosexual relations. Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1981), 16.

proportion of homosexual men affect effeminate dress or mannerisms. The vast majority are industrious, law-abiding citizens with regular jobs – some of them positions of great responsibility. Like most heterosexuals, most homosexuals are outraged by adults who molest children or seduce adolescents. Like heterosexuals again, homosexuals' proclivity for sex varies from several times a week to a few times a month; some remain celibate.

The Law Means Discrimination

This is the profile of the average homosexual which emerges in the several authoritative studies of homosexuality, including two recent large-scale British reports. The first is the so-called Wolfenden committee report presented to Parliament in 1957; the other is the report of the British Social Biology Council, edited by one of its members, Dr. Gordon Westwood, a Cambridge University psychologist.¹⁷ My own research leads me to share the general conclusion of these reports – that the average homosexual is a much maligned individual, unfairly discriminated against by our laws and society.

Most people will probably reject this view. The mere mention of homosexuality arouses, in many, deep fear, revulsion and consternation. When news of The Club's existence was first made public, a local churchman

17. The Wolfenden Report of 1957 was the product of a three-year investigation on homosexuality and prostitution in Britain, ultimately concluding that homosexuality should be considered neither a crime nor a disease. Homosexual acts remained criminal in Britain until 1967 and the report still advocated for research into causes and treatments of homosexuality. John-Pierre Joyce, "A New Normal," *History Today* 66, no. 2 (February 2016): 33–34. The report of the British Social Biology Council was on a study involving interviews from 127 gay men and boys. This study suggests that sexual preferences are not likely to be changed by specific sexual encounters. That is, it is unlikely that gay men would "become" heterosexual if seduced by a woman; likewise, it is unlikely that a gay man could "turn" a straight man gay. According to Dr. Gordon Westwood, the only possible prevention strategy for homosexual preferences is early education so that a young person can "recognize the signs," "ask for much-needed advice with his homosexual problems," and "make a satisfactory heterosexual adjustment." Katz, "The Harsh Facts of Life in the 'Gay' World," 34–35.

thundered from his pulpit that Toronto had become “a modern Sodom and Gomorrah.” Morality Inspector Herbert Thurston warned that “sexual perversion is spreading. These people are no longer ashamed to admit what they are.” A gossip paragrapher in an evening newspaper said darkly that the homosexual situation had become “intolerable,” that homosexuals were taking over certain occupations and professions and were exerting “extraordinary influence over some important Torontonians.” A letter-to-the editor writer compared homosexuals to arsonists, kleptomaniacs, and psychopathic murders, asking, “how can the slightest tolerance be accorded to such bestial perversity?”

Partly to investigate the grounds for these dire warnings, I have been recently exploring the world of homosexuals in Toronto. I started at The Club, where I got to know the managers and several club members as well. For a time, I sat in with a small group of homosexuals who met weekly to discuss mutual problems, I visited homosexuals in their homes. Some of these had been living, devotedly, with homosexual partners for several years in relationships they themselves call “marriages.” I spent time in “gay” bars of which there are several in Toronto, some in good hotels.¹⁸ I saw something of the seamy side of the homophile world – a way of life adopted by relatively few, yet the one which most people regard as typical of homosexuals. I visited low taverns and bars – “dives” where some male homosexuals dress like women and young male prostitutes ply their trade. I spoke to men who have sought and found sex in parks and public washrooms. The homosexuals I spoke to varied in age, background, intelligence and education. We discussed

18. The use of the term “gay” to mean homosexual began in 1935 as “Underworld and Prison Slang” and then as a code word among the gay community by the 1950s. The term was adopted by activists during the gay rights movement to combat the negative connotations that the psychology profession had associated with the term “homosexual.” Lawrence Ingrassia, “Fighting Words: Gay, Lesbian Groups Seek to Expunge Bias They See in Language --- One Focus of Rights Debate Is the Debate Itself,” Critics Perceive Orwellian Cant --- Bi, Bisexual, or Omnisexual,” Wall Street Journal, May 3, 1993.

a wide range of subjects – what it's like living in a hostile society; their search for friendship, love and sex; how they feel about women; their attitude toward psychiatrists and others who think they can “cure” them; their relationships with the police, the clergy and their own families.

Exposure Means Personal Ruin

The greater part of the homosexual world, I discovered, is invisible to outsiders. Although rigid classifications are not possible, I was able to identify three main segments of homosexual society. The largest and most respectable group dress and act conservatively and try to be inconspicuous.[19] Many are “married.” Most of their friends are also homosexual and they spend their leisure time holding private parties, going to the theatre or movies, pursuing hobbies. Many homosexuals in this group hold important positions in business or the professions. Exposure might mean personal ruin.

A smaller number of homosexuals openly identify themselves with the “gay” world. In every large city there are gay clubs, bars, restaurants, parties and local celebrities. It is in the gay worlds that these homosexuals find the support, sympathy and fellowship they miss elsewhere.

There is still another group of homosexuals, many of them belonging to Kinsey's categories three, four and five. They are men who will not acknowledge their homosexuality and do not, customarily, lead a homophile life either in private or as members of the gay set. They pretend to be “straight,” their word for heterosexual, and often marry a woman for protective coloration. Sometimes, when they can no longer deny their impulses, they seek sexual contact in parks, washrooms or other public places. Because of their

inexperience, they are frequently picked up by the police. "They're babes-in the-woods as far as practising homosexuality is concerned," one homosexual told me.

The "married" homosexuals, I found, have the highest status in homophile society. Their success in achieving permanent and stable relationships is regarded with envy and admiration by other homosexuals. "One-night stands become wearisome and meaningless," a homosexual explained to me.

I visited some of these "married" couples and was told about several others. For twelve years, Alex Colborne and Peter Soames have lived in an attractive twenty-thousand-dollar bungalow in a Toronto suburb. They run their own business in partnership. They jointly own their own home, a summer cottage and a car. They keep pets, do volunteer work with a national health organization and are sometimes active in little-theatre productions. Nearly all their friends are homosexual university graduates. Occasionally, the middle-aged heterosexual couple next door drop in for a drink and some conversation. Since the "married" men have no family expenses, they have a high standard of living.

I spent an evening at the apartment of another couple who had been together for seventeen years, Verne Baldwin, forty-three, runs his own business; George Galbraith, thirty-six, is a hairdresser. As Verne and I sat talking in the comfortable library, George brought in a tray of cold beer, glasses and salted nuts. Later, he set an attractive table in the dining room and served coffee and refreshments. George, I was told, does the cooking, washing, and ironing; chooses the furniture and decides on the color scheme for decorating the apartment. The actual painting is done by Verne, who also handles all the repairs and heavy chores. As in the case of other "married" couples, a good deal of this pair's social life revolves about their home. As will be explained in a later article, maintaining a homosexual

marriage is a formidable task because of male promiscuity, the absence of children and the censure of the law, church and society.

A “single” homosexual, who has decided that he belongs to the gay world, is apt to spend considerable time at one or another of the city’s high spots. High on his list is the homosexual club, which charges an annual membership fee of \$7.50. On nights when the members stage their own entertainment, The Club stays open til 3 a.m. As many as two hundred people pack in on a single night, about one fifth of them female homosexuals and, usually, a few heterosexuals, friends of the members.

One of The Club’s managers, John Deems, a 37-year-old bisexual with an infectious sense of humor, told me, “Heterosexuals come here expecting to see terrible things – an orgy of perversion, perhaps. They’re disappointed.” What they see is a clean, well-furnished establishment resembling a small nightclub. Members arrive singly, in couples or parties. They sit around quietly chatting, sipping coffee, listening to music or dancing. The only thing that might make heterosexuals uncomfortable is seeing members of the same sex dancing together. The Club plays a definite role in educating at least some members of the public about homosexuals. More than one member of The Club told me, “I’ve taken a relative or friend there with me to show them what nice friends I have.”

Members told me they liked The Club because it was one place away from home where they could relax and be themselves. “In heterosexual places you have to be on guard so that you won’t say or do the wrong thing,” one young homosexual told me. “Constant concealment is a heavy burden.” Deems claims that The Club is maintained purely for social reasons and is not a place used by members to make pick-ups. “Our members have a chance to meet nice, respectable people,” says Deems. “We keep out the drunks,

hustlers, child molesters, seducers and other kinds of riffraff.” While the Toronto police tolerate The Club, they have misgivings. They believe that such clubs encourage young people to become homosexuals. Deems denies it. “By the time a young man joins our club his sexual orientation has been firmly determined. We don’t manufacture homosexuals. We only give homosexuals a comfortable, dignified place to meet socially. They’re better off here than they would be out on the street.” Deems and his comanager Susie Coleman, a lesbian, hope to expand The Club program to include classes in arts and crafts and to publish a monthly magazine.

Early one evening I went to the clubrooms to watch a new activity sponsored by the homosexual club – a group-therapy or discussion session. There were nine people present, including the leader, a woman psychologist. The session touched on several topics. One man defended the existence of The Club. “Newspapermen, businessmen and other groups have their own clubs so why can’t we?” The group expressed bitterness at injustices meted out to them by heterosexuals. “Why can’t they accept us on our own individual merit? If we’re dishonest or worthless, OK, let people reject us on these grounds, but not just because our sexual nature is different.” They agreed that the cruelest, most intolerant level of society is the “middle-class churchgoers who vote against cocktail lounges, are opposed to Sunday sports and want to burn books.” The question of a “cure” for homosexuality came up. One member said that a doctor had treated him with male sex hormones. “It just made me want more sex with men, he said. Another member had visited a psychiatrist for eighteen months. “They don’t know very much about us,” he explained. “This doctor helped me live with the fact that I’m a homosexual but he didn’t help me want a woman. I’ve never heard of a real homosexual

who was turned into a real heterosexual by a psychiatrist.” All those present at the meeting agreed.

Before arriving at The Club late at night, the homosexual is likely to have spent several hours drinking with his companions in a gay bar. There are at least six in Toronto. The first one I visited is well furnished and the drinks are expensive. One of the proprietors is a homosexual who carefully excludes “tourists” (thrill-seeking heterosexuals) who might make his guests uncomfortable. A second bar, much larger, was filled with music, laughter and friendly chatter. There was much gossip about mutual friends and talk about books, movies, plays and politics as well as an exchange of gay jokes. The conversation was sprinkled with the lexicon of the homophile world. To dress in *drag* means wearing feminine clothes; to *camp* or *swish* means to effect effeminate mannerisms; a *Nelly* is a very effeminate homosexual; a *bi* is a bisexual and so on.

While many hotel and bar proprietors discourage the gay trade, some welcome it because it means lucrative business. Because they have no family, the homosexuals spend a lot of time in bars, they drink steadily, they tip generously and they seldom smash the furniture. As I sat in one such bar, a “married” couple came in and were regarded with envy by the others. There were interested glances at a store manager and publishing executive who entered together. This alliance had started only a few weeks before and there was guessing as to whether or not the relationship would last. A young man appeared at the entrance alone and looked around. There was speculation. Is he gay? Or perhaps an out-of-town stranger who doesn’t realize he’s in a gay bar?

The Sad Life in the “Gay” Taverns

Tourists who come to the gay bars to stare are discouraged in different ways. In one bar, the regulars will point and stare at the offending “straight” people, whisper among themselves and then burst out laughing. After this routine is repeated a few times, the tourists retreat in confusion and dismay. One night, a party of gay people found themselves next to a table of giggling, finger-pointing heterosexuals. One of the homosexuals leaped up and, in a loud, shrill female voice, said, “I must now go, my dears. Your poor mother is exhausted after washing, ironing and cooking all day.”

One evening, in the company of a homosexual guide, I visited two of Toronto’s lowest gay taverns. One tavern consisted of a long, shabby, depressing room. Most of the men were “masculine-type” homosexuals, dressed in sloppy work clothes. Other guests – most of these over forty – were conspicuous by their neat and conventional attire. Entering and leaving the tavern and table-hopping were a number of youths – male prostitutes soliciting older men. One young man of twenty-eight looked no older than eighteen. My guide told me, “His face is smooth and fresh because he’s had all the hairs removed by electrolysis.” In another dive only a short distance away, I saw male homosexuals with feminine hairdos and bracelets jangling on their wrists. These, too, were prostitutes. After a fast drink, I walked up Bay Street with my guide. He pointed out a number of youthful male hustlers, lurking in store entrances and alleyways, in search of paying customers. The police make a conscientious effort to keep them under surveillance and arrest them at the point where they are soliciting trade. When a male prostitute is arrested, he is aptly given a two-

year jail sentence. (A female prostitute usually gets off with a fine.)

Not all the homosexual's social life, of course, takes place in clubs or bars. Like other people, homosexuals give parties in their own homes. "The straight people think we hold orgies," says Phil Paint, a handsome, masculine-looking homosexual of thirty who entertains frequently. "The truth is, except for the absence of women, gay parties are pretty much the same as straight parties." The guests drink, talk, listen to music, dance, eat, and go home. Paine seldom, if ever, invites heterosexuals. "After a few drinks, a couple of boys might hold hands and kiss. This would make the straight guests feel uncomfortable."

Another reason for not having "mixed" parties attended by both sexes, is that homosexual males vary greatly in their attitude toward women. A certain proportion of homosexuals have a positive aversion. "I don't want a young woman anywhere near me, especially if she's the least bit aggressive," says a plant manager in his late forties. "I would feel threatened if I had to dance with one. I prefer older women – and then only to talk to them about impersonal matters." Not all homosexual reactions to females are as extreme. Ken Parsons, a young homosexual, admires women who are slender, chic and possess a sense of humor. He has a girl friend whom he takes to a movie or out to a meal about once a month. They exchange birthday presents. "We like each other as people. Physical relations between us would be unthinkable." Still another homosexual told me that he enjoyed the company of normal women and, from time to time, had relations with them. "But there's nothing emotional about my feeling for women," he said. "I regard myself as a one-hundred-percent homosexual." I learned that it was not unusual for married women in their late thirties and early forties to make a play for handsome young homosexuals. Sometimes, the homosexual yields to the

woman's maturity, experience, intelligence and attractiveness. I was told of two instances where marriages resulted from such relationships. Neither of them lasted for more than two years.

The man who is exclusively homosexual, of course, is unlikely to experiment with heterosexual marriage. Indeed, he tends to limit his associations to homosexuals, and often buys his goods and services at places which cater, predominantly, to homosexuals. One Toronto automobile sales and service firm, for example, caters almost exclusively to homosexuals. There are enough style-conscious homosexuals in Toronto to keep three or four tailoring establishments busy.

At least one Toronto bookstore is predominantly gay. The proprietor keeps a generous stock of works by Gide, Proust, Wilde, A. E. Housman, Walt Whitman, Truman Capote, Gore Vidal and other authors favored by homosexuals. There are gay doctors in Toronto whose practice is largely made up of gay patients. If the patient is suffering from VD, the doctor can be expected to show understanding in a delicate and embarrassing situation. By law, the name of the patient and his contact (or contacts) must be reported to public health authorities. The gay doctor usually treats the patient and contact himself without going through official channels. There is a definite link between VD and homosexuality. "Homosexuality is more prevalent in our society than most people will admit," says Dr. C. Colin Jackson, a Vancouver physician. "On the basis of our experience in British Columbia, these people are playing a dominant role in the continued spread of the disease." In a California study of 170 males with infectious syphilis, fifty-six percent had male contacts exclusively. A Vancouver VD clinic recently reported on the vocations of three hundred homosexuals treated during the past twelve years. The patients included clergymen, doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers,

undertakers, entertainers and skilled and unskilled laborers – convincing testimony that no segment of society is without its quota of the third sex.

I found, in the course of my research, that the homosexual world abounds in crusading organizations. Perhaps the best known is One, with headquarters in Los Angeles, founded fourteen years ago. The name was suggested by a quotation from the writings of Thomas Carlyle. “A mystic band of brotherhood makes all men one.” The Mattachine Society, whose head office is in San Francisco, derives its name from an old Provençal slang term meaning “little fool.” It refers to medieval court jesters who were usually homosexuals. The Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian organization, also centered in San Francisco, is named after a character created by the French poet Pierre Louys.¹⁹ Bilitis was a poetess living on the island of Lesbos at the time of Sappho.

These organizations share the same goal: the education of their members and the public with a view to improving the lot of the homosexual. They want a social climate in which the homosexual can have the same opportunity for self-development as other people. Abolishing punitive laws is the first objective. This has already been accomplished in Illinois as well as in every country in Europe with the exception of Britain and West Germany.

One maintains a library, does research and gives medical, legal and personal advice to its members, and also publishes a monthly magazine which bears the name of the organization. Recently, customs officials stopped copies of One from reaching its Canadian subscribers because, they claimed, “it was disgusting material.” Thereafter, One

19. The Daughters of Bilitis had a publication called The Ladder, whose early issues were discreet with their subject matters and directed toward “closeted” lesbians during a time when nearly all queer publications were for men. In 1963, The Ladder was taken over by Barbara Gittings, who pushed for rebranding the publication as an openly gay magazine and associating with the men’s gay movement. In 1968, Barbara Grier took over and converted The Ladder to a feminist publication, entirely separate from gay men. The evolution of the lesbian movement eventually led to the disbanding of the Daughters of Bilitis in 1970. Moira Donegan, “Lavender, Menaced,” Bookforum 25, no. 2 (2018).

removed the names from the mailing wrappers, folded the magazines lengthwise and addressed them by hand.

Copies have since been coming through without difficulty. When the U.S. Post Office refused to carry *One* in the mails, *One* took its case to the U.S. Supreme Court and won it.²⁰ A Canadian homosexual told me, “We haven’t the money or the resources yet to test this issue in the courts.

Lectures, discussions and seminars are part of the organization’s programs. Recent themes have been: Should I Tell My Family? How to Safeguard Your Job, Should Homosexuals Marry? Religion and the Homosexual. The latter subject is frequently discussed because most churches reject homosexuals. This led seven years ago to the establishment of a homophile church, The First Church of One Brotherhood, in Los Angeles.²¹ “Our church,” explains a spokesman, “is based on the teaching of the Hebrew prophets, Jesus and other philosophers. Members are not required to accept any dogma. They must only declare their willingness to work with us in brotherhood.”

Sometimes, local chapters of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis meet jointly. At one such conference, they listened to a lecture on Raising Children in a Deviant Relationship. Later, the meeting discussed the advantages of lesbians fraternizing with male homosexuals. A homosexual, it was agreed, would make a convenient escort at times when a lesbian had to attend a mixed heterosexual social function. It was also pointed out that association with males would help get rid of “the near hatred” which many lesbians feel toward men.

20. The US Post Office cited three items as “obscene” when it refused to carry *One* in the mail. One of these was a poem by Brother Grundy that playfully referenced a recent gay sex scandal between a member of the House of Lords and a member of the Royal Airforce in Britain. The overturning of the Post Office’s decision by the Supreme Court was a significant win for anticensorship. Stein, “Sex With Neighbors,” 971.

21. The founder of The First Church of One Brotherhood, Charles Rowland, was also a cofounder of the Mattachine Society and a member of *One*. “First Church of One Brotherhood Collection, 1956-1976,” Online Archive of California, accessed November 5, 2019, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8251gm3/>.

Homosexual organizations, of course, have a longer history in European countries. For example, the *Cultuur-En Ontspanningscentrum* in the Netherlands serves its thousands of members with a headquarters building in Amsterdam and branch clubhouses in six Dutch cities. It is possible that a militant homosexual organization will emerge in Canada within a few years.

Verne told me: "We have to wait until we have a strong group of people – homosexual and heterosexual – who are willing to stand up and be counted. The time is not quite ripe in Canada, but we're getting there."

Homosexual literature is also an integral part of the homosexual world. Physical-culture and body-building magazines, containing "beef cake" photographs of handsome, muscular young men in various stages of undress, are purchased by many homosexuals. Every issue of *One*, *The Mattachine Review* and *The Circle* (published in Switzerland) contains at least one short story in which the protagonists are homosexual.²² A recurrent theme is that of the lonesome homosexual in search of a partner but fearful of making the first advance lest he give himself away. One story starts off: "It was during the ban-the-bomb sitdown in Trafalgar Square that I first saw him. His blue eyes twinkled with mischief and his thick, almost negroid lips pouted babyishly. For a moment I felt like taking him in my arms but I fought the feeling."

Books with a predominantly homophile theme are read regularly by many homosexuals. There are a great many of them: over 150 mystery titles feature homosexuals or lesbians. Homosexuals believe that some published novels have seriously damaged their struggle for acceptance. City

22. Of the 240 identified references to Canada in United States homophile publications between 1953 and 1964, 118 appeared in *One* and 81 appeared in *The Mattachine Review*. Many of these references were found in contributions from Canadians. Although both magazines had readership across all continents except Antarctica, Canada especially had an influence in how these magazines represented their country. Stein, "Sex With Neighbors," 966.

of *Night* by John Rechy, for example, is disliked because it deals with the sordid, degenerate life of a homosexual prostitute. “Many people get the idea that all homosexuals are like that,” Verne told me. On the other hand, he praises *Quarefoil*, by James Barr.²³ The novel treats sensitively and seriously the romantic love between two naval officers. “The book clearly shows,” says Verne, “that homosexuals are not disgusting, fantastic or pitiful but vigorous, healthy young males who are most attractive.”

At the present time, it is unlikely that there are large numbers of us in the straight world who share this generous view. Most people are repulsed or frightened by homosexuality, so much so that they would prefer to ignore the problem entirely. It is the kind of problem which, to some extent, can be shunted aside because the vast majority of homosexuals live among us in anonymity. Perhaps, as one writer suggested, if all homosexuals painted themselves a bright blue we would be so impressed by their vast number and their individual worth as human beings that we would be moved to accord them greater understanding and acceptance.

But rejection is the lot of the homosexual today. Because of society's attitude, the homosexual thinks, broods and talks about his condition a great deal with those he can trust. “Society has made us into soul searchers,” one gifted young homosexual told me recently. “We are constantly forced to examine ourselves. How did we get this way? How can we find happiness? Has religion anything to offer us? Can medicine or psychiatry be of help? What can we do to get a fair break from the straight world?”

23. James Barr was discharged from the US Navy in 1952 when the Office of Naval Intelligence learned that he had authored *Quarefoil*. Barr wrote many pieces of gay literature throughout his life including multiple contributions to *The Mattachine Review*. Hubert Kennedy, “James Barr: *Quatrefoil* Broke New Ground,” *The Harvard Gay & Lesbian Review*; Boston, January 31, 1996.

I will discuss some of these questions in a second article on homosexuality in the next issue of *Maclean's*.

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15. A Gay Bibliography

LGBTQ History Made by America's Librarians

MIRANDA FIORE

Introduction

A single piece of paper, typed and double sided, became the calling card of the American Library Association's (ALA) Gay Task Force: a group of librarians and non-librarian activists committed to changing the negative perception of gays and lesbians in American society. In the early 1970s, discrimination against gay people was widespread and an accepted societal norm. Just a decade earlier, men and women were persecuted, incarcerated, and committed to mental institutions solely because of their sexual orientation. It was not until 1973, that the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality as a "mental illness" from its diagnostic manuals.¹ This makes it all the more significant that in 1970, the ALA, whose members resided in towns large and small across the nation, formed a Task Force on Gay Liberation as a part of their Social Responsibilities Roundtable.² To emphasize the word "gay," and put it first in foremost in the public eye, the group was soon renamed and referred to as the Gay Task Force and is historically significant as the first gay professional organization in the United States. A

1. Drescher, Jack. "Out of DSM: Depathologizing Homosexuality." Behavioral Sciences (Basel, Switzerland), Vol. 5,4 565-75, December 4, 2015, doi:10.3390/bs5040565. The manual used to categorize psychiatric conditions within the health care profession is called Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). Up until the APA's change in 1973, homosexuality was categorized in the DSM as a mental illness.
2. American Library Association, "About SSRT," Last modified April 31, 2012, <http://www.ala.org/rt/ssrt/about-ssrt>. In 1969, the ALA established the Social Responsibilities Roundtable, a special unit to help democratize the membership of the ALA and support progressive ideas. The group focused on human and civil rights and other important social issues and worked to "promote social responsibility as a core value of librarianship".

primary goal of the task force was the creation of bibliographies that would provide wide-spread accessibility to works of non-fiction that portrayed being gay or lesbian in a positive light. The Stonewall Uprising³ of 1969, had lit a fire under the gay rights movement in the United States, and led to an increase in authorship of gay and lesbian positive topics.⁴ Barbara Gittings, an LGBT+ civil rights leader known as the “Mother of LGBT civil rights”, spearheaded the effort to produce the task force’s bibliography.⁵ Although she was not a librarian by training, she had spent her youth searching library stacks and shelves trying to find books to help her understand her own sexuality and found mostly depressing and clinical accounts of being gay and an absence of books written by gays for gays.⁶ Her own personal history, along with a passion for gay and lesbian activism, motivated Gittings to create *A Gay Bibliography*, a single piece of paper, with the large and ultimate goal of sparking change in libraries across the nation.

3. The Stonewall Uprising took place in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of New York City on June 28, 1969, after a known LGBT bar was unexpectedly raided by police. As a result, the LGBT community took to the streets of NYC and riots ensued in for six days. The Stonewall Uprising took LGBT activism to a new and previously unseen level and led to the formation of many new LGBT activist organizations. In 2016, President Obama designated the Christopher Street area of Greenwich Village (including the Stonewall Inn), a national monument for its place in the history of LGBT equality.
4. Barbara Gittings, “Gays in Library Land: The Gay and Lesbian Task Force of the American Library Association: The First Sixteen Years,” reprinted in *Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbian Gay Library History*, ed. James V. Carmichael Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998), 84.
5. Barbara Gittings (1932–2007) is often referred to as the “Mother of LGBT civil rights” for her involvement in numerous gay and lesbian civil rights educational efforts and protests that began in the 1960’s and continue to this day. A few of many of Gittings accomplishments include, lobbying the American Psychiatric Association for the de-classification of homosexuality as a mental illness, editor of *The Ladder*, a lesbian national publication from 1963 – 1966, and leading and participating in the first picket of the White House in 1965, to call attention to homosexual rights.
6. Barbara Gittings, “Combating the Lies in Libraries”, In *The Gay Academic*, ed. Louie Crew (Palm Springs, CA: ETC Publications, 1978), 107–118.

A Gay Bibliography – ALA⁷

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A GAY BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Brief List of Materials on Homosexuality
Prepared by: TASK FORCE ON GAY LIBERATION
Social Responsibilities Round Table, American Library Association

Revised June 1971

This list is intended to draw attention to some worthwhile materials that have received little publicity, as well as to emphasize items that tend to move away from standard negative views about homosexuality.



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The Task Force on Gay Liberation is working on a longer, annotated bibliography. For further information: Barbara Gittings, P.O. Box 2383, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

A Spring 1972 Revision of this Brief List will be issued around May 1972. If we have your name and address on file via a written request from you, past or current, for the Brief List, we will send you the new edition when it's ready.

offering same-sex hugs and kisses.⁸ At that event, they distributed over 3,000 copies their newly minted bibliography (pictured above). Although they were successful getting the bibliography in the hands of many, change is often met with resistance, and the “hugging” aspect of the booth was criticized (although a popular place to stop and observe) as many convention attendees complained that the “publicity stunt” took time away from noteworthy authors in attendance at the ALA event. Regardless, the task force pushed ahead to continue their important work and persuaded the membership of the ALA to pass a pro-gay resolution at the 1971 convention as well as awarding their first Gay Book Award to Isabel Miller for her novel *A Place for Us*.⁹ The task force also held two programs for the ALA membership to attend: one on the discriminatory and homophobic labeling methodology used by the Library of Congress when classification system and another on homosexual marriage.¹⁰ As the years marched on the attendance Gay Task Force convention programming grew as did their acceptance within the membership of the ALA.

8. Gittings, “Gays in Library Land: The Gay and Lesbian Task Force of the American Library Association: The First Sixteen Years”, 84. In Gittings’ first person account, she described the Hug a Homosexual booth as being “ogled” while 8 members of the Gay Task Force hugged and kissed in a display of gay and lesbian affection.

9. *A Place for Us* was a historical fiction novel about two women in love in 19th century New England. Written in 1969, and self-published by Isabel Miller, a pen name used by author Alma Routson, the book was later picked up for publication under the title *Patience & Sarah*.

10. Alfred Kagan, *Progressive Library Organizations – A Worldwide History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, Publishers, 2015), 165.



Isabel Miller and Barbara Gittings at the “Hug a Homosexual” booth



The Hug a Homosexual booth at the 1971 ALA Convention. Grey Villet, “Gay Rights Event”, The LIFE Picture Collection/ Getty Images

A Gay Bibliography was circulated primarily to libraries across the United States and Canada. As the bibliography grew from its initial 37 entries in 1971, so also did the objective of the publication. In 1971, A Gay Bibliography was grouped into sections for books, periodicals, pamphlets, articles, with the following purpose: **“This list is intended to draw attention to some worthwhile materials that**

have received little publicity, as well as to emphasize items that tend to move away from standard negative views about homosexuality.”¹¹ By Gittings own accounts, this early publication was put together to reach out to librarians who made the majority of the buying decisions for their libraries and also to reach those in the gay community who were in search of relatable and accurate information about being gay.¹² Between 1971 and 1980, six editions of *A Gay Bibliography* were produced with the final edition having 563 entries and a distribution of over 38,000 copies. By 1980, the bibliography's objective had broadened tremendously due to the explosion of published gay and lesbian works of fiction and non-fiction. By now, *A Gay Bibliography* was a total of 15 pages long and organized by genre, including films and other multimedia. The annotated bibliography's purpose statement now began: **“This selective non-fiction bibliography features materials that present or support positive views of the gay experience, that help in understanding gay people and gay issues, or that have special historical value.”**¹³

By 1980, the task force was getting numerous requests for topic specific content listings from both libraries and private organizations. Because of the explosion of LGBT fiction, non-fiction and other library materials, as the Gay Task Force entered the 1980s, it was decided that because of the significant financial and personnel resources used preparing such a comprehensive bibliography on an annual basis, as well as other avenues opening for their advocacy efforts, *A Gay Bibliography* would be discontinued in its original format after the June 1980 publication.¹⁴ A notable example of the task force's efforts to broaden their reach includes their publication of *Gay Materials For Use in Schools*, which

11. "A Gay Bibliography", Second Edition, 1971, New York Public Library Digital Collections

12. Gittings, "Gays in Library Land: The Gay and Lesbian Task Force of the American Library Association: The First Sixteen Years", 87.

13. Gay Task Force, "A Gay Bibliography", Sixth Edition, 1980, Bibliographies Collection, American Library Association Institutional Repository at the University of Illinois Archives, <http://hdl.handle.net/11213/8096>.

14. Gittings, "Gays in Library Land: The Gay and Lesbian Task Force of the American Library Association: The First Sixteen Years", 88.

listed among other categories, young adult fiction , young adult non-fiction, and audiovisuals, and was distributed to teachers, school librarians, and school counselors in an effort to enable them to guide young adults to resources that supported the exploration of their sexuality in a positive manner.¹⁵

A group of gay librarians, activists and friends of LGBT rights made important and significant contributions to LGBT+ history by coming together and thinking strategically about how to make the most significant positive impact on the gay community and reach the broadest audience possible in effort to promote understanding and education. The resulting single-page bibliography, at first handed out to other librarians at their annual convention, sparked change that cannot begin to be quantified in terms of the quality of life and mental health of countless individuals who would now have access to information about themselves as well as relatable fiction that they deserved. The ALA's Gay Task Force was eventually elevated to "roundtable" status and is currently known as the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) Round Table. The group continues to support the access and information needs of the LGBT+ community.

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16. Female Portrayal in Life Magazine Ads

AMELIA BAKER

Introduction

Throughout history, the portrayal of women in media has morphed to reflect the political climate and norms of the time. By looking at advertisements throughout different decades of the 20th century, we can observe patterns and meanings that signify how women were regarded in society. The following primary sources, from 1955 and 1972, exemplify the ways that the media has perpetuated and aligned with stereotypes of women. In addition, we can observe how the message being sent is a reflection of its time, and how these ads affected their readers and furthered the idealistic image of what a woman should do and who she should be.

Jergen's Advertisement (1955)¹

Detached photograph of Mrs. Ruth Anderson's hands. Both hands were soaked in detergent. Only right hand was treated with Jergens Lotion.



Im in love with the lotion that stops "detergent hands" ... in love with the new bottle, too!

Both these hands were soaked in detergent. Only one — the right — was given Jergens Lotion care. Amazing difference, isn't it?

And this is a typical result of a scientific test* that included 647 pleased women!

No other lotion similarly tested was nearly as effective. Jergens Lotion has been steadily improved for over 35 years. In old or new bottle Jergens is the richest, creamiest ever — never sticky or greasy.

Use Jergens Lotion for all your hand problems. Still 50¢ to \$1.00, plus tax.

JERGENS LOTION POSITIVELY STOPS "DETERGENT HANDS"

*Editorial studies and dermatologists. For a summary of latest report, write to The Jergens Cos., Cincinnati, O.

Copyrighted material

1. Jergen's Lotion Advertisement, *Life*, December 5, 1955, 42.

This Jergens advertisement was published in the December issue of Life Magazine, dated 1955. It is advertising targeted for a female audience, utilizing the catch phrase “I’m in love with the lotion that stops ‘detergent hands’” ‘Detergent hands’ refers to women’s hands getting dried and cracking from excessively doing laundry. During the 1950s, Americans were adjusting to life after the war, and the traditional family model provided safety and comfort for a society in disarray. In the typical suburban family, a woman’s role was to be in the home. While the husband’s duty was to work and provide financially, the mother’s duty was to cook, clean, and tend to the children. This expectation of motherhood was viewed as moral and just, and was comfortable for American society at this time². Given this context, the Jergens’ ad was curated to fit this suburban family ideal, where a woman’s biggest problem would be dry hands from doing a lot of laundry. The caption at the bottom reads: “Both these hands were soaked in detergents. Only one – the right – was given Jergens Lotion Care. Amazing, isn’t it? And this is a typical result of a scientific test that pleased 447 women!” This advertisement makes the assumption that the only member of the family that would be having dry hands from laundry detergent would be the female, aligning with the ideal suburban family typical of this era. The idea that a man might have needed this lotion for detergent hands is not even taken into account.

2. Rebecca Centanni, “Advertising in Life Magazine and the Encouragement of Suburban Ideals,” *Advertising & Society Review* 12, no. 3 (October 17, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1353/asr.2011.0022>.

3

**Lifestyle.
We're with yours.**
GENERAL  ELECTRIC

3. General Electric Advertisement, *Life*, December 8, 1972, 20-21.

appliance can be tilted, reading, "... it tilts, so if you want to read, read. If you want to sew, sew. Isn't that the way things should be?". The caption is further perpetuating the idea that women should be able to choose how they spend their time, yet again utilizes stereotypes that women prefer to sew and read in their free time. This advertisement is still reasonably progressive for its era, seeing as the majority of ads in the 1970s still depicted women in the home, relying on male protection⁴.

Conclusion

Research shows that the stereotypical portrayal of women in advertisements decreased very little between the 1950s and 1970s⁵. My analysis of the Jergens' ad of 1955 and the General Electric ad of 1972 confirms, anecdotally, that those findings are accurate. The Jergens' advertisement very clearly operates within the expectations of women from this time, with no qualms about the implications of this message. Conversely, the General Electric advertisement made a concerted effort to portray a liberated woman and appeal to the ideals of the Women's Movement, yet it still failed to portray women as more than housewives and homemakers.

Interestingly, general interest magazines, like *Life*, had less stereotypical portrayals of women than did women's fashion magazines like *Vogue*⁶. *Life* was directed toward a wider audience, reaching adults, children, men, and women. However, this begs the question of how substantial an impact these magazines can have on societal views due to their more widespread audience. The media that we consume undoubtedly has a significant effect on our

4. Lindner, Katharina. "Images of Women in General Interest and Fashion Magazine Advertisements from 1955 to 2002." *Sex Roles*, Vol 54, No 7/8, October 2004.

5. Lindner.

6. Lindner.

perception, and repeatedly consuming these stereotype-laden advertisements only serves to perpetuate their existence.

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PART IV

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

17. Birth Control has never looked so good: A Revolutionary Period

CATELIN MAGEL

Introduction

When individuals are asked to name some of history's greatest advancements in the medical field, they are likely to respond by listing drugs such as penicillin or disease prevention methods such as vaccines.¹ However, one of the greatest breakthroughs in medicine is often forgotten: the creation of birth control. For starters, birth control (contraceptives) can be characterized as any method, medicine or device that is used in the prevention of pregnancy.² Over thousands of years, these methods have been used by individuals in some way or another and have received both praise and backlash at varying points in time. Specifically, this text will focus on the early 20th-century birth control movement within the United States and will explore the individual and organizational perspectives on this female reproductive rights revolution. Although it had previously existed, by the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of oral contraception had died due to a range of factors including the church's values, the Comstock laws, and the morality of the medical community.³ For instance, the church

1. Monique Ellis, "The Top 10 Medical Advances in History" Proclinical (blog), November 2017, <https://www.proclinical.com/blogs/2017-11/the-top-10-medical-advances-in-history>.

2. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, "Birth Control Methods," Office on Women's Health (blog), 2017, <https://www.womenshealth.gov/a-z-topics/birth-control-methods>.

3. Jon Knowles, "A History of Birth Control Methods" (Katharine Dexter McCormick Library, January 2012), https://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/2613/9611/6275/History_of_BC_Methods.pdf.

upheld that “sex without the purpose of procreation equals sex for pleasure, and sex for pleasure equals vice” which directly contradicted the purpose of birth control. An equally important force that was used to limit the reproductive rights of women was the Comstock Law of 1873, which made it a federal offense to spread birth control information through mail or across state lines.⁴ By pushing congress to pass this bill, Anthony Comstock hoped to highlight the obscene and immoral nature of birth control.⁵ Notably, in its own way, the medical community also took a stand against the birth control movement. Specifically, in the early 20th-century, health care professionals did so by withholding information on contraceptives, as even the distribution of information on birth control was considered illegal and breaking the law was considered immoral.

Yet, despite the existence of such powerful forces, there were many other social issues at hand that prohibited the birth control movement from gaining momentum. Amongst other things, this includes the perceived role that women played in society in the early 20th century. To be specific, women were commonly “relegated to the home” where they worked to fulfill their basic mission of being a wife and mother. Thus, women’s only reality became the act of childbearing and working to uphold the four central virtues of “piety, purity, submission, and domesticity.” However, because this so-called “cult of domesticity” encouraged women’s role as reproductive figures it was in direct contradiction with the birth control movement’s values of voluntary motherhood.

Evidently, there was a large range of social forces present in the early 20th century that actively worked against the birth control movement. Nevertheless, despite these obstacles, activist Margaret Sanger became a pioneer for the birth control movement and helped overcome them. Specifically, Sanger’s interest in fighting for

4. Vanessa Murphree and KarlaK. Gower, “‘Making Birth Control Respectable’: The Birth Control Review, 1917–1928,” *American Journalism* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 210–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08821127.2013.788464>.

5. Sheraden Seward, “The Comstock Law (1873) | The Embryo Project Encyclopedia,” January 2009, <https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/comstock-law-1873>.

women's reproductive rights stems from her time as a nurse in New York City, during which she witnessed starving children, dying mothers, and failed self-induced abortions. Seeing the inability of women to take care of both themselves and their children prompted Sanger to join the New York socialist party, after which she started writing a controversial column named "What every girl should know" and ultimately ended up publishing her own magazine "Women Rebel" in 1914. Then, in an effort to expand her reach, Margaret Sanger introduced the Birth Control Review in February of 1917 as a way to advocate for birth control in the greater, national spotlight.

The Birth Control Review was considered an extremely unique piece of work at its time, nothing of its scale had ever existed before and especially not written by a woman for women. In the creation of this magazine, Sanger and her editors used a mixture of academic and social arguments as a way to serve as the "leading voice for reproductive rights, legalization of birth control and "the protection of womanhood"" Margaret Sanger's vision was to alter the public opinion on birth control, and the Birth Control Review gave her the tools to do so. Specifically, Sanger was aware that it was poor women who were most in need of contraceptives, however, because the magazine was not able to legally provide this, it instead was used as a mechanism to justify birth control. Consequently, the magazine's writers aimed to reach individuals in the middle and upper classes who could use their powerful status to legalize birth control.

The Birth Control Review included a range of content including poems, book reviews, and illustrations that highlighted perspectives all the way from members of the medical and judicial community to individuals who identified as husbands and wives.⁶ Specifically, the primary source shown below, three personal stories included as articles in the Birth Control Review, focuses on the latter of these perspectives and the reasoning behind them.

6. Murphree and Gower, "Making Birth Control Respectable."

As mentioned before, in the early 20th century, being a good wife and mother were seen as a woman's basic mission and profession. With every marriage thus came the expectation that the female partner was responsible for childbearing while the male was expected to provide protection and financial security. This prominent patriarchal mentality debased the woman both mentally and physically, ultimately making her fully dependent on her husband, with her reproductive ability being her only valuable asset.⁷ By making birth control illegal, a woman's right to be in charge of her own body was disregarded. Women all across the country were desperate not to get pregnant.⁸ Specifically, this is due to the inability of many working-class mothers to properly care for their children, as they were often sick, their children needed continuous attention and they were required to work along with their husbands to provide for their families. Consequently, in response to these burdensome conditions women at this time stated things such as, "I would rather die than have another" (Letter no. 6) or "No woman can stand that and do all her work" (Letter no. 9).⁹ More importantly, as exemplified within these letters, many women begged Margaret Sanger for information on birth control as the act of bearing children not only put a strain on their mental and physical health but also on their marriages.

On the other hand, it was commonly believed that men could survive on their own. As a result of this mentality, men were expected to provide protection to their wives, otherwise known as the weaker half of the relationship. However, this act of protection came at a price: a wife had to obey her husband. This concept is reinforced by a section within the article "The law at work", a part of the primary source that outlines a husband's perspective, where a fictional husband argues, "Marriage protected women and

7. Vesna Leskošek, "Historical Perspective on the Ideologies of Motherhood and Its Impact on Social Work," *Social Work & Society* 9, no. 2 (2011), <https://www.socwork.net/sws/article/view/270>.

8. Jay Kleinberg, "The No-Win Mom: Motherland in Twentieth-Century America," Yale University Press 8, no. 2 (1999): 387–95.

9. M. T., H. B., "Letters from Women," *The Birth Control Review*, April 1918, 3 edition, sec. Letter no. 6,9 <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015082132963&view=lup&seq=23>.

children, but the wife owed something to the husband.” Throughout this article of the birth control review, the author Jessie Ashley clearly emphasizes the divide between the roles played by women and men and marriage. Women were viewed as “birthing machines” while men were seen as the protectors of their families, who had the right to take ownership of their wives and their respective wombs. While women often thought of pregnancy as a burden, men considered it to be “the most beautiful and most natural profession”. Men’s oblivious perspective on bearing children is also expressed within the primary source when the husband questions, “Wasn’t it the woman’s happiness to have children?”¹⁰

All in all, over the past few decades, there have been many changes in attitudes towards birth control. While these days there are still individuals who oppose it, the majority of people are in favor of contraceptives. Officially, the first oral contraceptive was approved by the US food and drug commission in 1960, with the supreme court giving couples the right to use birth control five years later in 1965. Thus, during these years, females were officially granted greater reproductive freedom, a breakthrough that would not have been possible without Margaret Sanger and her establishment of the Birth Control Review.

10. Jessie Ashley, “The Law At Work,” *The Birth Control Review*, 1918, 2 edition.

The Birth Control Review (1918)

The Law at Work¹¹

By Jessie Ashley¹²

The Husband:

I'VE KNOCKED and knocked, but she don't answer and the baby's crying something awful." The girl stood in the doorway looking frightened yet resentful at being frightened. George Bernard, sitting with his newspaper before a bright fire, slowly turned towards her.

"Knock again, then go into the room," he said. "Perhaps she has overslept."

"I tried sir, but the door's locked."

"Locked?" echoed George startled. Then he rose. "I will go," he said.

The door yielded at last, yielded suddenly, so that George almost fell forward. The bed was empty; the wails of a sickly baby came from the crib beside it. Across the room, the bathroom door was also shut and also locked and also yielded, slowly, but at last. The large white bathtub was almost full of water and Helen lay there with her yellow hair floating about her.

It was just too late to restore her, although they worked for hours. Her life was gone and the germ of life within her had been exterminated too.

She had written: "I cannot endure it so soon again. I will not go through it. Five babies in six years and another coming. No one would help me, so I must help myself"

Her husband left alone with five small children, bewildered, almost frantic, tried to think it out. Help her?

11. Jessie Ashley, "The Law At Work," The Birth Control Review, 1918, 2 edition.

12. Jessie Ashley (1861-1919) was a pioneering woman lawyer and feminist who co-founded the National Birth Control League (1915) and was an editor of the Birth Control Review. "Jessie Ashley," Women In Peace, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.womeninpeace.org/a-names/2017/4/19/jessie-ashley>.

How help her? Wasn't it nature? Was he to blame? He loved her; she loved him. She had been gay and healthy.¹³ Only within the last year or two she had grown nervous, ailing and weak.

She had told him she would not have another child, but women always said that, and when the whole thing was over, they were glad. It was nature; it was a woman's part in life. And she had asked him to find out how to prevent having so many babies. But he was a moral man and loved his wife.¹⁴ Of course, he wanted her; of course, he wanted children, not so fast perhaps, but that was nature. If people loved and were married, wasn't it the woman's happiness to have children?

He could not understand. How help her? What was wrong? Marriage gave them both rights and duties. Marriage protected women and children, but the wife owed something to the husband.¹⁵ Surely that was fair, and surely the law recognized the husband's rights.

He went round and round the circle-nature, religion, duty, happiness-over and over again.

How help her? How?

Letters from Women

Letter No. 6¹⁶

I AM A MOTHER of four living children and one dead, the oldest 10 and baby 22 months old. I am very nervous and sickly after my children. I would like you to advise me what to do to prevent from having any more, as I would rather die than have another. I am keeping away from my husband as much as I can, but it causes quarrel and almost separation. All my babies have had marasmus in the first year of their lives and I almost lost my baby last summer.¹⁷ I always worry

13. In this context the term "gay" was used to express "carefree" or "cheerful" emotions. "Gay," accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.yourdictionary.com/gay>.

14. A moral man is a man who follows the rules of conduct within a group or society

15. In this context, the husband believes that his wife owes him, children, a family

16. M. T., "Letters from Women," *The Birth Control Review*, 1918, 2 edition, sec. Letter no. 6.

17. Marasmus is the process of wasting in infants and young children as a result of severe food malnutrition. Foram Mehta, "Marasmus: A Type of Malnutrition," *Medical News Today*, accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/313185.php>.

about my children so much. My husband works in a brass foundry.¹⁸ It is not a very good job and living is so high that we have to live as cheap as possible. I've only got two rooms and kitchen and I do all my work and sewing, which is very hard for me. My husband is not of the best kind. He nags and finds fault with me. If it were not for my children, I would leave him. So please Mrs. Sanger, write and let me know what to use to prevent, I remain,

Mrs. M. T.

Letter No. 9¹⁹

I AM VERY MUCH in favor of birth control, as I speak for myself. I am the mother of nine children and if I could have prevented it without abortion there would never have been so many. Two of my children were born in one year and two more only thirteen months between. No woman can stand that and do all her own work, and now I have to sew to help support them, as my husband is not able to do hard work, and my baby is only 9 months. I sincerely hope for myself that you can send me information of some kind so I will not become pregnant again, for I cannot ever stand to come through it again, as my health is not good and I am 42 years old and certainly think I have had my share of it. Hoping you will send me this information, I remain,

Very sincerely yours, Mrs. H. E. B.

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18. A brass foundry refers to a brass workshop. "Foundry (Noun)" (Merriam-Webster), accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/foundry>.

19. H. B., "Letters from Women," *The Birth Control Review*, April 1918, 3 edition, sec. Letter no. 9, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015082132963&view=lup&seq=23>.

18. Margaret Sanger's Debate on Birth Control

LINDSAY RUCKER

Introduction

Throughout the centuries of human history, the ability to control reproduction has been nonexistent. Women would repeatedly endure the pains of childbirth and, if not dying in the process from the physical strain, frequently produce too many children for whom financial support was greatly lacking. Margaret Higgins Sanger, an early twentieth-century activist, began the arduous task of educating women on safe and effective birth control and eventually, with the help of scientists, donors, and other activists, created the first oral contraceptive.

Born into an impoverished family of eleven, Sanger understood the need for the circulation of information regarding birth control, which, at the time, was illegal. After many arrests and public scrutiny, she was able to establish the first birth control clinic in 1923. This accomplishment would later lead to the establishment of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

However, it should also be noted that Margaret Sanger was, at a time, a member of the eugenics movement. With tuberculosis and syphilis ravaging through America, Sanger wished to sterilize those affected in order to establish a “cleaner” population. In her 1921 article, *The Eugenic Value of Birth Control Propaganda*, Sanger states that “the most urgent problem today is how to limit and discourage the over-fertility of the mentally and physically defective.” Sanger hoped to expel the “poverty-stricken classes”

from the population.¹ At this time in America, those “poverty-stricken classes” were containing predominately non-white races. From this critique of the American population, with racism seemingly being present, Sanger’s intentions have been questioned. It has become evident to many that her motives were rooted in racism. Though that may have been a factor, and I do not mean to belittle that as such in any way, I do believe a sexual revolution for women was also of high priority.

As stated before, Margaret Sanger, as a nurse living in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was surrounded by the tuberculosis epidemic. Tuberculosis is a bacterial infection of the lungs transmitted through the air (i.e., through coughing, sneezing, spitting, etc..) Sanger was most concerned with transmission to offspring, as the cure for the disease had not yet been found. It is possible for tuberculosis to spread in utero through the umbilical cord or amniotic fluid consumption. It may also be spread during birth through “contact with infected amniotic fluid or genital secretions.”² Additionally, tuberculosis may be contracted through breastfeeding and through the air.

Similarly, syphilis was plaguing the world at this time. Syphilis, a sexually transmitted disease, causes infertility, miscarriage, and stillbirths. Though, in many fortunate cases, “some children born to syphilitic mothers will never show any signs of infection,” though they must be treated.³ Syphilitic individuals, if the infection should attack the nervous system, may experience myriad symptoms, “including headache, altered behavior, difficulty coordinating muscle movements, paralysis, sensory deficits, and dementia.” As you will see in the document below, those affected with syphilis were categorized and discriminated against to a high degree. Sanger wishes to stop these “feeble-minded” people from

1. “The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger: Web Edition.” Accessed November 12, 2019. <https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=238946.xml.oootnote>.

2. “Tuberculosis.” Text. Accessed November 18, 2019. <https://medlineplus.gov/tuberculosis.html>.

3. “STD Facts - Syphilis (Detailed).” September 23, 2019. <https://www.cdc.gov/std/syphilis/stdfact-syphilis-detailed.htm>.

reproducing and dying in the process. She wished to educate even these women of control reproduction and safe sex.

This same desire is evident in Sanger's analysis of the plague that is poverty. Having been born into such a state, Sanger knew first-hand the horrible conditions in which the lower class lived. Thus, in her speech, she addressed the issue and its ties with child labor. In large families, it was custom to have children ten years old, sometimes even younger, working in factories. The conditions in which these children were working were incomparable to the conditions in which they lived. However, on account of such great poverty due to the lack of reproductive regulatory information spread, families were so impoverished that they had no other choice.

The debate from which the following speech is derived took place in New York City in December of 1921 and was chaired by Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf. Margaret Sanger was debating John Winter Russell, a New York Lawyer on the subject: "Resolved: That the spreading of birth control knowledge is injurious to the welfare of humanity." The following speech was Margaret Sanger's first response to Russell's argument. To retrieve the content of his argument and both of their succeeding speeches follow this link.

Debate on Birth Control – Margaret Sanger

*Subject: "Resolved: That the spreading of birth control knowledge is injurious to the welfare of humanity."*⁴

Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen.⁵ Mr. Russell and

4. "The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger: Web Edition." Accessed October 28, 2019. <https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=236701.xml>.

5. Mr. Chairman refers to Dr. S Adolphus Knopf, an internationally acclaimed lung surgeon with a

I seem to agree on some of the points of this argument at least, but as usual with most of the opponents of birth control, they have absolutely no intelligent argument.⁶ (Laughter.) They always barricade themselves behind the Bible of the terrible vengeance of an offended nature. That is exactly what Mr. Russell is doing now.

Now, friends, I want to say let us get down to fundamental principles. Let us get together and look at life the way it is now, not as it might have been had Nature acted thus and so, not as it might be had God done thus and so, but as we find ourselves today. We have a few principles of life by which we must live and I claim that every one of us has a right to health, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness.⁷ I say furthermore that birth control is an absolutely essential factor in our living and having those three principles of happiness. (Applause.)

By birth control, I mean a voluntary, conscious control of the birth rate by means that prevent conception – scientific means that prevent conception. I don't mean birth control by abstinence or by continence or anything except the thing that agrees with most of us, and as we will develop later on, most of us are glad that there are means of science at the present time that are not injurious, not harmful, and all conception can be avoided.⁸ Now, let us look upon life as it

specialty in the treatment of Tuberculosis. Dr. Knopf aided in the establishment of the National Tuberculosis Association (presently the American Lung Association,) "published over 400 works," and helped Margaret Sanger in founding Planned Parenthood. It should be noted too, that in his work with Tuberculosis patients, he encouraged sterilization. As such, he assisted in the coordination of the First National Conference for Race Betterment – eugenics. "Sigard Adolphus Knopf." In Wikipedia, June 27, 2018. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sigard_Adolphus_Knopf&oldid=847761677.

6. Mr. Winter Russell, with whom Margaret Sanger is debating, was a lawyer in New York City in the early twentieth-century America. His arguments are left out of this excerpt from the debate. To access the affirmative argued by Russell, see <https://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/AmRad/debate/birthcontrol.pdf>. Accessed November 3, 2019.

7. Here Margaret Sanger alludes to the Declaration of Independence as was common in many first-wave feminist writings (See Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Declaration of Sentiments.) This document, stating that all men are created equal and calling attention to the unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, was just as central to the suffragist argument as it was to the creation of America.

8. Abstinence is the absence of sex, resulting in 100% birth control. Continence is the self-restraint to halt sexual intercourse and thus, in the same way, resulting in 100% birth control. Margaret Sanger argues that these two are "not agreeable" for most of the population as it is human nature to have sex. Therefore, her call to action is the creation and circulation of a scientifically created form of birth control that is not harmful but is still effective. "Definition of ABSTINENCE." Accessed November 11, 2019. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/abstinence>. "Definition of

really is, and we see society today is divided distinctly into two groups: those who use the means of birth control and those who do not.

On the one side, we find those who do use means in controlled birth. What have they? They are the people who bring to birth few children. They are the people who have all the happiness, who have wealth and the leisure for culture and for mental and spiritual development. They are the people who rear their children to manhood and womanhood and who fill the universities and the colleges with their progeny. Nature has seemed to be very kind to that group of people. (Laughter.)

On the other hand, we have the group who have large families and who have for generations perpetuated large families and I know from my work among these people that the great percentage of these people that are brought into the world in poverty and misery have been unwanted. I know that most of these people are just as desirous to have means to control birth as the women of wealth. I know she tries desperately to obtain that information, not for selfish purposes, but for her own benefit and for that of her children. In this group, what do we have? We have poverty, misery, disease, overcrowding, congestion, child labor, infant mortality, maternal mortality, all the evils which today are grouped in the crowd where there are large families of unwanted and undesired children.

Take the first one and let us see how these mothers feel. I claim that a woman, whether she is rich or poor, has a right to be a mother or not when she feels herself fit to be so. She has just as much right not to be a mother as she has to be a mother. It is just as right and as moral for people to talk of

small families and to demand them as to want large families. It is just as moral.

If we let, as we are supposed to do, Nature take her course, we will say that we know that any woman from the age of puberty until the age of the period of menopause, that that woman could have anywhere from 15 to 20 children in her lifetime, and it will only take one relationship between a man and a woman to give her once a year to give her that large family. Let us not forget that.

Are we today, as women who wish to develop, who wish to advance in life, are we willing to spend all of our time through those years of development in bringing forth children that the world does not appreciate? Certainly, anyone who looks out to that will find that there is very little place in the world for children. And besides, if a woman does spend all her time in childbearing, do you know that even with a healthy woman, that if she does this, one out of ten of these women who let Nature take her course and have from 12 to 16 children die from childbearing, and furthermore, there are many cases where it is absolutely indispensable for a woman's health, for her life, in fact, to have means to control birth. There are cases as Dr. Knopf said of syphilis, cases of tuberculosis; do you realize that out of every seven women who have tuberculosis today that four of them die, not from tuberculosis, my friends, but they die from pregnancy. They die because they have not that knowledge of birth control because our physicians and all the others who should be disseminating information and safeguarding these women's lives are not giving them the fundamental things to cure her disease but they allow her to become pregnant. They keep her in ignorance from this particular knowledge that should assist her in recovering her health. Not only with tuberculosis, but there are other diseases that are inimicable to the woman's health and happiness. Heart disease is another thing that pregnancy absolutely

stimulates and it means a woman's death. Not long ago there was a young girl who came to me who had kidney disease. She was a telegraph operator. Her husband was a young working man, but he was not able to support a family. She had on two different occasions tried to have children, but she had kidney disease and they found her in convulsions, she had froth at her mouth and she was taken to the hospital in a serious and critical condition. When she did this, the only thing they could do to her was to resort to abortion and yet they send her back to her home, to her husband and family again in just the same way with no information of how to protect herself against another condition just as she had gone through. That is what happens to our women today, even those who are suffering from diseases where they should be protected with means and knowledge of birth control.

The only weapon that women have and the most uncivilized weapon that they have to use if they will not submit to having children every year or every year and a half, the weapon they use is abortion. We know how detrimental abortion is to the physical side as well as to the psychic side of the woman's life, and yet there are in this nation because of these generalities and opinions that are here before us, that are stopping the tide of progress, we have more than one million women with abortions performed on them each year.⁹

What does this mean? It means it is a very bad sign if women have to indulge in it, and it means they are absolutely

9. Abortion in the early 20th century, being illegal, was commonly performed by the inexperienced. This resulted in many physical damages on account of the procedure. If performed incorrectly, death, as is still a possibility could be an outcome. Other complications such as 'hemorrhage, fever, infection,' cut or torn cervix, sterilization, blood clots, or severe damage to the uterine wall could threaten the life of the patient. However, arguably more severe are the psychological effects of abortion. Anxiety, depression, disordered eating, alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicide or attempted suicide are a few of the many documented psychological consequences of abortion. Post-Abortion Bible Study. "Abortion Risks Abortion Dangers and Abortion Complications." Accessed November 20, 2019. <https://ramahinternational.org/abortion-risks-dangers/>. Pourreza, Abolghasem, and Aziz Batebi. "Psychological Consequences of Abortion among the Post Abortion Care Seeking Women in Tehran." Iranian Journal of Psychiatry 6, no. 1 (2011): 31-36.

determined that they cannot continue bringing children into the world that they cannot clothe, feed, and shelter. It is woman's instinct, and she knows herself when she should and should not give birth to children, and it is just as natural to trust that instinct and to let her be the one to say and much more natural than it is to leave it to some unknown God for her to judge her by. I claim it is a woman's duty and right to have for herself the right to say when she shall and shall not have children.

We know that the death rate, maternal death rate, has not been falling in the United States of America, although the death rate from other diseases has been falling. That shows that women is given the last consideration in scientific and medical lines. But then women will never get her own freedom until she fights for it, and she has to fight hard to hold and keep it. We know too that when the children that come to this mother against her will and against her desire. When they come into the world, that we have an appalling number of 300,000 babies each year in this country who die each year before they reach one year of age – 300,000 if you please, and it is safe to say and anyone who has gone among these mothers of these children – it is safe to say that the great percentage of these children that are born have been unwanted. The mother knows that that child should not come to birth, when the five or six or seven that she has have not enough to eat. That takes common sense and every working woman has that common sense.

We have these 300,000 babies, this procession of little coffins, and we shake our heads sadly and say “something must be done to reduce this number,” but nevertheless we go right on allowing 600,000 parents to remain in ignorance of how to prevent 300,000 more babies coming to birth the next year, only to die from poverty and sickness.

We speak of the rights of the unborn. I say that it is time to speak of those who are already born. I also say and know

that the infant death rate is effected tremendously by those who arrive first, and those who arrive last. The first child that comes – the first or second or third children who arrive in a family, have a far better chance than those who arrive later.

Those are facts. They are not generalities or opinions. The United States Government stands behind these facts. Then we also, through our maternity centers and child welfare means and other means, we finally rescue some of these children, and do not allow them to die under one year of age, and then when the mother is pregnant again – if maternity was not forced upon her – she would be able to bring that child through. Another one begins to come, and when we find that this child that was rescued from dying during its first year now succumbs before its fifth year, and then we have 150,000 children who die before they reach the fifth year of age. And so we can enumerate all of these conditions which are so despicable and so difficult in this country because we will not get to fundamentals. We will not deal with the cause of things while we are anxious to deal with the cure. When a mother does finally bring her children through the adolescent period, what is the next thing she has for that? We find in the South that where children come according to Nature, every year and one-half, that as soon as they are able they are shuffled and hustled on in to take the place and compete with their father in the factories. That is the place that society has for the children of the poor. We find in other States, too where it is only a question of a few years later that also the children, as soon as they are able to take their place in industry, are pushed out of the home, not because the mothers of these children are not just as anxious to see them in the universities and colleges, but because of the pitiless earnings that she must have to support those who are coming behind them. Most of us know this. We know something about the actual conditions

of life as it is among us. In some of the factories of the Lowell and Fall River, Mass., it was found that of the children who work and toil there, under ten years of age, that 85% of them come from families of either – their mothers have given birth to eight children – and we find in the South very much the same thing, excepting a higher percentage of 90 to 93% of the children there.¹⁰

That is not the only thing. We have a condition not only as these that I have related, but we have conditions again that is more disastrous to the race than child labor or infant mortality, and that is the transmission of venereal disease to the race that is to come.

We know that the mothers and fathers of today produce the race of tomorrow, and we know that unless we have a clean child and a clean stream of blood pouring through that child, that the race of tomorrow is a doomed, foregone conclusion.¹¹ We know, too, that out of this terrible scourge of venereal disease that we have 90% of the insanity in this country, due to syphilis. Anyone who is dealing with fundamental would know that these people should use means to protect themselves against having children. They should absolutely in due regard to themselves, to their children and to the race, not allow a child to be born while that disease is running riot in the system, and then we have that terrible consequence which is insanity.

We have 50% of the stillbirths of this country, in other

10. Francis Cabot Lowell founded a cotton mill in what is now Lowell, Massachusetts. In the mill, new technology like the water-driven power loom were used by the young women, known as "mill girls," who worked in the factory. Lowell's establishment instituted what is known as the "Lowell System," manufacturing from raw materials to final good under the same roof. This system "revolutionized textile manufacturing," making it far "more efficient," "cost effective," and "less dehumanizing to its workers." Due to Lowell's success, along with being the namesake of the mill town, many other people followed his lead in establishing mills throughout the industrial revolution. The factories of Fall River, following in the footsteps of Lowell, MA, operated in the same way. The mill girls were usually from farms and small villages in families who were experiencing economic difficulty. The young women, from the age of fifteen to thirty, worked from twelve to fourteen hours daily and typically lived in boardinghouses on the factory's property. Role of the Massachusetts Textile Mills in the Industrial Revolution," January 9, 2017. <https://historyofmassachusetts.org/massachusetts-textile-mills/>. Lowell, Mailing Address: 67 Kirk Street, and MA 01852 Phone:970-5000 Contact Us. "The Mill Girls of Lowell - Lowell National Historical Park (U.S. National Park Service)." Accessed November 19, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/lowe/learn/historyculture/the-mill-girls-of-lowell.htm>.

11. Here, Margaret Sanger's eugenicist ideas are evident. See introduction for more information on her involvement with the eugenics movement.

words, dead babies, that are dead when they are born – 50% are due to this disease. You may think that these things are taken care of, but if I told you that they are not – syphilitic women today are allowed to bring forth progeny even in the face of all officialdom, and all the kind and humane things and other kind of things that are doled out to women today – that women are bringing forth children when they themselves are syphilitic.

Not long ago we took a syphilitic woman to 43 hospitals in the city and every one of them said, “We will cure her disease. Leave her here. We will do the best we can for her, but don’t ask us to give her the information to control birth. That is not our office. That is not for us,” and so that little syphilitic woman went back again to her home and will become pregnant only to abort again, which was a great kindness.

Nature sometimes brings the syphilitic to birth before their full time or brings them to birth dead. In other states of syphilis, that is not so, and we have feeble-minded as well as insane. We have here 400,000 feeble-minded people in the United States, that any authority on this subject would say to you, “Not one of them should have been born.” They never should have been born and sometimes these parents are perfectly normal, and yet this taint has gone through the blood and has left this perfectly, normal, physical person who arrives at the adult age with all its physical functions, and yet it has the mentality of a child eight years of age. The feeble-minded man or woman is of no use to itself or society, and it would be better if we were living in a real civilization that they should not have been born. Only 40,000 of this 400,000 are entered in institutions and the others are living among us, producing and reproducing their progeny and providing abundant material and opportunity for the continuance of charities and other institutions for ages and generations more to come.

We found also in one institution – a so-called reformatory where they take the girls of the underworld – prostitutes – in Geneva, III., they find that 50% of these girls coming into the underworld – the prostitutes – was of this cause, that she belonged to the feeble-minded, and again we find that 89% of these came from large families...¹²

You can't get away from it, my friend. Large families and poverty and misery go hand in hand. No, what do we try to do for all these conditions? How do we look upon them? We are on a track. Motherhood has been tracked. We find that most of the social agencies of the country are trying to legislate these things out of existence. That is all. They run off to Albany and to Washington and they make eight-hour laws for women in industry, but they never think of the poor mother in the homes who might have eight hours. Can you think of the mother in the home with eight hours? She has to go out of the home, out into industry to be protected by that law. Do you realize that mothers and women never have a night's rest from the time that they are pregnant, some of them until the doors of nature closes their maternal functions? They never know what it is to have one whole night's rest. They are up nights with babies. Is this freedom or liberty? Hasn't she a right to herself – hasn't she a duty to herself to say when and under what conditions she shall be a mother?

We try to reduce our infant mortality rate by our milk stations and all of the other things going on today.

12. Being that prostitution was illegal in Switzerland until 1942, it was highly unregulated in the centuries prior. Thus, the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and infections was, and still is, a serious problem – one that not much could be done to halt. Therefore, Margaret Sanger's accusation of 50% belonging to the "feeble-minded," referring to those with syphilis in particular, could be accurate. In addition, information about birth control was provided beginning in 1955 by gynecologists to predominately female patients. With that being said, when Sanger was debating, similar to the United States, birth control information was not being spread, and when that distribution did begin it only reached those who were female and could afford to visit the gynecologist. "Prostitution in Switzerland." In Wikipedia, September 15, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Prostitution_in_Switzerland&oldid=915841048. Rusterholz, Caroline. "Reproductive Behavior and Contraceptive Practices in Comparative Perspective, Switzerland (1955–1970)." *The History of the Family* 20, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 41–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2014.983139>.

Thousands and thousands of dollars are spent for this condition, and to a certain degree some of it is taken care of, but it does not get at the root. When we came to the maternal mortality we find also huge funds that are spent on nurses going into the homes of the poor, telling the mother of the eight children how to have her ninth. (Laughter.) Most of us know that that mother wants to know how not to have her tenth. That is the welcome assistance that they can give that woman, but that will be the last stone to be turned.

Also our child labor – we make laws in Washington against child labor, hoping we will wipe that out of our existence. For fifty years they have been trying to wipe child labor off the book in the United States, but they have not succeeded and they will never succeed until they establish birth control clinics in those districts where these women are, where they put in birth control clinics, like they have in Holland – in every industrial section in the United States where women can come to trained nurses and physicians and get from them scientific information whereby they may control birth.

Now we look upon all these things just about in the same way. We try to palliate most all of them. Take one instance – our immigration laws. The United States Government makes that most rigid laws. It scans over the vessels carefully to see that no one should enter who is an idiot, who is insane, and who is a pauper. They make those rigid laws and rules for those who shall come in, but after you are once on the inside, you can produce and reproduce and repopulate the earth with syphilitic and diseased and insane people as far as the government is concerned. This is the short-sighted side of our whole life. We are very generous and sympathetic, but we are oversentimental, and the time has come to use our minds and to apply our intelligence to life and to the conditions of life as we find them today.

Now, Mr. Russell has said some things that are very interesting to me. He tells us that we cannot have pleasure

without pain. It is a man who is speaking. (Laughter and Applause.) It is very peculiar that Nature only works on the one side of the human family when it comes to that law. She applies all the pain to the woman. It is absurd – a perfectly absurd argument in the face of rational intelligence (applause) to talk about marriage being for one purpose.

Now I claim – and I differ with Mr. Russell on that – I claim that the sex relationship has distinctly two functions. It has its love function and it has its maternal and paternal function. One is quite independent of the other, and one is just as moral as the other, and if it were not so, then the laws of this country ought to divorce the woman who is not able to have children. Absolutely! And we know it does not. We know that the time the children are created that there is not 1% of humanity that is born or created with that thought in mind. Very few people think at the time of creation that they are going to create. Most of us are brought into the world by accident and that is exactly what birth control is going to change. That is going to make humanity a conscious and voluntary thing.

When we talk of race suicide, it would take almost a whole afternoon to tell you how futile that argument is. We know perfectly well, those of us who have studied the question that in those countries where birth control knowledge has been at the disposal of the people that, although the birth rate has gone down, that the death rate has also gone down. Consequently, the population has been accelerated and there has been a better population because it has been a better and healthier population. If Mr. Russell wants to talk about the race and does not want race suicide, he better come over quickly to the ranks of birth control. (Applause.)

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19. Women Made Nation: Debates on Reproductive Rights in Puerto Rico in the 20th Century

CARLA PEÑA-VEGA

Introduction

In 1898, Puerto Rico was annexed by the United States following the Spanish-American War. After 500 years under colonial Spanish rule the Puerto Rican archipelago was transferred to the power and protection of the United States and its burgeoning global empire. The U.S also annexed Guam and the Philippines during this period. The 20th century marked a new era of colonial rule for Puerto Rico and with it, new challenges. The question of Puerto Rican citizenship and political status remains the most important political question concerning this island even today. The question of civil and political rights on the island blossomed into the short-lived Puerto Rican nationalist movement, lead initially by Pedro Albizú Campos. The independence movement was brutally repressed by the U.S government and the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico. Even possession of the Puerto Rican flag became a crime. This is all to provide the wider historical context for the debate surrounding forms of birth control and family planning on the island.

Women are often made into the symbol of national culture, they are made to represent the image of ideal nationhood and independence, in most cases this takes the form of the mother country. The Puerto Rican nationalist movement of the early 20th

century was no different. The image of the always laboring mother was made into a symbol for the independence movement. Even though in Spanish the phrase is *la patria*, the fatherland, the woman was still discursively representing the nation. Many nationalists decried the use of birth control as a way of maintaining colonial rule and a plot by the U.S government to curb the Puerto Rican population and thus quell dissent. The Catholic Church also decried the use of birth control, citing it as an encouragement of non religious morals.

However, there was a large movement both on the island of Puerto Rico and in the diaspora pushing for access to birth control. While Catholic religious culture was very ingrained in population, many women, across class lines, were advocating for access to birth control. After this push for access to birth control, there was pushback from many of the same women who had once fought for these reproductive rights. *La operación* as it had come to be known was a sterilization procedure that had become common practice in lieu of birth control. Oral testimonies from women who underwent the procedure reported varying levels of information given to them by their doctors. Some were told the surgery was reversible when the truth is it is not, others were reported heavy coercion from their nurses and doctors to undergo the procedure, others were not informed at all and found out when they went through early menopause.

The above instances of coerced or forced sterilization are examples of legacies of racism and eugenics in the wider birth control movement. The language of “overpopulation” was commonly used in reference to Puerto Rico, especially of the poor, rural population. This racist narrative was promulgated by the U.S media, including the New York Times and birth control advocates alike. Margaret Sanger, a famous birth control activist, also advocated for the testing of birth control methods on poor, uneducated women. The use of this idea, the promotion of birth control methods to “improve the genetic pool of the population,” was a politics promoted by the Nazis in Germany and in the United States as well.

The article below is from the New York Times from August, 1963, discussing debates on birth control between the Catholic Church and those in the medical field.

Catholics and Birth Control: Puerto Rico Clinics¹

Commonwealth Seeks Middle Ground with the Church on State-Sponsored Project

GEORGE BARRETT

Behind the pastel walls of the government offices in San Juan, overlooking the sun-baked court, in the palm trees see-sawing in slow-motion, the health department spokesman talks guardedly about "Catholic doctors" who he said were still bitterly fighting birth control in Puerto Rico. He noted that the Caribbean commonwealth had set up one of the most extensive systems of public and private birth control clinics in the world, to help reduce a fertility rate that has made Puerto Rico one of the most densely packed areas on the globe.² He also noted aggressive opposition by the Catholic Church to the island-wide birth control services; he complained that the Catholic physician, and the Catholic nurse, and the Catholic technician who work directly out of the islands many health clinics were in a strategic position to undermine the whole birth control

1. George Barrett, The New York Times, August 7, 1963, pp. 1, 18.

2. The idea of overpopulation comes from Thomas Malthus. This idea has been widely discredited as it was used as a justification for the eugenics movement. Eugenics is the idea of applying 'survival of the fittest' to humans and aims to 'improve the genetic pool' by selective breeding. It was used as the doctrine in Nazi Germany and was the basis of violent, racist approaches to birth control and reproductive policies in the United States as well. (Stycos 1954).

program. The program started several years ago to learn whether a large-scale birth preventive project was practicable, welcome, and effective in underdeveloped societies is something of a “test tube” example of the new way, often the unpublicized way, the Catholic church has been meeting the birth control challenge on the United States Mainland and in other countries.³

The Puerto Rican experience has its parallels and repercussions in points as far distant as Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Illinois. It is a fact that the Catholic hierarchy in Puerto Rico has had its successes in discouraging the birth control program, yet for the full story one must leave San Juan. Travel into the hills where the machete and the strong arm still do much of the hard labor, where mothers bear 9 or 12 or 15 children; where father send their children to school barefooted because they have no money for shoes, talk there, to the staff members of a government health clinic and another picture comes into view.⁴

At one village clinic, the medical director discusses the whole range of artificial contraceptives all of them banned by the Catholic church and says that they have been a boon for some of the poverty-ridden parents who is desperately to have no more children. but the devices are not good enough he adds they are too sophisticated for the uneducated and therefore too unreliable. He speaks of sterilization, a birth control measure particularly condemned by the Catholic church but widely practiced in Puerto Rico. “Only sterilization really works,” he says. After

3. The main discourse on birth control in Puerto Rico during the mid 20th century occurred in conversation with the Catholic Church's teaching and the Family Planning Association. The position of the Catholic Church was to prevent medical birth control and sterilization practices because they went against the idea in the Catholic Church that the role of women was to be wives, and mothers of Catholic children (Ayala and Bernabe 2007)

4. The image of the rural, machete wielding Puerto Rican farmer with a large number of children perpetrated harmful racist stereotypes that would be used to justify using Puerto Rico as a testing ground for the birth control pill and practices of coerced or forced sterilization. (Briggs 2003).

six or seven children these people come in here and they agree that sterilization is what they really want.”

“But what about the Catholic doctor?” the director is asked. “Isn’t it true that the Catholic doctor in government health clinics discourages all these birth control services?” The medical director looks up. There’s a quick frown, and then a quick grin.” What do you mean Catholic doctors you’re in Puerto Rico we are all Catholic doctors!”

Attitudes in Ferment

The difficulty of defining “the Catholic attitude” on birth control is nowhere better dramatized than in Puerto Rico, which reflects the same Catholic ferment that was revealed in scores of interviews during a 2-month survey on the United States mainland of lay and clerical Catholics thinking on the subject. Puerto Rico is an island overwhelmingly Catholic. But it is also an island in which much of the populace became incensed when a Catholic political party, vehemently opposed birth control, was set up three years ago with the support of the bishops in an effort to defeat the Popular Democratic Party⁵ of Governor Luis Muñoz Marín.⁶

A principal issue was the government’s birth control program. The governor’s party was under constant Church attack as “Godless, immoral, anti-christian, and against the Ten Commandments.” Yet the Puerto Ricans, Catholics, gave the Catholic party only 51,295 votes out of the total of 788,607 ballots cast in that election. A particular issue was a popular conviction that Puerto Ricans should decide for themselves the propriety of birth control measures, instead of accepting church insistence that Divine Law banned artificial contraceptives and sterilization.⁷ In a pastoral letter

5. The Popular Democratic Party or (Partido Popular Democratico in Spanish) is the party in Puerto Rico that historically and even today advocates for keeping the island’s commonwealth status, in addition to self-government for matters pertaining to the island (Ayala and Bernabe 2007).

6. He was the first democratically elected governor of Puerto Rico and served in that position from 1949 - 1965. He is credited with modernizing the island’s economy and infrastructure. He is also known for his brutal repression of the Nationalist Party (Ayala and Bernabe 2007).

7. Many women were in fact advocating for birth control and wanted access to it in order to take control of their lives. At the same time, a politics of reproductive rights does not adequately address

addressed directly to the Catholic congregation, the Bishops prohibited parishioners from voting for the government party because it was “anti-christian and anti-catholic and based on the modern heresy that the popular will and not the Divine Law decides what is moral or immoral.”

Clerics Challenged

However, great numbers of Puerto Ricans are so naturally committed to Catholicism from European tradition – few attend church regularly but they are born in the church, they are married in the church, they die in the church – that the Puerto Rican Catholics (unlike many of his faith on the United States mainland) feels free, and often morally obligated to challenge his priest and his Bishop on any number of issues, including birth control.⁸ The Catholic Church viewpoint can, of course, be formidable. The Family Planning Association of Puerto Rico recruits professional and volunteer workers with the warning of that they “must have the backbone to stand up under attacks” by the Catholic Church and by Catholic community leaders.

Yet, the population council’s new bulletin, which discusses the current mass distribution in Puerto Rico of free supplies, the foam contraceptive⁹, declares that the “effect of Catholic opposition to birth control and Puerto Rico is difficult to assess but studies on the relation of religious beliefs and attitudes to contraceptive practices among couples that lower socioeconomic levels indicate that the Catholic opposition has little impact there.” The phrase “Catholic opposition” means essentially the Catholic Church opposition to birth control.

issues of bodily autonomy or reproductive health and safety. A politics of reproductive justice, as coined by Angela Davis, addresses the needs of families to determine their destinies without interference from the state and protects the bodily autonomy of the most marginalized (Volscho 2010).

8. Catholicism became the overwhelmingly dominant religion through Spanish colonization, beginning in the 15th century up until the Spanish-American war and the annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States in 1898 (Ayala and Bernabe 2007).

9. The foam contraceptive refers to an early iteration of a contraceptive sponge which contained spermicide and was inserted into the vagina to prevent the entrance of sperm to the uterus (Kane 1984).

An analysis of 1,210 volunteer “leaders” of the Family Planning Association of Puerto Rico¹⁰ shows that they represent at least 10 religious denominations but 982, more than 81% are Catholics. Volunteers moreover, represent a socio-economic cross-section of the island: merchants, assistant midwives, teachers, farmers, janitors, three mayor’s, a legislator, tenders of fighting cocks, housewives and a high priestess of an esoteric sect.

It is the monsignor who tells the story about the Spanish priest in the small Puerto Rican parish. The priest thundered from his pulpit one Sunday about the evils of a Family Planning Association Clinic that had been operating in a nearby community. Many of the women in the church looked in surprise at one another, they whispered, they talked excitedly after Mass about the wonderful new place where they could learn how to prevent babies, and early the next morning many of them were part of the queue at the clinic.

The birth control campaign in Puerto Rico, as in other parts of the world, is still, of course, in the starting stage. Its overall effectiveness (a sample survey of 1097 couples in one rule area reveals a drop of 50% in pregnancies) is difficult to measure. but Mrs. Celestina Zalduondo, director of The Family Planning Association estimates that there are more than 25% of fertile married women on the island, most of them Catholics, of course, have received containers of a new foam contraceptive “of proven effectiveness and high acceptability.”

The story of birth control in Puerto Rico, illustrates the fact that on the island, and in many parts of the world, there is a radically wider range of Catholic views and Catholic

10. The Family Planning Association was led by doctors on the mainland, in conjunction with medical elites on the island, to promote the use of contraceptives in Puerto Rico. This organization has also been implicated in pushing sterilization as the primary method of birth control on the island during the 1950s and 1960s.(Back, Hill, and Stycos 1960).

practices concerning birth control than many non-catholics realize. Moreover a significant development is now underway in Puerto Rico. The government's network of Health Centers has long been the target of the Catholic hierarchy. One Parish priest, for example, draped the belfry of his church in Black strips for mourning when the birth control program reached his community. An agreement, however, has just been reached between church and government under which Catholics may now go to the centers without incurring condemnation by the church.

Data on Rhythm System¹¹

No formal pronouncement has been made, nor will it be made out of fear that an official public declaration May jeopardize the program, but the agreement calls for the Department of Health to disseminate full information on the church approved rhythm system of birth control. (Up to now, most of the personnel in the island's health centers have been reluctant to prescribe the Rhythm method, which they consider complicated and unreliable.)

In exchange for offering a full and fair presentation of all methods for birth control and leaving it to each applicant to make the specific choice, the Department of Health understands that the Catholic hierarchy will cease blanket attacks against the government's program. The current moves in Puerto Rico to erase some of the sources of community antagonisms over birth control illustrate a resolved by many Catholic leaders to demand obedience to the church's moral codes on birth control only from members of the faith. Visitors to the Vatican report with some high prelates have become disturbed over the image the church is cast before much of the world over this aspect of birth control. One major cause of criticism has been a

11. The rhythm system of birth control (also referred to as "natural family planning") relies on tracking a woman's menstrual cycle to plan sexual activity around when her most fertile days are. It is the only system of birth control advocated for by the Catholic Church (Kane 1984).

contention by Catholic authorities that the use of artificial contraceptives is a violation of God's law, not merely man's law, and that the Catholic church is, therefore, under a moral obligation to keep contraceptives not only from Catholics but also from non-Catholics.

But this historical concept is undergoing a profound alteration; the alteration indicates that if the advocates of contraceptive devices genuinely seek a common understanding with Catholic leaders on public law policy (and they are doing so) there should be a gradual diminishing of the fierce community clashes that have so often engulfed Catholic and non-Catholics over birth control.

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Community Acknowledgement

This chapter is dedicated to the women of Puerto Rico who fought and continue to fight for their bodily autonomy and access to quality reproductive health care. Here are some community organizations working today to fight for reproductive justice and women's issues on the island:

Colectivo Feminista Puerto Rico

Casa Protegida Julia de Burgos

Colectivo Ilé

Se Parir

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PART V

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

20. Title IX: The Fight for Female Equality in Athletics

KATE CITRON

Introduction

Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, implemented in 1972, states that no one can be excluded from any educational or athletic program receiving federal funding on the basis of sex.¹ While the implementation of Title IX was meant to support equality between men and women in school and sports, the broad guidelines of this rule were often ignored or avoided. One problem that was commonly seen was the initial agreement to the rules of Title IX, followed by a failure to continue growth and expansion of women's facilities and equipment. In 2001, 56% of athletes were women but females were only receiving 42% of the athletic budget.² Although Title IX was credited with increasing female participation in sports since the 1970s, it also has been criticized for creating a large cut in funding for male collegiate athletics. There was an especially negative response from supporters of less typically male athletic programs, such as gymnastics or diving, who felt as if their funding was being taken away and given to female athletes.³ So, as Title IX served as an advance in the fight for women's equality, a large segment of the population was more focused on its cost to male domination.

One factor contributing to the issue of male to female inequality

1. O'Connor and Alixandra, "To Comply or Not to Comply: Evaluating Compliance with Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972."

2. Whiteside and Hardin, "The Rhetoric and Ideology Behind Title IX."

3. Whiteside and Hardin.

in sports is the cultural ideologies in the United States. Through studies regarding Title IX, researchers have found that one ideology in American culture is that sports are innately masculine and women have a more artificial relation to athletics that would require men to “share their field.”⁴ This outlook is depicted by a male coach’s commentary at the Munich Olympics, saying that Micki King “dives like a man.” Comparing King to a man reiterates the ideology that the only way for women to be acknowledged in athletics is to be compared to men. This statement is also phrased in such a way that it is almost meant to compliment a woman for ever being able to achieve the athletic ability of a man, when in reality, King’s accomplishment is based on her talent and unrelated to masculine or feminine attributes. The argument of sports being innately masculine has also been used to support the claim that women have less interest in participating in sports than men, when in fact it is the lack of support of women’s athletics caused the difference in numbers.

Other studies discuss the ideology of dominance through the subordination of the out-group in order to find dominance in the majority group, which in this case is men. Dahl suggests a perceived tradeoff where a gain of female power or feminine traits is a loss to male dominance, something that is of great concern to most men, especially in social situations when men are concerned about how their masculinity is viewed by the public.⁵ In the case of Becky Birchmore, as explained in the source, almost all of her male competitors forfeited matches in fear of losing to a woman, which would therefore cause them to lose their “masculinity” as it is seen by outsiders. The zero-sum perspective implies that any female participation in sports takes away from male involvement and is therefore threatening. Dahl’s study also illustrates how a potential threat to masculinity causes heightened acts of anger, male

4. Whiteside and Hardin.

5. Dahl, Vescio, and Weaver, “How Threats to Masculinity Sequentially Cause Public Discomfort, Anger, and Ideological Dominance over Women.”

defensiveness and the ideological dominance.⁶ That's why as Title IX came closer to implementation, male counterparts grew more defensive of their dominance in the field of athletics and may also be a partial explanation for Birchmore's own coach, Dan Magill, defending her male competitor after Birchmore defeated him.

Issues with Title IX are still apparent today. There are continuous court cases for reasons such as unequal funding for women's athletics and program cuts in general; Often, the cases are dismissed as baseless. In 2013, Ellen Staurowsky conducted a study testing the knowledge of Title IX of higher athletic officials such as program presidents or athletic administrators. Results indicated that only 25% of the subjects were required to attend workshops or have previous education on Title IX before being assigned their position.⁷ The lack of emphasis placed on the importance of understanding Title IX contributes further to the inequalities in men's and women's athletics, especially at the collegiate level. More than 40 years after the original ruling of Title IX, Congress is reconsidering legislations concerning Title IX.⁸ Atixa, or the Association of Title IX Administrators, is one of the few yet extremely important groups of professionals that work to protect Title IX.⁹ Particular emphasis is placed not only initial agreeance, but continuous commitment to the deserved equal rights of females.

Programmed to be Losers¹⁰

BIL GILBERT AND NANCY WILLIAMSON

The arguments most often used to justify discrimination

6. Dahl, Vescio, and Weaver.

7. Staurowsky and Weight, "Discovering Dysfunction in Title IX Implementation."

8. Kwak, "Title IX Timeline."

9. Wiersma-Mosley and DiLoreto, "The Role of Title IX Coordinators on College and University Campuses."

10. Gilbert, Bil, and Nancy Williamson. "Programmed to Be Losers." Sports Illustrated Vault, June 11, 1973. <https://www.si.com/vault/issue/43202/63>

against women in sports – that athletics are bad for their health and femininity, that women are not skillful enough or interested in playing games- have on the surface a nice paternalistic, even altruistic, quality. Recent studies indicate such assumptions are incorrect and self-serving nonsense. It simply happens to be in the best interest of male athletic establishment to maintain the existing situation. Anything beyond token sexual equality in athletics represents a formidable threat to male pride and Power.

“The status of the female athlete is not something implicit in the nature of the female but rather a manifestation of the ego of the male,” says Dr. Ken Foreman, the head of the Seattle Pacific College physical education department and a track coach. “Men simply cannot tolerate a serious challenge from a woman.”

Any discussion of collective egos is tricky and extremely speculative. But there are numerous incidents that suggest, at least in competitive sports, the masculinity of males is a more tender and perishable commodity than the femininity of females.¹¹

Charles Maas, Secretary of the Indiana State coaches association, commented glumly on a recent decision by his state supreme court permitting girls to compete with boys and non-contact sports, such as golf, tennis, track and swimming: “There is the possibility that a boy would be beaten by a girl and as a result be ashamed to face his family and friends. I wonder if anybody has stopped to think what that could do to a young boy.”

Several years ago, Becky Birchmore won a place on the

11. In studies regarding threats to masculinity, masculinity is defined as “a cherished social identity” that contains three categories that are necessary to be fulfilled. Those categories are behavior demonstrating power and dominance, physical, emotional and mental toughness, and also keeping distance from any feminine acts or characteristics. Femininity is said to be associated with dependency, nurturance, and in general, a weaker sex. It also states that women containing forms of knowledge and power are said to challenge “gender-stereotypic power differentials.” Dahl, Julia, Theresa Vescio, and Kevin Weaver. “How Threats to Masculinity Sequentially Cause Public Discomfort, Anger, and Ideological Dominance over Women.” *Social Psychology, Measure of a Man: Outcomes of Gender Stereotyping for Men and Masculinity*, 46, no. 4 (2015): 242–54.

University of Georgia men's tennis team and played in the Southeastern Conference matches.¹² Since then, Dan Magill, Georgia tennis coach, has had the time to mull over the Birchmore matter and he now regrets that Birchmore was allowed to play against men.¹³ "I used her against Auburn one time," says Magill "and she won. The boy she beat was embarrassed to death. It ruined him. I really wish I hadn't done it."

Male defensiveness about female athletic prowess is not restricted to head-to-head confrontations accomplished women athletes, even when they are competing against one another, seem to ruffle the psyches of many men. That there are many women athletic superior to men is indisputable. There surely are a hundred or so male tennis players who could defeat Billie Jean King, but there are hundreds of thousands who would be fortunate to win a set from King.¹⁴ Same situation prevails and most sports. "For obvious reasons it is often the more sedentary, unathletic, spectator oriented man who has the most derogatory things to say about outstanding sportswomen," says Ken Foreman.

A frequent ploy used to maintain the illusion of total male athletic superiority is to compliment a skillful woman by saying "she plays almost like a man." Not long ago a male coach commented on the style of Micki King, the only

12. Becky Birchmore was a tennis player at the University of Georgia where she was granted the opportunity to play on the men's team in the 1960's. Throughout her season, she remained undefeated when all but one of her competitors refused to play a women and forfeited the match. Shearer, Lee. "Magill as Coach Built Trust, Confidence." Athens Banner-Herald.

13. Dan Magill has been pinned as one of the best coaches in college athletic history. He has also been rewarded for the act of putting Birchmore on the team, as the comments regarding the event were not until a later time. But, in addition to the comments in support of male dominance to females in terms of athletics, there have also been reports of Magill condoning negative behavior from the audience to tennis matches. Sports Illustrated shows commentary on some matches saying the behavior by the fans allowed by Magill is "inexcusable." It becomes clear that while Magill may have been a good coach in terms of the game itself, he was lacking in areas of fairness and equality. Flood, Gay. "GEORGIA STYLE." Sports Illustrated, June 29, 1987.

14. Billie Jean King was a professional tennis player in the mid to late 1900's where she played in 51 Grand Slams. In addition to her several wins in standard matches, she also challenged male professional Bobby Riggs in 1973 and won, serving as a strong statement in the battle for women's equality. Beyond the tennis realm, King was a strong advocate for women's rights in terms of education and equal pay and became a symbol of women's equal ability to that of men. Ware, Susan. *Game, Set, Match Billie Jean King and the Revolution in Women's Sports*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

American diver to win a gold medal at the Munich Olympics. The coach said King “dives like a man,” a statement that drew a sharp comment from Jack Scott, the athletic director of Oberlin College: “Reaction on reading the quote was that she sure as hell does not dive like me or any other man I’ve ever met. In fact, she does not dive like 99% of the men in America. What she obviously does is dive correctly.”¹⁵

Just as many men feel menaced by the athletic activities of women, many organizations are becoming nervous over the rising expectations of women in sport. Long-standing by-and-for male principals are being threatened, as are by-and-for male budgets. “I know the men who head the High School athletic association’s in all 50 states, and I don’t think there are more than three or four of them who genuinely want to see girls programs comparable to that of boys,” says Wayne Cooley, aggressive director of the Iowa girls high school athletic Union. “Some are hostile, a more common attitude is apathy. Right now some state associations are getting a lot of heat from parents and from courts, so they are putting in token programs for girls. They will hire a woman assistant who is not aggressive and schedule a few so-called state championships and then they let the whole thing go.”

The bedrock reason for this institutional fear – and the fierce resistance to improving girls athletics – has been pinpointed by Harvard’s Dr. Clayton Thomas: “Women traditionally have not been allowed the same share of funds for athletics and Recreational Equipment. The appearance of girls teams to utilize sports facilities not previously required by them will have a great economic impact on schools,

15. Micki King was an Olympic diver, as well as a military lieutenant throughout the 1960’s and 1970’s. After serving in the Air Force in 1966, she entered the World Olympic Games as the only female athlete to compete in this competition. After winning an Olympic gold medal, King continued to compete against women much younger than her, and she continued to win. After her days of competing came to a close, she worked as the diving coach at the Air Force Academy. King served not only as a figure in the fight for women’s equality in sport, but also in military as well. Woolum, Janet. Chapter 3 Outstanding Women Athletes Who Influenced American Sports: Micki King (Diver). New York, United States, New York: The Oryx Press, 1992.

colleges and communities. If, by some miracle, women suddenly began using public and private athletic facilities to even half the extent they are used by men, then the overcrowding would be catastrophic.”

Whether or not the situation would be a catastrophe depends on one’s outlook. But a marked increase in participation by girls and women certainly would bring about radical change. Most organized sports in the U.S. fall into three categories, that which is sponsored by colleges and universities, by public school systems and by community recreation organizations. Is a guest – and probably a conservative 1 – that no more than 1% of all college and university athlete funds are spent on women, at Junior and senior high schools perhaps 5% of the funds and facilities, and community recreation programs the figure may be as high as 20%. If females were given as little as 25% of the resources, the shape of the American athletic system would be altered far more drastically than it could be by all the designated pinch hitters, franchise shifters, NCAA rule makers and carping reporters rolled together.

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2I. Gay Academic Union

VIRGINIA SANCES

Introduction

This picture was taken during the Second Annual Conference of the Gay Academic Union (GAU). The conference was held in New York City, New York.¹ The GAU was started in 1973 in New York in order “to promote and disseminate research on homosexuality and gay people.” It is comprised of a network of college and university chapters. In 1978, the Board of Directors moved to Los Angeles, California, and the annual conferences were held there. The GAU changed its name to the Lesbian and Gay Academic Union in the early 1980s. The LGAU stopped operations in 1987; however, some chapters continued into the 90s.² One of the women featured in the picture is Rita Mae Brown. She was born in 1944 in Pennsylvania. She earned her BA in English from New York University, and she received her PhD in political science from the Institute of Policy in Washington, D.C. Her most famous novel is *Rubyfruit Jungle* which was published in 1973. Brown was associated with NOW as she was politically active in feminist concerns, but then removed herself after noticing their lack of representation for gay women. She co-founded the Student Homophile League and helped found The Furies, which was a lesbian feminist collective that published *The Furies: Lesbian/Feminist Monthly*.³

It is unclear whether this picture was staged, but since the

1. This is the primary source. This source can be found in the Lesbian Herstory Archives. “‘A Kiss May Not Make a Revolution, but It Just Might Start One.’ | Digital Culture,” accessed October 14, 2019, <http://dcmny.org/islandora/object/lesbianherstory%3A901>.

2. This source has records of meetings and conferences held by different chapters as well as general information. “Lesbian and Gay Academic Union Records,” accessed November 18, 2019, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8wmlbsm/>.

3. This is a short biography on Rita Mae Brown. Poetry Foundation. “Rita Mae Brown,” text/html, Poetry Foundation, November 17, 2019, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/rita-mae-brown>.

photograph is captioned “A Kiss May Not Make a Revolution, but It Just Might Start One,” it seems that it could have been staged. This was most likely part of the NYU chapter of the Gay Academic Union because it was created around 1974, which is when Rita Mae Brown would have been at NYU.

“A Kiss May Not Make a Revolution, but It Just Might Start One.” (1973)



Virginia Sances is a first year student at Wake Forest University.

22. Title IX: Failure to Perform

BELLA SCOTT

Introduction

Title IX was created in 1972 with the purpose to ban discrimination within the realm of education and occupations. Although the amendment does not specifically pertain to athletics, most of the public opinions regarding the amendment revolves around higher-level athletics at colleges and universities.¹ Title IX has opened a further public discussion about what it means to be a woman in society and puts regulations in place to push society further when it comes to discrimination. Although there are new pathways for women, there is still restraining legislation that acts as a boundary for women who seek to break into new opportunities. This raises the essential question: was the creation of the Title IX act for the purpose of diminishing acts of discrimination or serve to be a place holder to silence the voices of those who want change?

Title IX's emphasis on women in athletics draws large suspicion regarding the true grounds of the amendment. For example, Title IX never explicitly discusses sports yet most of the subsequent legislation highlights the ways in which Title IX has led to an athletics focus.² While the athletic field has grown immensely with women athletes, other fields need to expand as well. The fact that Title IX is only largely propelling women and other races into a more

1. Ramirez, Florencio (Larry). "TITLE IX." GPSolo, Sex and The Law, 27, no. 1 (February 2010): 16-19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23630054>

2. United States Government. "Title IX." The United States Department of Justice, August 6, 2015. <https://www.justice.gov/crt/title-ix>.

prominent spot in sports and not in many other places of society goes to demonstrate the ways in which Title IX was created as a way to distract the voices of change and to delay the effect of equality among everyone.

For instance, women account for less than 1 in 5 faculty members in STEM-related jobs and that number is even lower for women in engineering.³ How come when people think Title IX is most closely related to sports? It is because Title IX is not properly accomplishing the advancements for which it was created. In my opinion, Title IX needs to do more. Not only is Title IX not promoting equality in the workplace, but within the realm of Title IX sexual harassment cases, there is much to be changed.

This raises the most critical concern regarding Title IX with the fact that it is too broad. Universities differ in their definitions of what sexual harassment and assault are, as well as in ways to handle and address situations and complaints.⁴ Thus creating an unwelcoming environment for sexual assault cases.

Additionally, in 1974 it was deemed that the educators had it at their discretion to decide what to eliminate from the class curriculum. A large concern such as biased courses of study that make others feel discriminated against classroom should fall under that umbrella of Title IX.⁵ Overall, Title IX once again fails to accomplish its basic provisions to further excel those in discriminatory positions to feel supported and comfortable in their communities.

Title IX has the ability to create an equal playing field in an array of areas and provide those who are historically marginalized with new opportunities but fail to push beyond sports due to the vagueness of the provisions. As stated within this primary source, more people are attempting to further break down the crumbling walls of Title IX

3. Sandberg, Kathryn, and Joseph G. Verbalis. "Sex and the Basic Scientist: Is It Time to Embrace Title IX?" *Biology of Sex Differences* 4, no. 1 (July 27, 2013): 13. <https://doi.org/10.1186/2042-6410-4-13>.

4. Sulfaro, Valerie A., and Rebecca Gill. "Title IX: Help or Hindrance?" *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 40, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 204–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1565460>.

5. Ramirez, Florencio (Larry). "TITLE IX." *GPSolo, Sex and The Law*, 27, no. 1 (February 2010): 16–19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23630054>

to create more access to discrimination. Title IX is an opportunity for changes and requires correction for it to truly push boundaries and open doors.

Collegiate Sports and Other Title IX Controversies (1974)⁶

BY JUDITH MILLER

The two-year-old federal law barring sex discrimination in education promises to advance equal education for women. But whether or not it fulfills its promise depends on the fate of proposed regulations currently being considered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).⁷

The regulations at issue are intended to provide educational institutions guidelines for compliance with Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs and activities of institutions receiving federal aid. Since their publication for comment four months ago, the regulations have generated more than 5,000 written complaints from legislators, educators, and the public.⁸ Educational organizations contend the regulations are overly aggressive and unduly burdensome, while feminist and civil rights groups argue that the proposed regulations are not sufficiently strong to end sex discrimination.

The provisions of Title IX are similar to those of the law

6. Miller, Judith. "Collegiate Sports and Other Title IX Controversies." *Change* 6, no. 10 (Winter 1974): 20–23.

7. HEW was originally a federal agency that sought to administer programs in health, education, and social and economic security. HEW has most recently been split into the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services. Ramirez, Florencio (Larry). "TITLE IX." *GPSolo, Sex and The Law*, 27, no. 1 (February 2010): 16–19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23630054>

8. Title IX is a federal US law that takes away obstacles the create discrimination in carrers and education United States Government. "Title IX." The United States Department of Justice, August 6, 2015. <https://www.justice.gov/crt/title-ix>.

approved eight years earlier by Congress- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act which bars federal aid to institutions that engage in discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin.⁹ Title IX empowers HEW to delay and revoke federal funds from institutions engaging in sex discrimination. In addition, the Department of Justice can file suit if an institution refuses to comply with the law.

Although much of the publicity concerning the proposed regulations has focused on competitive athletics, many other areas would be affected: recruiting and admissions policies, financial aid, student rules and regulations, housing, health care, insurance benefits, and single sex clubs and activities. There appears to be little public interest in the regulations prohibiting different curfew and visitation rules, dress codes, standards of punishment, and course requirements for men and women.

Many of those who feel the regulations provide inadequate protection of women's rights attribute the deficiencies to the original legislation. They argue that Congress designated exemptions under Title IX that would be unthinkable if applied to discrimination based on race. For example, Title IX specifically exempts all institutions controlled by religious organizations, such as divinity schools, whose tenets are incompatible with complete sexual equality. Also exempted from coverage are military schools whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the armed forces or merchant marine. Congress also exempted other types of institutions from Title IX admissions regulations, while requiring compliance in all areas other than admissions. As the result of pressure from the education community, private institutions preschools, elementary and secondary schools, and undergraduate

9. Title IV of the Civil Right Act outlaws the use of federal aid to contribute to any form of discrimination. The United States Department of Justice. "Title IX." The United States Department of Justice, August 6, 2015. <https://www.justice.gov/crt/title-ix>.

institutions and single sex public undergraduate institutions can continue to use sex quotas and to demand higher admissions requirements for aspiring women students.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission has attacked these legislatively mandated exemptions, arguing that such exclusions can only be explained “by a philosophy that sex discrimination is less invidious than race discrimination.” Strong objections have also been raised to the regulation affecting curricular materials.¹⁰ The League of Women Voters and other groups have strongly protested the exclusion of textbooks and instructional materials from coverage.¹¹ Although the regulation preamble concedes that sex stereotyping in curricula is a serious problem, HEW has concluded that specific regulatory provisions would raise fundamental constitutional questions under the First Amendment. Therefore, it has decided to rely on professional educators to eliminate sex bias from such teaching materials.

The American Council on Education has endorsed HEW’s refusal to tackle sex bias in curricular material, but has confined its endorsement to teaching materials intended for use in higher educational institutions.¹² Sheldon Steinbach, ACE staff counselor, believes that precollege institutions may require guidance in this area. “Censorship,” Steinbach recently wrote to HEW, “is not the answer where individuals who have reached maturity can judge written materials and formulate their own ideas from those available in the marketplace.

10. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency within the US government. They are tasked with investigating and reporting civil rights issues. “USCCR: United States Commission on Civil Rights > Home Page.” Accessed November 4, 2019. <https://www.usccr.gov/>.

11. The LWV is group that encourages full government participation to promote equality and overcome diversity to aid in the ideal democracy. “About Us | League of Women Voters.” Accessed November 4, 2019. <https://www.lwv.org/about-us>.

12. The ACE is a 501 US higher education nonprofit which was created in 1918. The ACE serves to influence public policy to ensure colleges and universities better serve their students. Brown, Sarah. “What Does Higher Ed Have to Say About the Proposed Title IX Rules?” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 30, 2019. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/What-Does-Higher-Ed-Have-to-245581>.

The decision to exclude textbooks at all levels from nondiscrimination provisions has been supported by the Association of American Colleges, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and other representatives of higher education.¹³ The National Education Association, however, has urged HEW to publish guidelines for determining sexism in teaching materials for adoption by state and city school systems.¹⁴

Another hotly contested issue is the exemption of single sex scholarships and financial assistance programs such as those established under foreign governments, wills, or legal trusts. Tailored especially to preserve the prestigious Rhodes fellowships in their present form, this exemption infuriates feminist groups.¹⁵ They argue that financial aid discrimination against women severely limits their access to higher education. The ACE has supported HEW's exemption of endowed single sex scholarships, but suggests that institutions be permitted to pool scholarship resources by matching single sex dollars generated by endowed trusts with general institutional revenues, and then administering the remainder of the pool in a nondiscriminatory manner. This procedure, they argue, is less expensive than resorting to legal trustbusting which, ACE claims, will only reduce scholarship funds for male and female students alike.

The guidelines' treatment of pregnancy is another thorny issue. Holly Knox, director of the National Organization for Women's (NOW) Legal Defense and Education Fund, strongly objects to the planned approach, which regards pregnancy as a temporary disability but requires the woman

13. AAC is a national organization that seeks to promote quality and equity of liberal education. "About AAC&U." Text. Association of American Colleges & Universities, March 19, 2014. <https://www.aacu.org/about>.

14. This organization promotes graduate education, research, and international education within governmental policies. "National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges - Purpose and History of Association, Governance and Membership." Accessed November 4, 2019. <https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2268/National-Association-State-Universities-Land-Grant-Colleges.html>.

15. The Rhodes Scholarship is a prestigious scholarship awarded to 32 students. "The Rhodes Scholarships." Accessed November 4, 2019. <http://www.rhodesscholar.org/>.

to give her employer 120 days notice prior to the expected birth of her child. Knox insists that pregnancy, traditionally a rationale for inequitable treatment of women, must be considered a standard temporary disability which imposes no special requirements.

The fight over equal athletic opportunities has become a symbol of the struggle over the ultimate strength of Title IX. Most women's groups feel that HEW has already substantially capitulated to pressure from the athletic community, while organized sports claims that the regulations impose burdensome requirements that threaten many university athletic programs.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), which regulates intercollegiate athletic competition at its 680 member institutions, is HEW's harshest critic. The guidelines, the NCAA argues, are not "rationally related to the objectives of Title IX" and fail to reflect "rational, real differences between male and female athletes and differences related to the nature of particular sports."

The current regulations permit institutions to select either a single, mixed team or separate teams for males and females for sports based on competitive skills. Although the regulations do not require equal spending on athletics for men and women, they do demand equality in equipment, supplies, and coaching services. The NCAA believes this provision could eventually lead to equal spending and that it would prove disruptive to current athletic programs. The group also argues that revenues produced by popular sports events finance other university sports and recreational activities.

The disparity between athletic programs for men and those for women, especially at university levels, is perhaps the most blatant area of separate and decisively unequal treatment of women. A publication issued by the Association of American Colleges' Project on the Status and Education

of Women notes that at some universities, more than a thousand times as much money is spent for men's intercollegiate athletics as for women's. Knox says that although the NCAA preaches that football revenues pay for all other sports, the truth is that in most secondary and postsecondary institutions football is an expensive drain and competes with other sports for scarce resources.

Knox also argues that resistance to change in athletics traditionally a male domain makes this area symbolically crucial. "Women have been socialized," she says, "to believe that athletics is not an important component of education." Athletics, and particularly competitive athletics, she contends, develops leadership, competitive spirit, physical prowess, and self confidence in physical accomplishments. "To deny women, many of whom are more athletically inclined than men, the right to compete equally with men in this prestigious area," says Knox, "will breed psychological inferiority."

Attempts to weaken Title IX regulations are directed at other areas as well: most prominently, prohibition of single sex social fraternities, sororities, and clubs that receive substantial support from the university. Representative Edith Green (D Oregon) has offered an amendment to this year's Appropriations Bill that would exclude social clubs and fraternities, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, the YMCA, the YWCA, and others from Title IX coverage.

Green's amendment is just one of several legislative efforts to reorient Title IX. Earlier in 1974 Senator John Tower (R-Texas) introduced legislation that would have virtually excluded all intercollegiate activities from Title IX purview. The Tower amendment, however, was deleted in the House-Senate conference.¹⁶ Another unsuccessful effort made by

16. The Tower amendment which was put forth by Senator Tower proposed legislation that would add fewer restrictions and regulations to Title IX including an exemption to revenue-producing sports.

Representative Marjorie Holt (R-Maryland) would have relieved educational institutions of their obligation to maintain records and statistics on sex and race. Without such data, HEW would be unable to evaluate charges of discrimination. Holt intends to reintroduce her bill.

There is little doubt that the regulations to Title IX need substantial revision. Critics on all sides agree that the proposed guidelines are hopelessly vague, that they fail to spell out procedures for compliance or to present a workable timetable for reform, and that they often fail to distinguish between secondary and postsecondary institutions.

Substantial revamping is currently underway. No matter what the regulations ultimately say, however, the predominantly male Congress will have final authority over their content. If the members disapprove of the final document, the regulations will be sent back to HEW and the difficult process of compromise and conciliation will begin anew.

Bella Scott is a current first year at Wake Forest University. She hopes to major in Sociology and Minor in Politics while continuing to pursue gender and sexuality studies classes on campus.

23. Sex Education from the Catholic Church

BAILEY PELLISSIER

Introduction

To warn seventh and eighth grade girls about the “dangers” of premarital sex, Father Filas, a Jesuit priest, visited a Catholic School in Anandale in 1977.¹ Although there was obvious condescension in his seminar, it was a progressive step toward implementing any kind of sex education in schools found to be necessary in reducing pregnancy risk.² While in modern day, human sexuality has come to be viewed in a more “progressive” manner in most American schools, at the time of this seminar, sex was mostly seen as “a field of knowledge that...engages issues of values.”³ The topic of sex was especially controversial in a deeply Catholic institution. Not only did Father Filas provide sexual education, he went beyond the limited sex education topics that the Fairfax County allowed, mentioning birth-control, abortion, masturbation, and homosexuality.⁴

While this information contributed to a greater understanding of sex for the adolescents, Father Filas was adamant in his religious views. He delivered the information with strong words and heavy

1. Jesuits are members of the Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic order comprised solely of men founded by St. Ignatius Loyola in 1539. The religious order emphasizes obedience to the pope and missionary work. “Jesuit | Definition, History, & Facts,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed November 11, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jesuits>.
2. Stephen R. Jorgensen, “Sex Education and the Reduction of Adolescent Pregnancies: Prospects for the 1980s,” *The Journal of Early Adolescence* 1, no. 1 (February 1, 1981): 38–52, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431681001001005>.
3. Mary Lou Rasmussen, “Secularism, Religion and ‘Progressive’ Sex Education,” *Sexualities* 13, no. 6 (December 2010): 699–712, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460710384558>.
4. In the 70s, sex education programs were developing but not yet standardized in content. The content Fairfax County allowed mostly pertained to abstinence. Peter Scales, “Sex Education in the 70s and 80s: Accomplishments, Obstacles and Emerging Issues,” *Family Relations* 30, no. 4 (1981): 557–66, <https://doi.org/10.2307/584345>.

bias, such as when he states, “If you don’t hold with the differences between men and women...then you destroy marriage.” His motive was to “get to [them] before the culture gets to [them] and tells [them] sex is for fun.” The content of his speech attempted to scare the girls rather than inform them. He fed them a distorted image of sex in order to persuade them not to engage in premarital sex. For example, he proclaimed that, “sex is not what we do but who we are.” The gravity of this statement functioned to intimidate the girls, not to mention the subjectivity behind the statement as well.⁵

In the same issue of the Washington Post in 1977, there was an article reporting that “the Vatican cannot change its law barring women from ordination to the priesthood” even though the article also states that there is no biblical basis for banning women from priesthood.⁶ These two articles together suggest that Catholicism was a prominent participant in perpetuating the discrimination and subordination of women. Father Filas stresses the importance of feminine delicacy regarding sex, which is not only condescending but characteristic of their sexual narrative. Women are not allowed to attain dominant positions in the structure of the Catholic Church and from an early age, are condemned from dominating in sexual relations as well. Therefore, the Catholic Church has acted to systematically withhold power from women.

However, Father Filas’ speech was not entirely toxic to female power. He stressed the importance of communication, which serves as a preventative measure against girls being put into precarious situations where someone might take advantage of them due to a lack of understanding. He also answered frequently asked questions, effectively providing relevant information to teenagers who might be too nervous to ask.

In the 1960s, there were barriers against administering sex

5. Lynn Darling Washington Post Staff Writer, “Teaching the ‘Goodness of Sexuality’: Teaching ‘Goodness of Sexuality,’” The Washington Post (1974-Current File); Washington, D.C., January 28, 1977, sec. METRO Federal Diary/Religion/Classified.

6. Marjorie Hyer, “Women Barred as Priests In Declaration by Vatican: Vatican Rules Women Cannot Be Ordained Abortion Foe Nears Sainthood,” The Washington Post (1974-Current File); Washington, D.C., January 28, 1977, sec. General.

education due to uncertainties about its potential effects.⁷ A quiet spread of sex education programs grew in the early 1970s, however the content of these programs varied greatly. An awareness movement originating in New York spread that encouraged teacher training for sex education programs, and in 1972, the U.S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future strongly encouraged sex education and educator development. While this recommendation was ultimately rejected by Nixon, word spread about the importance of sex education.

During the time, Christian Crusaders were vocally against sex education, thus Father Filas' seminar was quite controversial to his religion. As a proponent of informing teenagers rather than leaving them in the dark, Father Filas was active in warning against sex. His teaching may not have been secular nor progressive in the modern day sense, however he went against the norm to address the unspoken or taboo in order to promote chastity.

Teaching the Goodness of Sexuality

BY LYNN DARLING

Jesuit Father Francis L. Filas came to St. Michaels School in Annandale yesterday to spread the word of the “goodness of sexuality” to an assembled group of seventh and eighth graders to warn them of the consequences of discovering the joy of sex before signing a marriage license.

Father Filas came to Roman Catholic Diocese of Arlington from Chicago as a “kickoff speaker” to test parental response

7. Potential effects entailed a hypothetical increase in recreational sexual activity accompanied with increased teenage pregnancy, as well as controversy over conflicting values and backgrounds. Scales, “Sex Education in the '70s and '80s.”

to a possible sex education program for Catholic students in grades 7 through 12, according to a diocesan spokesman.⁸

A professor of theology at Loyola University in Chicago, Father is on a 10-day Virginia tour, speaking to about 18 groups of Catholic school children and parents on the subject of sexuality.

“We live in a society that rips you apart,” Father Filas told approximately 200 young girls sitting quietly in their crisp white blouses and blue and plaid jumpers. “So many girls can be played for a sucker.” They were having this talk, Father Filas told them, “to prevent you from getting hurt.”

They also were having the talk, said Doug Grasso, diocesan coordinator of religious and adult education, “In response to the controversy” that has surrounded the subject of sex education in Fairfax County.

Last month, the Fairfax County school board approved a limited sex education program in county schools. The instruction will not be coeducational and will not include information on abortion, birth control, homosexuality or masturbation.

Father Filas, however, managed to every one of the proscribed subjects, illustrating his points with gothic horror stories of misused sexuality that he delivered with Gatling gun speed, “We want to get you before the culture gets you and tells you sex is for fun, you can play around with it and so what,” Father Filas said. “I’m here to show you the positive side.”

The message Father Filas said was simple. First, “sex is not what we do but who we are,” and second, “always used refined and delicate language and as soon as possible use technical terminology.”

Before launching into a discussion of the perils of

8. An area or group of churches under authority of a bishop “Diocese | Administrative Unit,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/diocese>.

premarital sex, Father Filas stressed the importance of communication and served up a number of anecdotes depicting what can happen when ignorance is something less than bliss.

“Girls should understand premenstrual tension,” Father Filas said. He recounted the story of a woman with husband and child who, seemingly unaccountably, he said, began to have the desire “to cut her baby’s throat and strangle her husband.” For six months, Father Filas said, she lived with these strange desires until she went to see a doctor who promptly recommended psychiatric hospitalization.

After years of hospitalization, Father Filas said, “she was released as a hopeless suicide.” Eventually, she met Father Filas who said he suggested that the problem might be premenstrual tension. Ever since, Father Filas said, she has been a “happy wife and mother.”

After a discussion of male prostitutes (“scruffy vermin”) wet dreams (“God’s way of telling a boy he can father a child”) and masturbation (“is that true happiness?... Where’s the meaning?”) Father Filas talked about temperamental sexuality, or the “biocultural differences between men and women.”

“If you don’t hold with the differences between men and women,” Father Filas said, “then you destroy marriage.”

There followed a catalogue of male female differences that would probably not have a positive effect on Gloria Steinem’s serenity.⁹ “Men,” said Father Filas, “think in terms of things. Women think in terms of persons...” In addition, said Father Filas, men and women have different senses of humor. “Woman is the diplomat.”

After complimenting his audience on the fact they hadn’t “snickered” once during his lecture, “Father Filas asked the

9. Gloria Steinem was a leading feminist and political activist who was an adamant figure of the Women’s Liberation movement during the late 20th century. “Gloria Steinem | Biography & Facts | Britannica,” accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gloria-Steinem>.

girls to write down anonymously any questions they might have about sex. Only one scrap of paper appeared.

“What if a boy makes fun of your breasts because it’s hard to ignore him if he keeps on?” asked the questioner. “Treat him with scorn and contempt,” came the answer. “It’s the one thing men can’t stand. Say something like ‘grow up, buster,’ and then turn on your heel and walk away.”

Since there were few questions from the audience, Father Filas answered some of those that he said had been asked most frequently in other lectures. One of the most popular, he said, was whether a girl should have premarital sex or “who not try it before you buy it?”

“When people say play around with sex, they forget about what can happen,” Father Filas said. “He’s using you, he’ll drop you.”

In addition, Father Filas said, there were dangers of pregnancy and “social diseases.” Syphilis, he noted, can eventually cause insanity and might have affected the behavior of such past and present leaders as Ugandan President Idi Amin and Ivan the Terrible.¹⁰

Father Filas Closed his lecture with these words: “You are good, you are beautiful, you deserve love.”

“I think he’s stuck up,” said Phyllis Lepri of Fairfax City, who, with her daughter Dana, was in the audience. He didn’t get down to the nitty-gritty, like what does a girl do when she’s sitting in the car with some guy and he’s got his arm around her shoulder and reaches for her breast?”

10. Idi Amin was president of Uganda from 1971 to 1979 and was known for ruling a particularly brutal regime. Ivan the Terrible was Prince of Moscow and then the first to be proclaimed Tsar of Russia in 1547. He was known for carrying out a Reign of Terror. “Idi Amin | Biography, Facts, & Death,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Idi-Amin>. “Ivan the Terrible | Biography, Achievements, & Facts,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ivan-the-Terrible>.

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24. “I’m on the list – are you?”

Homosexual Purges on College Campuses

RIVER COOK

Introduction

The Lavender Scare

In 1948, Alfred Kinsey’s book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, represented a shift in the politics surrounding homosexual issues in the 20th century. Kinsey argued that a significant amount of men engaged in homosexual activity, forcing the issue of homosexuality from an abstract concept to something that anyone could be affected by, because, as Kinsey put it, “more than one male in three of the persons that one may meet as he passes along a city street” had at least one homosexual experience.¹ Because of this, between 1940 and 1960, there was a significant rise in fears that homosexuals were secretly becoming involved in society.

The fears about homosexuals infiltrating institutions exploded around this time, with the 1950 “Lavender Scare”, where the State Department conducted mass firings of homosexual people from the United States government, and Executive Order 10450, which barred homosexuals from working in the federal government, setting the standards for other professional groups to do the same.

1. Alfred Kinsey, Wardell Pomeroy, and Clyde Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1948), 659.

Colleges and universities in the United States were a primary arena where these homosexual purges were enacted against students, staff, and faculty. While there is very little literature on this subject for a variety of reasons, including the fact that many universities have successfully buried the proof of these purges, many researchers have been able to uncover the far-reaching legacy of anti-gay purges in colleges and universities.

The fear of a homosexual invasion led to crackdowns at many universities. For instance, in 1944, President Homer P. Rainey at the University of Texas was dismissed due to his “lack of toughness in ousting homosexuals”.² Four years later at the University of Wisconsin, crackdown against homosexual students began. Campus police would patrol the University, looking for offenders. When students were accused of being a homosexual without “proof”, they were sent to the Student Health Services for a psychiatric evaluation. When there was proof, students were expelled. Wisconsin seems to have set the standard for how to deal with homosexual activity on campus, because many other universities followed a similar method. The Universities of Missouri, Harvard, and Yale also searched for homosexuals on campus and held fact-finding sessions for the students accused. Brigham Young University also engaged in these purging activities.

Brigham Young University

In 1962, Brigham Young University adopted an official ban on homosexual students, stating that, “no one will be admitted as a student...whom we have convincing evidence is a homosexual”.³ This policy continued until 1973 when President Dallin H. Oaks

2. Margaret A. Nash, Jennifer A. R. Silverman, “‘An Indelible Mark’: Gay Purges in Higher Education in the 1940s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2015).

3. Michael D. Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

determined that the university would admit students who repented their homosexuality. President Oaks also implemented a system of surveillance to root out homosexuals on campus.

In 1977, Brigham Young student Cloy Jenkins and instructor Lee Williams coauthored a letter refuting the homophobic lectures of professor Reed Payne. This caused a stir on campus, and apostle of the Church of Latter-day Saints, Boyd Packer, published “To the One”, stating that “sexual perversion” is “not desirable; it is unnatural; it is abnormal; it is an affliction. When practiced, it is immoral”.⁴

The article, “Homosexuality at BYU”, which is the focus of this piece, was published in the Seventh East Press on March 27, 1982. It takes place after these events and details the homosexual purging that was happening on campus and in Utah writ large. Gay purging at this school can be traced to specific events due to the documentation of students such as Dean Huffaker. As an undergraduate at BYU, they wrote an essay detailing the trails that homosexual students received during this time period, including shock treatment, policing, and homophobic professors.

The trend that this article isolates has continued; in the 1990s the BYU honor code was updated to forbid homosexual actions. Innumerable students have been expelled due to suspected homosexuality. In 2007, the honor code was clarified to prohibit all forms of homosexual activity, but not feelings. The honor code at Brigham Young has created more insidious forms of anti-gay policing, for instance, requiring specific forms of “dress and grooming”. In the frequently asked sections, it clarifies, “a girl shaving her head, a guy dying his hair bright blue...is not appropriate”.⁵ Policies such as this are targeted against gender diverse individuals. It is clear that, while the university has steered

4. Boyd K. Packer, “To the One” (speech, Brigham Young University, March 5, 1978), <https://blakeclan.org/jon/to-the-one/>.

5. Honor Code Faculty Information, “Brigham Young University Faculty Center, Accessed October 17, 2019, <https://facultycenter.byu.edu/honor-code-faculty-information>.

away from overtly anti-gay campaigns, the sentiment still exists and is perpetuated at the university.

Homosexuality at BYU⁶

BY DEAN HUFFAKER

A noted psychologist named Alfred Kinsey made a survey of sexual behavior in America and published the results in 1948.⁷ According to Kinsey, one third of all adult males engage in some kind of homosexual behavior, although their primary orientation remains heterosexual and they don't think of themselves as being "gay".

John Baswell, in his book, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, differentiates between homosexuality and being gay.⁸ Baswell says that gays have an "erotic preference for their own gender" and says that the category is "principally self-assigned." A homosexual is one who commits homosexual acts.

According to these definitions, BYU has, and has had, both homosexuals and gays. There are professors and students who believe, or fear, that they are gay. Some have never engaged in a homosexual act, others prefer sex with women, but because of emotional orientation consider themselves gay. There are still others who have committed homosexual acts but do not consider themselves gay.

6. Dean Huffaker, "Homosexuality at BYU," *Seventh East Press* 1, no. 14 (1982) 1, 12.

7. This likely refers to Kinsey's book *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* published in 1948. This book, along with *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, published in 1953, became known as the Kinsey reports, and documented that 37% of males and 13% of females had "at least some overt homosexual experience to orgasm." See "Diversity of sexual orientation," the Kinsey Institute, Accessed October 22, 2019, <https://kinseyinstitute.org/research/publications/historical-report-diversity-of-sexual-orientation.php>.

8. John Baswell was a historian and a professor at Yale University who focused on Christianity and homosexuality. His book *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, published in 1980, explores the attitudes toward homosexuality in the early Christian Western world.

An assistant professor of psychology on campus laid down the ground rules for trying to understand and describe gays and homosexuals: “There are incredible differences between them, just as there are vast differences between heterosexuals” and straights. “We have a problem of lumping individuals into one group.”

From interviewing gays and homosexuals on and near campus – including a former BYU instructor, a former BYU professor, and former and current BYU students – this point becomes apparent.

“Companionship is mainly what I’m after,” says Alan, who last semester was a ward clerk in a BYU ward. “I need someplace to go where I can feel accepted for what I am.” Alan now lives in Salt Lake City with “fifteen close, gay friends,” only two of whom are not returned missionaries. Many of them have attended BYU.

Alan explains that “It was too dangerous to organize any kind of group at BYU. Usually the only time a bunch of us got together in Provo was Monday nights. We had our own FHE program. We called it ‘Faggot Home Evening.’ The center of the BYU gay scene is not in Provo at all. With security actively hunting out gays, it is very dumb and risky to attempt to make contacts in Provo.”

R. Michael Whitaker, director of University Standards, outlined the university’s policy toward homosexuals, “A student involved in homosexual acts is subject to termination at BYU.”

He explained further, “When a homosexual violates the honor code in this manner, it is appropriate as part of the repentance process that he go to the institution that was wronged and make amends, which often involves having to leave the institution.

This way BYU has enforced its policy toward homosexuals has, in the past, drawn fire from many directions. Although

its policies have stayed basically the same, there have been slight modifications.

Shock Treatment

In the early 1970's students who confessed homosexual tendencies were referred to the BYU Counseling Center. Steve, then a BYU professor, went through this counseling program and received what he called "the shock treatment," similar to the therapy sometimes used by psychologists to help patients stop smoking.⁹

Jon, a former BYU student who is gay, described this treatment as experiencing an electrical shock while viewing a pornographic picture of a male. The patient would then be shown a pornographic picture of a female without an electric shock.

When asked about this treatment, a former BYU counselor said that "aversion therapy – not shock treatment" – had been used in the past. Mild electric stimulus was used in conjunction with slides of males and females in various stages of dress.

But, according to this counselor. "Even the raciest pictures wouldn't be considered pornography."

Describing his opinion of the effectiveness of aversive therapy, Jon quipped, "Thanks to the shock treatment, now every time I see a man, I get a jolt."

9. Electroshock therapy was rarely used as a method to stop smoking. In addition, many studies have been inconclusive about its benefits, suggesting that electroshock therapy used in this manner has caused depression as a side-effect. See M.A. Hamilton Russell, "Effect of Electric Aversion on Cigarette Smoking," *The BMJ* 1, no. 5688 (1970), and Hajek P Stead, "Aversive smoking for smoking cessation," *Cochrane Library* 3, no. 546 (2004).

Security

Over the years there have been concerted efforts between BYU Security and undercover student volunteers to identify homosexuals and help them find their way out of BYU. Dallin Oaks, then BYU president, said, “We are not going to stand for solicitation of sexual acts—homosexual or heterosexual—on this campus and among its students. We ask Security to be especially watchful for that kind of crime.”¹⁰

Gays have many stories about methods used in the past by BYU Security to be “especially watchful” of their actions.

Dave, a former BYU student, said he knew two gay students in 1973 who, threatened with expulsion from the university, were persuaded to work for security as spies. “Security was obnoxious and knew how to push people into things they didn’t want to do,” said Dave. Apparently a few of the spies became fed up with such tactics and went to TV stations in Salt Lake City to tell their story publicly. “After that blew over things were quiet for a while.” said Dave.

According to Jon, during the “Purge of ‘75” security officers took male drama and ballet students out of their classes to interrogate them and to get the names of any homosexuals they knew.¹¹

Because, as Jon said, one of the “codes of behavior” used by gays to identity each other in bathrooms was to tap their foot three times in the direction of the person sitting in

10. Dallin Oaks was the president of Brigham Young University from 1971 to 1980. He then was appointed as a justice of the Utah Supreme Court and served for 4 years before being appointed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. In 2018 he was appointed as First Counselor in the First Presidency. See “President Dallin H. Oaks,” The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Accessed October 17, 2019, <https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/prophets-and-apostles/meet-todays-prophets-and-apostles/bio/dallin-h-oaks?lang=eng>.

11. During 1975, security officers were instructed to “spy” on the students and patrol known gay meeting places in order to find and expose homosexuals on campus. Officers also used entrapment campaigns through utilizing gay signals, such as tapping feet in a bathroom stall, and interrogating fine arts and drama students. See Garry J. Moes, “Ex-BYU Security Officer Tells of Intrigue, Spying,” The Salt Lake Tribune (1975).

the next stall, scores of students working undercover for Security acted as foot-tapping decoys arresting those who responded to their psuedo-advances.

Dave said that Security people also used the gay's method of passing notes to the person in the nest stall to identify homosexuals. Dave also made mention of the purge. "It was January of 1975. It happened within a matter of days and nobody expected it." Dave described how one day during the purge there were Security officers with walky-talkies on every level of HFAC. "It was all a joke in the Drama department. We had T-shirts made at the Bookstore which read 'I'm on the list—are you' Being that blatant helped people to look at the problem realistically," said Dave.

An Anonymous Letter

In Spring of 1977 Dr. Reed Payne touched on the subject of homosexuality in a lecture to his beginning Psychology class, which set off a chain of events bringing the Church's and university's dealings with homosexuals into public view.¹² Apparently his comments weren't taken well by those present who were gay, which led Lee Williams to publish a 52 page letter explaining what it was like to be gay. Williams, one of the principle authors, wrote the letter anonymously because at the time he was an instructor at BYU.

In the letter Williams et al asserted that homosexuality was a state of being and not just a chosen pattern of behavior; that it cannot be cured, and those claiming to have been cured might have experienced modification of their sexual behavior but not their preference.

12. Dr. Reed Payne was a psychology professor at Brigham Young University who, in 1977, preached homophobic views in class. In response, Jenkins and Williams published "The Payne Papers".

Wrote Williams, “No one knows what causes homosexuality. However, we do know one thing that does not cause homosexuality and that is free choice. Until the cause or causes are known it is grossly inappropriate to moralize about it.”

Williams went on to give a warning, “As the homosexual becomes less and less willing to submit to this damaging influence [humiliation and discrimination from the Church,] and the rest of the world comes to realize the plight of the Mormon homosexual, the Church stands to face a very serious and embarrassing blow to its integrity.”

A former Social Service Counselor at BYU said that William’s response to Payne, called the “Payne letter,” caused a “real stir” at BYU and in the Church. “Officials in both places were very touchy over it,” he said.

What further fanned the foes of indignation was an article containing excerpts of the letter which appeared Feb. 2, 1978 in “Advocate,” a homosexual publication. Along with the article appeared a derogatory cartoon depicting President Kimball’s disgust with homosexuals.¹³

One month later on March 5, Elder Boyd K. Packer addressed a BYU 12-stake Fireside in which he directed his talk toward homosexuals.¹⁴

Elder Packer’s comments, published by the Church under the title “To the One,” reflected and emphasized the Church’s policy on homosexuals. He used the word “homosexual” only once in his address. “Please notice that I use it as an adjective, not as a noun: I reject it as a noun. I repeat, I accept that word as an adjective to describe a temporary condition. I reject it as a noun naming a permanent one.”

13. This likely refers to Spencer Woolley Kimball, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1973 to 1985.

14. Boyd K. Packer was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles at the time of this newspaper. In 1994, he became the Acting President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and became the official president in 2008.

Later that month Rev. Rob Waldrop, pastor of the gay Metropolitan Community Church in Salt Lake City requested equal time on KBYU to respond to Elder Packer's 'very offensive and highly inaccurate' remarks.¹⁵ KBYU General Manager, Bruce Christiansen denied Waldrop's request. The March 30, 1978 edition of the Daily Universe quoted Christiansen as saying, "We recognize our responsibility to cover all aspects of the gay rights issue and we believe we have done that with fairness."

Legislative Action

Another significant event during this time concerned action taken by the Utah Legislature during its 1977-78 interim the Transportation and Public Safety Study Committee headed by Public Safety Commissioner Larry Lunnan made a study to re-define the authority of various law enforcement agencies throughout the state, including BYU Security.

As a result of the study the Legislature passed House Bill 80 giving BYU Security officers 24 hour jurisdiction throughout the state.

In addition to that, the bill read ambiguously, "Members of the police and security department of any college or university shall also have the power to enforce all rules and regulations promulgated by the governing board of such an institution."

Gays have in the past complained of harassment from BYU Security in Salt Lake City and even in areas as far away as St. George. Mike, a gay returned missionary said, "I've seen BYU Security officers in Salt Lake City at the cruise areas driving past lines of cars leaning out the window taking pictures of

15. KBYU is a religious television station in Salt Lake City, Utah.

not only the license and cars, but of the passengers inside of them also.”

Chief Kelshaw denied that tracking down homosexuals off campus had anything to do with BYU gaining statewide jurisdiction. “You don’t even need police power to take pictures or write down license plate numbers,” said Kelshaw. He did say that having statewide jurisdiction can help in the prosecution of off-campus cases.

More Controversy

Just three months before the passing of the bill an arrest was made of a homosexual which mused an even greater stir than the Payne letter. David Chipman, 22, was arrested February 1979 and charged with forcible sexual abuse. The charges were filed by David Newmann, a police science student working under cover for BYU Security.

Newmann, posing as a homosexual, had previously written a letter which appeared in a gay publication, expressing a desire to organize a gay underground group at BYU. Chipman, a non-student, responded to Newmann’s letter and they arranged to meet at BYU. After meeting, they consented to go to Squaw Peak for sexual activity.

After sexual activity had been initiated, Chipman was taken to the BYU Security office where he was placed under arrest. Upon learning of the account, President Oaks put a halt to such tactics. However, Chipman was prosecuted and convicted.

Two months later a three-part series on homosexuality was published in the Daily Universe. This unprecedented attempt by the Universe to increase understanding of the problem of homosexuality on campus took many by surprise.

A faculty advisor explained that the series was read by President Oaks prior to its publication, but that Church officials in Salt Lake City still “weren’t at all pleased” that the subject had been brought up in the first place although the Church’s position on homosexuality was reflected strongly throughout the series.

In the meantime, the Payne letter was not well received by many members of the psychology department. One professor of Psychology commented, “It’s a fabrication. Those guys aren’t interested in facts.”

This same professor, then a member of BYU’s Institute for Studies in Values and Human Behavior, headed by Victor L Brown Jr., helped prepare a rebuttal to the Payne letter in the form of a preliminary statement on a study the Institute was doing on homosexuality.

The rebuttal, published in the Fall of 1978, was entitled “A Reply to Unfounded Assertions Regarding Homosexuality” and was prepared partly “from the files of LDS Social Services.”¹⁶

This BYU publication made statements such as “Since homosexuality is not unique in its patterns of causation or cure, it does not deserve privileged status as special disorder different from other behavior problems or sexual sins.” “Homosexuality is one of a class of impulse disorders and is not the result of a unique set of psychological disorders” “Highly religious groups, like the Latter-day Saints, have been found to have significantly lower [homosexuality] incidence rates.”

This rebuttal also gave a brief conclusion of the unfinished study being done for LDS Social Services “There is no scientific evidence that homosexual behavior is the inevitable product of biological or environmental influents.

16. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, informally called LDS, is the primary Mormon church in the United States.

However, there is evidence that agency is involved. Homosexuality can be changed.”

According to one BYU professor, the rebuttal was so poorly done that it was an embarrassment to all involved,” and most of the copies were given back to the authors or their request.

The claims made by the Values Institute reflect the present position of the Church on homosexuality. In *Homosexuality*, a Church handbook distributed to state presidents and bishops, the Church policies and procedures are spelled out, “As we have previously stated, homosexuality is a sin in the same degree as adultery and fornication.”

The handbook emphasizes that “homosexuality is a learned behavior, and as such can be changed.” The handbook states that “Modern day prophets have clearly promised that homosexuality can be changed. You should convey this positive attitude because it encourages change... Be careful not to label people ‘homosexual.’ It is better to refer to their ‘homosexual behavior’ than to all them a homosexual.”⁴

Steve, a former BYU professor who is gay, said, “The Church’s simplistic attitudes toward homosexuality are the cause of its lack of understanding in dealing with it. When the Church says that there is no such thing as a homosexual, and you know that you are one, how do you resolve that?”

LDS gays who finally adopt the attitude that they can’t change are classified in the Church handbook under “Rebellious Homosexuality... This category represents primarily an attitude and lifestyle. These individuals may be either early memory or situational types who, for various reasons, have chosen to fully accept a homosexual lifestyle. They have little if any, motivation to change their behaviour and are openly active, even promiscuous in their homosexual behaviour. They promote the concerns of the

homosexual community and may belong to various homosexual organizations. They commonly manipulate others to meet their own sexual needs. Generally they are not active in the Church. They tend to rationalize and interpret doctrines for their own purpose, and try to refute the position of the Church on homosexuality.”

Because the modern day prophets have clearly promoted that homosexuality can be conquered, those “rebellious” homosexuals who believe otherwise are subject to excommunication from the Church.

In Welfare Services Packet One, instructions to bishops and state presidents concerning homosexuals include, “An attitude of stiffneckedness and rebellion is almost always a clear indication of the need to be sternly disciplined, even to excommunication, so that others are not contaminated by unclean habits.”

Another procedure of repentance was outlined by the Church handbook. “Since homosexual behavior is possible only with others, the individual should disclose his sexual partners as an essential part of repentance. The purpose is to help save others.”

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