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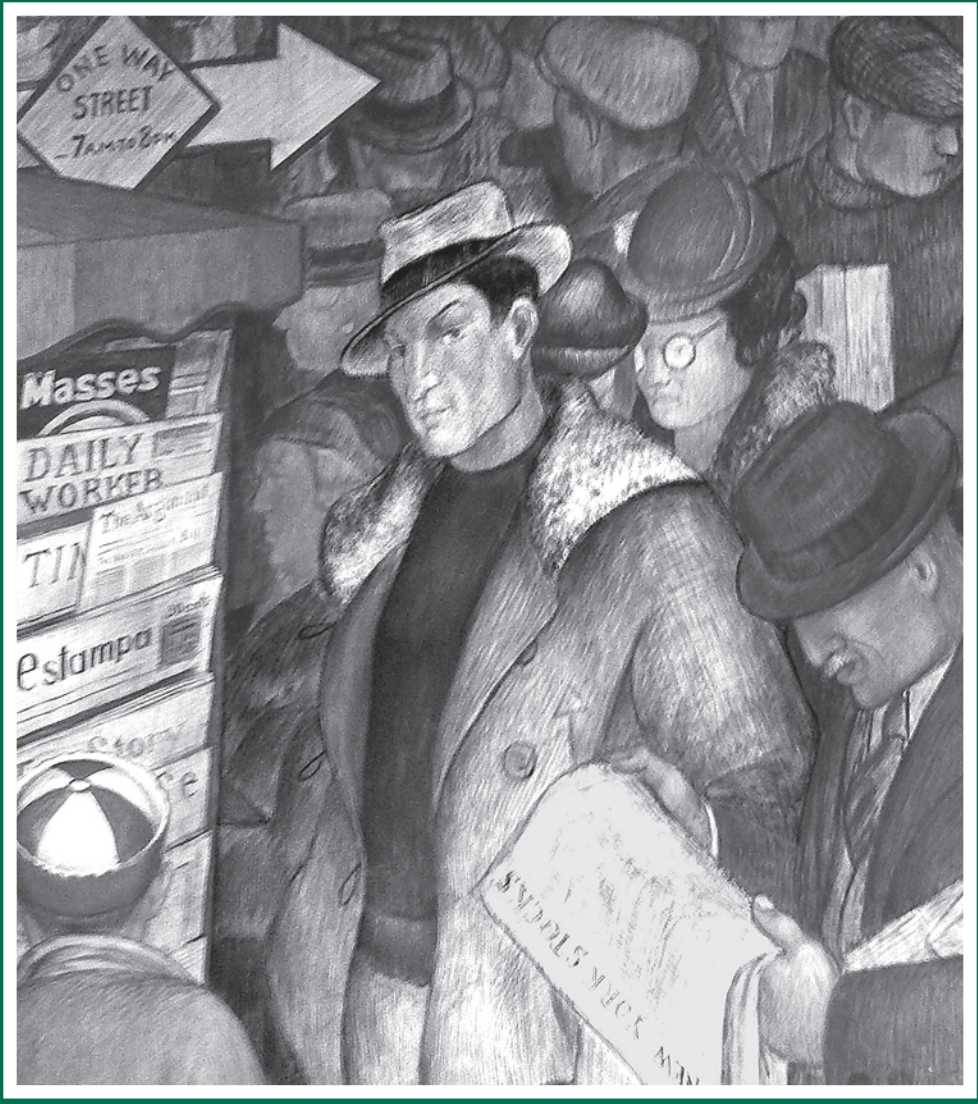

Victor Arnautoff: Art and Academic Freedom at Stanford

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Literary Legacy: Ivy Low Litvinov and D. H. Lawrence

Left: Ivy Low Litvinov, a British novelist and the wife of Soviet statesman Maxim Litvinov, visited the Stanford Library in 1943 to read its archival collection of original letters by her friend, novelist D. H. Lawrence. The Hoover Archives established an Ivy Litvinov collection in 1987.

PHOTO BY ARNI/JOSEPH FREEMAN PAPERS, HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

Cover: In his 1934 mural *City Life*, on an interior wall of Coit Tower in San Francisco, Victor Arnautoff—a Stanford art professor from 1938 to 1962—painted his self-portrait next to a newsstand displaying the *New Masses*, a Marxist cultural journal, and the *Daily Worker*, the Communist Party newspaper.

SUSAN WELS

IN THIS ISSUE

"No proven Communist should hold a position at Stanford"

Victor Mikhail Arnautoff, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and Stanford

BY ROBERT W. CHERNY
PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF HISTORY
SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY

Robert Cherny is the author of American Politics in the Gilded Age, 1868–1900 *(1997);* San Francisco, 1865–1932 *(1981), with William Issel;* A Righteous Cause: The Life of William Jennings Bryan *(1985), and many journal articles and chapters in anthologies. He has been an NEH Fellow, Distinguished Fulbright Lecturer at Moscow State University, and Senior Fulbright Lecturer at Heidelberg University. He is currently researching a biography of Victor Arnautoff—a leading muralist in San Francisco, a Stanford art professor, and a member of the Communist Party since the late 1930s. This article is adapted from his talk on Arnautoff, sponsored by the society, in January 2013.*

Victor Mikhail Arnautoff, an art professor at Stanford for almost 24 years, was probably the most prolific muralist in San Francisco in the 1930s. He created the *City Life* mural in Coit Tower, a large mural at the Presidio's Protestant chapel, and a series of murals on the life of George Washington at the city's George Washington High School. He was on Stanford's art faculty from 1938 until his retirement in 1962. In 1955 and 1957, he presented a challenge to the commitment of the university's president, Wallace Sterling, that "no proven Communist should hold a position at Stanford." The outcome of that dispute signaled an extension of academic freedom at Stanford.

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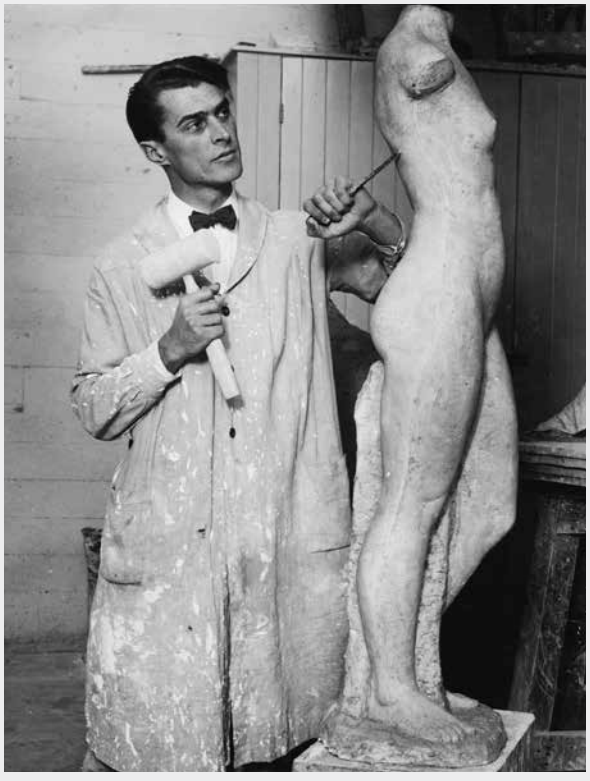

Arnautoff, shown here in 1929, was a lieutenant in the White Siberian Army before he left Russia in 1920. He then lived in Harbin and Mukden, China, until 1925, when he moved to San Francisco and enrolled in the city's California School of Fine Arts.

OFFICER AND ARTIST

Arnautoff was born in 1896 in southern Russia, near what was then the village of Mariupol. His father was a Russian Orthodox priest, and his mother was from a family of Don Cossacks, who prided themselves as defenders of the tsar and the true faith, Russian Orthodoxy. Young Victor studied in the village school and local gymnasium, and his art work showed such promise that he received special tutoring. In 1914, as all of Europe went to war, he was rushed through his final year of gymnasium and sent to a school for cavalry officers. Arnautoff was commissioned an ensign in the 5th Lithuanian Lancers regiment.

His unit was stationed southwest of St. Petersburg. Though Arnautoff was promoted to lieutenant and decorated for valor in action against an enemy, he later reflected, "My position in the regiment was difficult: an intellectual, but not of the gentry, separated from the soldiers by my rank, and yet not an officer of the nobility." In the poorly supplied, poorly trained, and poorly led Russian army, he recalled, "I saw all I needed to of the stupid tyranny of officers, the ineptitude of command, the mud, and the deprivation."

Russia's Imperial government collapsed in February 1917. In November, Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power. In March 1918, Lenin approved a draconian peace treaty that took Russia out of World War I. The treaty marked the beginning of civil war between the Bolsheviks' Red Army and the Whites, a loose alliance of several anti-Bolshevik groups. Arnautoff was recruited into the White army, eventually rising to lieutenant colonel. Despite some initial successes, the White Siberian Army spent most of 1919 retreating across Siberia. The army took serious losses—some in battle, but more from desertions. Arnautoff's regiment was part of the "ice march" across frozen Lake Baikal in early February 1920. Late that year, Arnautoff crossed into China, surrendered his weapons, and left the war.

In 1932, Arnautoff received a commission for several murals at the new Palo Alto Medical Clinic, which is now being renovated as the Palo Alto Historical Museum

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In art school, Arnautoff studied with leading faculty member Ralph Stackpole (right). When Arnautoff grew interested in mural painting, Stackpole encouraged him to go to Mexico to study with painter Diego Rivera (left), the most famous muralist in the world.

Arnautoff went first to Harbin, the largest Russian settlement in China. There, he enrolled in the Lotus Art School while scratching out a living by painting icons. After a year or so, he was hired to train cavalry for Zhang Zuolin, the local warlord, in Mukden. There, he met and married Lydia Blonskii—nicknamed Leda—the daughter of a former colonel in the Imperial Russian Army. Leda soon gave birth to two boys, Michael and Vasily. Arnautoff still hoped to become an artist, and Leda's father agreed to pay his tuition at the California

School of Fine Arts in San Francisco. Now known as the San Francisco Art Institute, it was then the leading art school in the western United States.

In November 1925, Arnautoff arrived in San Francisco. He "was amazed by the bustle and noise of America" and had never before seen "such a mass of pedestrians and automobiles." After his first semester of art school, he so impressed the faculty that he was appointed a monitor, a position that covered his tuition. He studied with several renowned artists, including Ralph Stackpole, a leading faculty member at the school. Toward the end of his studies, when he grew interested in painting large public murals, Stackpole encouraged him to go to Mexico to study with the painter Diego Rivera.

At the time, Rivera was probably the most prominent muralist in the world. He had developed a distinctive artistic style, based on simplified figures and bold colors, that he attributed to the influence of Aztec murals. Rivera had been in and out of the Mexican Communist Party and spent a year in Moscow before he was expelled for anti-Soviet attitudes. In 1929, the year the Arnautoff family arrived in Mexico, Rivera began work on a series of frescoes at the Cortés Palace in Cuernavaca. Rivera hired Arnautoff as assistant on that project and also for his mural at the National Palace in Mexico City, which depicted the sweep of Mexican history and the Revolution of 1910.

When Rivera and Arnautoff were beginning to work at the National Palace, Stackpole persuaded the head of the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange to bring Rivera to San Francisco to create a mural in the city's new Stock Exchange building. Rivera went to San Francisco for the commission, leaving Arnautoff in charge at the National Palace. After Rivera returned in 1931, the Arnautoffs—now including Jacob, who had been born in Mexico—moved back to San Francisco.

CITY LIFE

The United States was then entering the second year of the Great Depression. Arnautoff set up a studio in the city's art colony, in which he immediately created an 8- by 24-foot fresco mural featuring himself and other young San Francisco painters. The fresco, and Arnautoff, made it into the *San Francisco Chronicle*. In 1932, Arnautoff received a commission for several murals at the new Palo Alto Medical Clinic, which is now being renovated as the Palo Alto Historical Museum. The murals, which celebrated the medical triumphs of the time, caused a traffic jam at their unveiling, as Palo Alto residents flocked to confirm that bare breasts were on public view.

As the depression deepened the next year, an unusual opportunity appeared. Coit Tower, built with a bequest from Lillie Hitchcock Coit, was originally intended to be an art gallery, featuring works on pioneer days in California. National political events intervened, however. In May 1933, Franklin D.

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In 1931, while Arnautoff was in Mexico, Rivera came to San Francisco to create a mural, titled *Allegory of California*, in the city's new Pacific Stock Exchange Building.

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Coit Tower in San Francisco was completed in 1933. The next year, its interior was the site of the country's largest federal Public Works of Art Project for unemployed artists—the creation of large fresco murals, in the style of Diego Rivera.

Roosevelt, recently inaugurated as president, asked Congress to fund the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to ease unemployment by creating government jobs. Later that year, Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins created the federal Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) for unemployed artists. The largest of the PWAP projects was in Coit Tower.

Dr. Walter Heil, newly appointed director of San Francisco's de Young Museum, became chairman of PWAP District 15. He supervised new plans for the interior of Coit Tower—the creation of large fresco murals, in the style of Diego Rivera, whose subjects would be present-day life in San Francisco and California. Heil selected 25 artists from a field of 50 applicants. Arnautoff was chosen to create the *City Life* mural and to serve as technical director of the PWAP project.

City Life, when completed, received a generally positive reception, although some criticized it for including negative elements. In the left center background, there is an automobile wreck in front of the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange, which I think of as Arnautoff's depiction of the stock market crash. One section, set in the Financial District, shows a well-dressed man being robbed by two other well-dressed men. More scandalously, the newspaper rack nearby includes all the San Francisco papers except the *Chronicle*. Arnautoff also included a self-portrait next to the *New Masses*—a Marxist cultural journal—and the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the Communist Party. Today, the Coit Tower mural is Arnautoff's best-known work and perhaps his finest.

Arnautoff completed several more public murals in the 1930s. His largest project, funded by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and completed in 1936, was a twelve-part depiction of the life of George Washington at San Francisco's new George Washington High School. In the murals, Arnautoff implicitly challenged the version of U.S. history then typical in American high schools. In depicting Mount Vernon, Arnautoff literally marginalized Washington and put enslaved African Americans in the center of one of the scenes. The

Arnautoff created the* City Life *mural inside Coit Tower and served as technical director of the federal mural project

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In 1934, Arnautoff (second from left) was one of 25 artists chosen to create the murals.

mural presented a counter-narrative to most high-school histories of the time, which tended to ignore the existence of slaves at Mount Vernon, as well as the paradox of slaveholders fighting for the principle that all men are created equal. Another large mural presents Washington pointing the nation to the West. Again, however, Arnautoff's counter-narrative makes it dramatically clear that the way west was over the body of a dead Indian. Arnautoff also created five post-office murals in the late 1930s and early 1940s. One, in College Station, Texas, showed the back-breaking toil of black sharecroppers, the easier life of white Texans, and the wealth that was derived from oil. It has not survived.

In spring 1938, Arnautoff began teaching part-time in the Art Department at Stanford, becoming an assistant professor in 1944. He was also active in the San Francisco arts community, holding positions in the city's Art Association and the Golden Gate International Exposition's Fine Arts Committee. Arnautoff won several awards in the 1930s and early 1940s for his art and also for his skills as a competitive fencer, which he had honed as a Russian cavalry officer.

COMMUNIST TIES AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Arnautoff's politics had begun to move left as early as his time working with Rivera. In 1936, he and Leda applied, but were turned down, for permission to emigrate to the Soviet Union. In 1937, Arnautoff became a naturalized U.S. citizen and joined the Communist Party. Leda became a citizen and Communist Party member two years later.

In 1941, when Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Victor and Leda threw themselves into activities to support the Soviet war effort. He headed a San Francisco group, the Russian-American Society, and served on the executive committee of the national Russian War Relief organization. In both 1944 and 1948, the Arnautoffs again applied for permission to move to the Soviet Union, but they were denied.

Toward the end of the war, Arnautoff began teaching at the California Labor School, whose director, Holland Roberts, was dismissed by Stanford in 1944 because of his left-wing politics. In 1945, Arnautoff coordinated a lecture series at the Labor School on the Soviet Union, and he later taught painting and printmaking there. Arnautoff remained on close terms with Holland Roberts for the rest of

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Arnautoff, standing under his self-portrait, completes a section of his *City Life* mural.

his life. The Labor School, however, was closed in 1957, after it was deemed "subversive" by the attorney general. Its printmaking classes evolved into the Graphic Arts Workshop, a cooperative that exists today.

In 1955, Arnautoff found himself in the headlines again when a lithograph he had made, entitled *DIX McSmear,* was removed from the annual San Francisco Art Festival. The artwork showed Vice President Richard Nixon wearing a black mask, holding a pumpkin in one hand, and carrying, in the other hand, a paintbrush and a bucket labeled "Smear." Arnautoff described the cartoon as "a composite and symbolic characterization of McCarthyism," but festival officials removed it, they said, because it caricatured the vice president. The *Nation* magazine promptly put *McSmear* on its next cover. Many Stanford University alumni were not amused, and President Wallace Sterling received a thick pile of letters demanding that he do something about Arnautoff.

In 1955, his lithograph, **DIX McSmear,** *was removed from the San Francisco Art Festival because officials said it caricatured Vice President Richard Nixon*

Sterling had stated repeatedly that a proven Communist had no place at Stanford, a position that—as Ellen Schrecher makes clear in her book *No Ivory Tower*—a large majority of university presidents and governing boards held at the time. It was also a position favored by 77 percent of the University of California faculty members who voted in a 1950 referendum.

At Stanford, in 1953, Sterling had appointed a special university committee to clarify "what we mean by academic freedom and academic responsibility" and to address "the problem posed by the possibility of investigation by a government committee." The special committee on academic freedom and responsibility, which Sterling himself chaired, quickly reached consensus on the first issue, except for two matters: "whether present

membership in the Communist Party should be regarded alone as sufficient basis for the removal of a faculty member" and "the freedom and responsibilities of the faculty member with regard to his activities of a nonprofessional character."

The group's subcommittee on Preparation for a Possible Investigation recommended that, if any faculty member were asked to appear before a state or national legislative body, "the Advisory Board [should] institute an investigation of the individual involved, and of such other matters in connection with the case which it deems appropriate." The Advisory Board was—and is—elected by the tenure-line faculty to advise the president primarily on retention, tenure, and promotion. An Advisory Board investigation should also take place, the subcommittee recommended, "if the name of a Stanford faculty member were made public in the press." Once the board completed the investigation, it would prepare a report and submit it directly to Stanford's president.

The special committee's final draft, entitled "On Academic Freedom and Responsibility," was completed on June 1, 1953. It began with an extended discussion of the meaning of academic freedom and included eight numbered propositions. Three were to prove relevant for Arnautoff in 1955 and 1957:

> *4. That the university uphold publicly and unitedly the good status of any member under political investigation or attack, unless and until it has been shown that his teaching has been incompetent or his actions unlawful....*
>
> *5. That . . . it be recognized that a present member of the Communist Party of the United States is subject to a discipline that is inconsistent with professional integrity and competence, and with academic freedom and responsibility as herein defined, and is, therefore, unfit to serve on the Stanford faculty....*
>
> *7. That if any [faculty] member, while under examination by a Congressional or State committee, chooses to stand on his constitutional right to refuse to testify on grounds of possible self-incrimination, he should not be subject on this ground alone, to dismissal or other disciplinary action, but should realize that this places upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership.*

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In 1936, Arnautoff painted his largest project—a twelve-part depiction of the life of George Washington at San Francisco's new George Washington High School. The mural challenged the typical version of U.S. history by placing enslaved African Americans in the center of one of the murals. The project was funded by the federal Works Progress Administration.

Three committee members—Bernard Haley, Leonard Schiff, and Wallace Stegner—filed a strong dissent from Proposition 5. They argued instead that "membership in any lawful organization, past or present, should not in itself alone be grounds for disciplinary action or termination of tenure by the University." They stated further that the only grounds for dismissal should be incompetence or illegal actions, but their position did not become part

In December 1956, Arnautoff was summoned before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which was meeting in San Francisco

of the policy. Thus, two years later, in 1955, when Arnautoff was accused in the press of being part of "the Communist conspiracy," the university had a procedure and set of principles intended to address such a situation.

Arnautoff was first asked to talk with President Sterling. He recalled their conversation this way when he prepared his memoirs some 16 years later:

> *"Professor Arnautoff, my correspondence lately has grown considerably," said Sterling when I came to his office. "...I have to put a few questions to you. You see, every letter is about 'Arnautoff, Arnautoff...'"*
>
> *The questions touched upon my public activity, university work, and political views. To the first two questions I supplied full answers. To questions relating to my political views I declined, saying that they did not fall within the purview of a university president. Sterling declared that in view of my refusal he was obliged to refer the matter to [the university's Advisory Board]... As the conversation closed I asked the president if he didn't feel awkward asking me such questions. "No," he replied, "I've been asked these questions and I've answered them. As university president I am obliged to give due regard to the views of those who finance the university."*

In October, Arnautoff met with the Advisory Board. The surviving files are incomplete, but they indicate that, as of early December, the board "had declined to terminate Arnautoff's appointment either now or [to] go on record as wishing to do so when the contract expires." The board's decision drew the ire of the university's counsel, Robert Minge Brown. Frederic Glover, executive assistant to the president, wrote to Sterling that "Bob Brown was very disturbed....Bob said that if there was not a sufficient record of Communist activities by this man, we are never going to get a case where there will be." At Sterling's request, Glover sent a summary of his conversation with Brown to Advisory Board Chair David Faville. Sterling also asked Faville to arrange for Brown to meet with the Advisory Board. Whatever Brown had to say to the board, however, apparently failed to persuade them to change their advice about Arnautoff.

A year later, in December 1956, Arnautoff was summoned before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which was meeting in San Francisco. Arnautoff cited the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about his membership in the Communist Party and other organizations. The committee's counsel, Richard Arens, demanded to know if he had painted the *McSmear* picture "under the direction of the Communist Party of the United States." Arnautoff declined to answer. After a few more questions along the same line, Representative Gordon Scherer concluded that "It is obvious that the Communist Party had a hand, in addition to your Communist hand, in the preparation of that cartoon." Arens then asked Arnautoff about "the significance of this pumpkin" in the cartoon and if Arnautoff had learned "about this pumpkin through Communist Party channels." Arnautoff again declined to answer. Sherer then directed that Arnautoff's testimony be sent to the Department of Justice, with the suggestion that the DOJ begin denaturalization proceedings against him. Once again, the press stoked a furor among Stanford alumni over Arnautoff, who could now be called a "Fifth-Amendment Communist."

COURTESY OF PETER ARNAUTOFF

In 1937, Arnautoff became a naturalized U.S. citizen and a member of the Communist Party. His wife, Lydia, became a U.S. citizen and Communist Party member two years later.

The next day, on December 12, Arnautoff wrote his own response to his HUAC interrogation, addressed to "My Fellow Citizens." Throughout the letter, he referred to "the Un-American Sub-committee," which, I have to assume, was a conscious choice of language:

> *The Un-American Sub-Committee knew very well that I had not committed any crime. After all, an artist has as much right to make a political cartoon as any other citizen has to express a political opinion or viewpoint....*
>
> *Members of the Un-American Committee said I am a most dangerous man for the security of the United States [an accurate quotation]....*
>
> *Do they consider an artist's colors, brushes, crayons and pencils as murderous tools? If they do, it is a new low in right-wing thinking, and it is time for the American people—and especially for American artists—to be concerned with a threat that affects everyone as fully as it does me. I value my freedoms, and I intend to defend my rights as a citizen and as an artist, and to express my belief in American principles in the future as I have in the past.*

The same day, Glover wrote to Sterling that "Bob Brown is disturbed that 'our mechanics' for getting rid of a Communist have broken down....in refusing to answer, Bob says, [Arnautoff] provides the perfect defense of silence to what is a reasonable question under the circumstances, and [Bob] doesn't see how Stanford could ever, under these procedures, get rid of a known Communist who merely remained silent when asked whether he were a Communist....if a man won't talk, we are stuck with him."

That same day, December 12, Glover also wrote to Faville, chair of the Advisory Board, regarding a June 23, 1953, memo to department heads that included Propositions 6 to 8 of the "academic freedom study"—apparently to determine if Arnautoff was likely to have seen provision 7:

> *That if any member, while under examination by a Congressional or State committee, chooses to stand on his constitutional right to refuse to testify on grounds of possible self-incrimination, he should not be subject on this ground alone, to dismissal or other disciplinary action, but should realize that this places upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership."*

The Advisory Board began, once again, to discuss the Arnautoff case. Bernard Haley, who had dissented from the special committee's report "On Academic Freedom and Responsibility," asked to meet with the board to present the position of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). Haley had chaired its Stanford chapter in 1955–56, and the chapter's current president was Daniel Mendelowitz, Arnautoff's closest friend on campus. Glover wrote to Sterling: "Dave [Faville] feels that it is very important for you to meet with the Advisory Board before Haley does....[Faville] fears that Haley will swing some Board members back to positions they held earlier, and which were shaken by [Philip H.] Rhinelander's stand." Rhinelander was dean of Stanford's School of Humanities and Sciences, in which the Art Department was located. The implications seem clear enough—Sterling, Rhinelander, and Faville were trying to persuade the Advisory Board to terminate Arnautoff. A majority of the Board, at that point, had first leaned in Arnautoff's favor, but some may have been persuaded by Rhinelander.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Stanford President Wallace Sterling (right)—shown here in 1960—appointed and chaired a committee in 1953 to clarify "what we mean by academic freedom and academic responsibility." In 1955, when Arnautoff was accused in the press of being part of "the Communist conspiracy," the university had a procedure and set of principles intended to address such a sitution.

There is no information about what transpired when the Advisory Board met with Sterling and later Haley. Arnautoff, however, was invited to appear before the board on March 19. In his memoir, Arnautoff wrote that "I knew that there were among them some who were sympathetic to me." Faville, professor of marketing and chair of the Advisory Board, seems not to have been sympathetic to Arnautoff but, instead, close to the position of the administration. Of the six other members of the Advisory Board, English Professor John W. Dodds stands out as one who was likely to have supported Arnautoff. As former dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences, Dodds was well familiar with the Art Department and, specifically, Arnautoff and his teaching. In 1953–54, Dodds had also been president of the campus chapter of AAUP. At that time, the national AAUP was resisting the incursions of anti-Communist investigators into the academy and had taken the position that Communists had a right to teach in U.S. universities. Dodds had served on the committee that developed the first draft of what became Proposition 7. He, along with I. James Quillen, W. C. Cutting, and Hugh Skilling—a majority of the Advisory Board—had served on the committee that had drafted the statement on academic freedom and responsibility, but none of them had dissented from Proposition 5. Haley had been chair of that committee and one of the dissenters.

Arnautoff's memoir includes the only record I have found of his interview with the Advisory Board, which included an extended exchange about various aspects of Arnautoff's testimony before HUAC, as well as his political views and activities. When Faville asked him why he had refused to answer HUAC's questions, citing the Fifth Amendment, Arnautoff explained that the "amendment is inextricably bound up with freedom of speech and freedom of thought, and it was established to protect the innocent from persecution for unpopular ideas." He continued that "reactionaries are trying to transform this constitutional provision into a matter of shame and fear…when I insist on my right to rely on the Fifth Amendment, that is not only my private affair, it is a matter of principle in defense of freedom of thought in America."

Stanford's Advisory Board again began to discuss Arnautoff's case, and he was invited to appear before the board on March 19

Arnautoff notes, in his memoir, that board members Faville, Quillen, Skilling, and Merrill Bennett "pursued further their interest in the California Labor School, the Russian American Society, and my students. Bennett asked why I live in San Francisco, and I answered: 'With Stanford's salary scale, my wife is obliged to work.'"

Arnautoff's reply must have especially resonated with Dodds, who, as dean, had described the Art Department as "understaffed and overworked." As campus AAUP president in 1953–54, he had also been responsible for a salary study documenting how Stanford salaries, especially in the humanities, were significantly below those of similar institutions.

Later, Skilling asked, "Is my assumption valid that you try to evade questions which you find inconvenient to answer by relying on the Fifth Amendment?" Arnautoff answered, "I consider such questions unworthy of response by an American citizen." When Bennett asked Arnautoff about "the defense of an accused who relies on the Fifth Amendment," Arnautoff replied that, "If our conversation were a simple after-dinner conversation, I'd be happy to pursue this further. But that's not the case. I'm being interrogated." One of the final exchanges was with Dodds, who asked, "Do you consider it Stanford's business to inquire of you whether you're a Republican or anything

else?" Arnautoff's reply was very close to what the dissenting members of the special committee on academic freedom had argued in 1953: "No. Stanford is an institution of learning. And it can judge me only on my academic qualifications."

Arnautoff was not dismissed from Stanford. He received a 15.5 percent salary increase for the next academic year.

Throughout both Advisory Board proceedings, there seems never to have been any question of Arnautoff's competence as a teacher and artist. The board's report to Sterling is missing from the archives, but Frederic Glover, two years after the hearing, summarized the outcome this way: "[The Advisory Board] concluded that while there was reason to question Professor Arnautoff's judgment about political matters, there was no evidence that he had permitted his political beliefs to affect his teaching of art at Stanford."

The lack of any suggestion of incompetence or bias in Arnautoff's teaching effectively undercut the arguments of those who claimed that a party member was inevitably an incompetent teacher. Here, Arnautoff may have been saved by the classes he taught. Had he been teaching in the social sciences or humanities, there might have been investigations into his course syllabi, assigned textbooks, and lectures. As it was, all agreed that he was a distinguished artist and able teacher.

The board "concluded that, while there was reason to question Professor Arnautoff's judgment about political matters, there was no evidence that he had permitted his political beliefs to affect his teaching of art at Stanford"

It would have been much easier for Arnautoff and Stanford if, instead of taking the Fifth Amendment before the HUAC sub-committee, he had lied about being a Communist Party member. By standing on his rights under the Fifth Amendment, he must have known that there would be repercussions on campus. He would also have known what to expect, since he had been through an Advisory Board hearing the year before. The answers Arnautoff gave to the Advisory Board emphasized his respect for and commitment to the U.S. Constitution. Instead of accepting the mantle of shame that anti-Communists had created for anyone who cited the Fifth Amendment, Arnautoff turned the matter on its head by suggesting that those who questioned the appropriateness of his decision to stand on his constitutional rights acted shamefully, in an un-American fashion. That stance undoubtedly resonated with at least some members of the Advisory Board.

Arnautoff assessed the outcome in his memoirs: "Figuratively speaking, [the president and his advisors] put up with me as they might a toothache." After the 1957 Advisory Board hearing, the university held no more investigations of Arnautoff.

Nevertheless, his affiliations continued to attract attention. In September 1957, the *San Francisco News* carried an exposé entitled "'Peace,' but Behind Curtains Move Ominous Shadows." The article focused on the Russian-American Society and Arnautoff, its president. The language seemed to be drawn, in part, from espionage novels:

> *Our heritage has its shadowy sides. Some of the shadows are visible, like those that can be seen through the drawn curtains of a little shop at 215 Pierce st. for two hours each week. That's on Fridays from 8 to 10 p.m. when the silhouettes of a little group of people huddled at a small round table can be seen from the usually deserted street.*

The article identified the shop as the office of the Russian-American Society, mentioned that Arnautoff headed the group, and added that the U.S. Attorney

In 1956, Arnautoff was summoned to appear before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) that was meeting in San Francisco. Six years later (right), demonstrators protested HUAC hearings at City Hall.

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General considered the organization subversive. The author, reporting on his interview with Arnautoff, noted that the artist did not answer when he was asked if he belonged to the Communist Party.

As usual, the article generated mail to Sterling that was critical of Arnautoff and demanded action against him. Now, however, the university's replies differed in several ways from those that went out in 1955 and 1956:

> *Stanford's policy is that no proven Communist should hold a position on the faculty. It must be remembered that a professor has tenure, and that in order to dismiss him, charges must be proven and not just alleged without evidence that will stand up in court.*
>
> *There is no such evidence in the case of Professor Arnautoff, although there is no question but what he is intensely interested in Russia and its problems. This, however, is not illegal. Nor are views which are unorthodox or unpopular.*
>
> *The right of free speech and free thought is a very important part of a strong democracy; it is easy to lose this privilege if we do not defend the right of people to hold views which differ radically from those held by most of us. And I am sure that we can leave up to the government the job which is properly theirs of identifying and prosecuting those whose actions threaten the security of the nation.*

COURTESY OF PETER ARNAUTOFF

After moving to Zhdanov, in the Soviet Union, in 1963, Arnautoff continued working on large-scale murals, including a three-story ceramic-tile mural (above) on the outside wall of the town's Communication Building, which housed its post and telegraph offices. Arnautoff's writing is on this postcard.

Thus, led by the Advisory Board, the Sterling administration came to a definition of academic freedom much like that expressed by Haley, Schiff, and Stegner in their dissent from Proposition 5. The proposition asserted the inappropriateness of a "proven" Communist serving at Stanford, but Haley, Schiff, and Stegner had pointed to the difficulties in proving such a charge. For university counsel Robert Brown, HUAC's allegations seemed to "prove" that Arnautoff was a Communist. However, Proposition 7 of the 1953 statement defended the right to stand silent of a person accused of being a Communist. In the end, a majority of the Advisory Board proved unwilling to accept HUAC's allegations as proof of Arnautoff's allegiance to the Communist Party. The Sterling administration not only acquiesced to the situation that Robert Minge Brown worried about—"if a man won't talk, we are stuck with him"—but also came to defend Arnautoff's right to hold "unorthodox or unpopular" views. It even gave him a sizable increase in salary.

Arnautoff's self-confidence before HUAC and the Advisory Board may have stemmed from information that only he and Leda possessed. They had filed their fourth application to emigrate to the Soviet Union on December 15, 1953. On July 13, 1955, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union had approved their application to emigrate and become Soviet citizens. So, while lecturing the Advisory Board on the rights of American citizens, Arnautoff had already secretly renounced his American citizenship in his application. He and Leda were making plans to move to the Soviet Union as soon as he retired from Stanford.

RETURN TO MARIUPOL

In November 1961, Leda died after being hit by an automobile. The following spring, Arnautoff retired from Stanford. At the time, he later recalled, "I felt myself an unwanted guest in America," and he continued his plans to return to Mariupol, which had been renamed Zhdanov. "I was drawn to my homeland," he later explained, "by a longing for it, for the Russian people, for their friendly cordiality, and by a desire to do creative work." He moved to Zhdanov in 1963, taking with him some 100–200 of his paintings, drawings, and prints.

Once established in Zhdanov, Arnautoff resumed his work on large-scale public murals, creating one on the wall of an elementary school, one inside the local airport, and one on the town's Communication Building, which housed its post and telephone offices. It is ironic that most of Arnautoff's

While lecturing the Advisory Board on the rights of American citizens, Arnautoff had already secretly renounced his American citizenship; he moved to the Soviet Union in 1963

Once established in Zhdanov, Arnautoff resumed his work on large-scale murals

murals from the 1930s in the United States—the country he rejected—have been better cared for than the murals that he did 30 years later in the country that he preferred.

In the final years of his life, Arnautoff moved to Leningrad with his second wife, an art critic. He died at their dacha outside Leningrad in 1979.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

There is a sizable collection of Arnautoff's personal papers, his scrapbook, and sketches and prints in the Victor Arnautoff Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Pete Arnautoff, Arnautoff's grandson, has shared a large collection of family papers with me. The Stanford University Archives and Special Collections, Green Library, contain a number of files relating to Arnautoff, Sterling, and the development of the statement on academic freedom.

Arnautoff's autobiography was published in the Soviet Union: Victor Arnautov with Leonid Sanin, *Zhizn' zanovo* [Life Anew], 2nd enlarged edn. (Donetsk: Izdatel'stvo Donbas, 1972); a translation by Lloyd Kramer is available at the Labor Archives and Research Center, San Francisco State University. The autobiography and reproductions of some of the art works that Arnautoff took with him to the Soviet Union, which are now in the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg, are in Yuri Ivanenko, *Viktor Arnautov: Zhizn' i Tvorchestvo* [Victor Arnautov: Life and Work] (St. Petersburg: SO LO SFK, 2007). The autobiographical essays as a part of the Arnautoffs' applications to emigrate to the Soviet Union are in the State Archives of the Russian Federation, Moscow.

A few biographical treatments of Arnautoff appeared in print during his lifetime, based on interviews with him. The longest is "Victor Mikhail Arnautoff," *California Art Research*, First Series, ed. by Gene Hailey, mimeographed, WPA Project 2874, OP 66-3-3632 (San Francisco: 1937), vol. XX, Part One, pp. 105–125. Another notable one is by Pele Edises: "Arnautoff—Artist with a Special Job," *People's Daily World*, March 3, 1945, p. 5.

Ivy Low Litvinov and D. H. Lawrence:

A Literary Legacy at Stanford

BY ELENA S. DANIELSON

"It is one of the wonders of the age that Ivy survived to die a natural death."

— American diplomat and historian George Kennan[1]

Manuscript librarians collect papers in anticipation of future research, but they can never really predict who will use the archives or why. Of all the scholars who have visited the manuscript collections in the Stanford libraries over the years, one of the more vivid figures was Ivy Low Litvinov (1889–1977). A British novelist, she was married to Soviet statesman Maxim Litvinov (1876–1951), Stalin's foreign minister and later his ambassador to Washington.

Ivy had published her first novel in 1913, when she was 24. Three years later, she married Maxim, when he was a down-and-out revolutionary exile in London. In 1919, after the Russian Revolution, she and their two children joined Maxim in Moscow, where she lived as wife and then widow of a major diplomat for most of 54 years, until 1972.[2]

REFUGE AT STANFORD

In November 1943, Ivy was traveling from Washington to Moscow and showed up, without warning, at the Stanford Library. She wanted to read a collection of original letters by her friend, British novelist D. H. Lawrence, in what was then known as the Felton Library. The research at Stanford was Ivy's refuge in a dangerous time. In 1939, her husband had been dismissed as foreign minister and disgraced by Stalin, only to be recalled to active duty in 1941, when the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. He served as Stalin's ambassador to Washington for a crucial year and a half, from December 1941 to spring 1943. He and Ivy arrived in the U.S. on December 7, while the Japanese were bombing Pearl Harbor. The Litvinovs, especially Ivy, were wildly popular guests in Washington and New York in 1942. She lunched with Eleanor Roosevelt and dined with Marjorie Merriweather Post, one of the wealthiest women in America. By 1943, however, Maxim—again in political difficulties—was abruptly recalled from Washington to Moscow and an uncertain fate.

Stalin's infamous purges had nearly wiped out the ranks of Litvinov's closest colleagues in the Foreign Ministry. Many historians, in fact, view his survival as something of an unexplained miracle. In this era, Stalin targeted entire Russian families for reprisals, and Maxim and Ivy knew at least two British wives whose lives were destroyed by the purges. One friend, Phyllis Klishko, was imprisoned, and another, Rose Cohen, was shot to death. Ivy—who was rather larger than life and given to great exuberance and strong opinions—was an obvious target. Faced with the prospect of returning to Moscow, she confessed her fears about the future in letters to friends. She was on the West

Opposite: By the time she met novelist D. H. Lawrence in 1914, British writer Ivy Low—shown here with a friend (perhaps psychologist Stanley Bligh)—had published two novels, *Growing Pains* and *The Questing Beast*.

JOSEPH FREEMAN PAPERS, HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

Coast, belatedly and reluctantly on her way to join her husband via the Pacific, when she stopped at Stanford to do some literary research.[3]

Books were Ivy's life, and she had befriended many book reviewers and writers, including D. H. Lawrence. Ivy, in fact, had been one of his earliest fans. In 1914, she found a freshly printed copy of Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* among her mother's books, and her mother had commented that it was well written. Ivy read the novel in one night. Recognizing its originality, she immediately bought postcards the next morning to send to her best friends, recommending the novel and announcing in her usual bumptious manner, "I have discovered a genius." She also impulsively sent off a fan letter to Lawrence, who was staying in Tuscany with Frieda von Richthofen, whom he would soon marry. Lawrence wrote back that if Ivy was in the area, she should pay them a visit. She immediately borrowed a traveling suit from her close friend, Catherine Carswell, and spent much of her meager funds on a train ticket to Italy.

Ivy's first week with Lawrence and Frieda was the happiest of her life. Initially, Lawrence praised everything she said, reporting in a letter that "Miss Low—Ivy Low—is staying with us a short time. We like her very much." Ivy's visit, however, extended for six weeks, and by the end, she was suffering serious blows to her confidence. Lawrence was criticizing every move she made; even though she was the only person in the household who could play

Ivy impulsively sent a fan letter to D. H. Lawrence, who was staying in Tuscany with his future wife; he wrote back that, if she were in the area, she should pay them a visit

JOSEPH FREEMAN PAPERS, HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

In 1916, Ivy married Maxim Litvinov, a revolutionary exile in London who later served as Stalin's foreign minister and ambassador to Washington, D.C. She lived in the Soviet Union for most of 54 years, until 1972.

the piano, for instance, he proclaimed that she was "unmusically musical." Lawrence's perceived slights and casual put downs caused Ivy disproportionate anguish at the time. Still, they visited each other often when they were back in London. Although Lawrence disparaged her prospects as a wife and mother, he was interested in Maxim's sudden rise to world prominence and wanted to visit the Litvinovs in Moscow in 1925–26. Lawrence inquired about Ivy in letters he wrote until he died in 1930.[4]

Three decades after she met Lawrence in Italy, Ivy was thrilled to see his original correspondence in a manuscript collection that had been donated to Stanford by Kate Felton Elkins of San Francisco. The 1933 gift put Stanford on the map for D. H. Lawrence scholars. It is not clear exactly what in the Stanford collection caught Ivy's eye. In a letter she wrote to her closest American friend, Joseph Freeman, however, she interrupted her description of her fears to report that

> *In t. meantime I retire into my literary life and have been reading up on Lawrence & making unexpected discoveries...I went to Stanford University & was shut up for 2 days in t. adorable Felton Library, which has a rich collection of Lawrence being accumulated in last 12 years, but I t. first person to ask to see it. In his letters found most amusing references to self. All this I have assembled & begun to write article.*[5]

In a letter just prior to her departure for the Soviet Union, she wrote to another American friend:

> *Did I tell you I have had 2 days at Stanford University among incredible cloisters & the most fantastic human beings…I did discover Lawrence…it did something for me reading Lawrence steadily & I made endless notes. Should get a good article out* — Lawrence Revisited.[6]

Her literary research in the archives brought Ivy undisguised joy, even, or perhaps especially, in times of war, personal danger, and political turmoil.[7]

At Stanford, Ivy charmed librarian Jeannette Hitchcock, who helped her research the letters in the library's Bender Room. "One quite thrilling event has happened to me, quite unexpectedly, too," Hitchcock wrote to a correspondent.

> *Mme. Litvinoff was in the City for a few weeks and during that time she wished to consult our D. H. Lawrence collection. It seems that, as a young girl, she had known him quite well. She found more material than she had anticipated and so she asked me if it would be possible to get a room for the night.*[8]

Ivy ended up staying overnight at Hitchcock's home so she could spend more time in the reading room before returning to San Francisco and then Moscow. Hitchcock felt honored, and she soon hoped to create an Ivy Low Litvinov collection at Stanford.

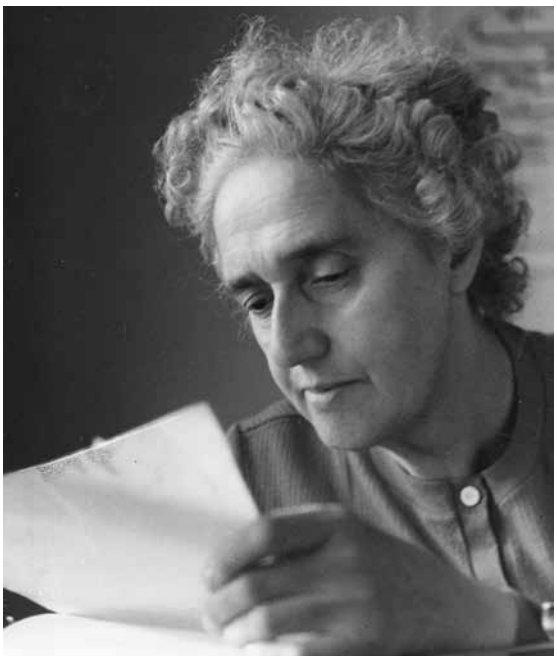
A WRITER'S LIFE

Ivy's first novel had been published by the remarkable London house established by William Heinemann. The publisher carried books by eminent authors such as John Galsworthy, but it also took a chance on first novels by young unknown writers, including *The White Peacock* by D. H. Lawrence, in 1911, and *Growing Pains* by Ivy Low, in 1913. Ivy's novel had a bliss-filled ending: the heroine unexpectedly marries an older man, and they read novels together. This part of the plot foreshadowed her own marriage: Maxim introduced Ivy to Flaubert, and she got him to read Anthony Trollope. At the end of her book, the publisher's advertising section featured glowing reviews of Heinemann books, including the still unknown Lawrence, as well as translations of Russian authors Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, who were much in vogue.

Ivy published her second novel, *The Questing Beast*, in 1914. The book addressed the changing mores of the new twentieth century. It included a seduction scene and a happily unwed mother—elements that got it banned in various places, to her delight.

Ivy read novels and wrote stories constantly, obsessively—in tiny rented rooms, in grand hotels with Maxim, in ostentatious tsarist-era buildings, at their dacha, and even during a period of voluntary exile in Siberia, when she worked as a teacher. Ivy may have spent most of her adult life in the Soviet Union, and she went down in history as the wife

PHOTO BY ARNI/JOSEPH FREEMAN PAPERS, HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES



In 1943, en route to the Soviet Union, she stopped at Stanford University to read an archival collection of Lawrence's correspondence.

RUSSIAN SCHOLARS AT STANFORD

Before and after Ivy Low Litvinov's visit to the Stanford Library archives, Soviet and Russian scholars, students, writers, and statesmen visited, wrote, taught, and conducted research at Stanford. They included:

Lev Litoshenko, 1926–1927. The Soviet economist worked on a book at the Hoover War Library in one of the earliest academic exchanges between the Soviet Union and an American university. The episode did not end well. The text that Litoshenko wrote at Stanford was suppressed; then after the author returned to the U.S.S.R., he fell victim to Stalin's infamous purges. His book was finally published, posthumously, in Russia in 2001.

Victor Arnautoff, 1938–1962. In 1938, the Stanford Art Department hired Arnautoff, a Russian refugee well known for his murals in Coit Tower and elsewhere in the Bay Area (see article on page 3). Arnautoff was a controversial figure during the McCarthy era and taught at Stanford until he retired in 1962. Although he had opposed the Bolsheviks as a White cavalry officer during the Russian Revolution, he returned to the Soviet Union in 1963 and lived there until he died in 1979.

Vladimir Nabokov, 1941. A Russian exile, Nabokov fled Nazi-occupied Europe and came to the United States because of a temporary job offer from Professor Henry Lanz of Stanford's Slavic Department. Nabokov, a largely unknown novelist at the time, briefly taught at Stanford in the summer of 1941. His course on modern Russian literature in the Slavic Department drew only two students, and his course on the art of writing in the Department of Speech and Drama attracted four. While at Stanford, he avidly read the Soviet newspapers delivered to the Hoover Library, although he lamented that they took a long time to arrive by ship from the U.S.S.R.

Alexander Kerensky, 1955–1966. Kerensky had briefly served as Russian head of state after the Russian Revolution. He conducted years of research at Stanford, where he compiled and translated documents about Russia's Provisional Government. Kerensky was initially hosted by the Hoover Institution Library, then by the Department of Political Science. Generations of Stanford students fondly remember his guest lectures, seminars, and dignified presence on campus in the 1950s and 1960s.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, 1975. Stanford University invited Alexander Solzhenitsyn to campus after his expulsion from the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn was appointed a Hoover fellow in 1975. He conducted extensive research in the Hoover Library and Archives that increased the length of his novel *The Red Wheel* by hundreds of pages.

Andrei Amalrik, 1978. Another Soviet dissident on campus in the 1970s, Amalrik was hosted by the Hoover Institution. He came within eight years of predicting the collapse of communism in his 1970 essay "Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?"

Michael Gorbachev, 1990 and 1992. In 1990, Soviet President Michael Gorbachev was greeted by huge crowds during his first visit to Stanford. After the fall of the Soviet Union, he made a second, more leisurely trip to campus and viewed an exhibition of the Hoover Archives' Russian collections.

Eduard Shevardnadze, 1991. The former Soviet Foreign Minister visited campus on May 18, 1991, viewing an exhibition of the Hoover Institution's Georgian and Russian archives. After lunch that afternoon, George Shultz—former U.S. Secretary of State and a Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution—serenaded Shevardnadze and his wife with a rendition of the American song "Georgia on My Mind."

Joseph Brodsky, 1992. The Soviet dissident, Nobel Prize winner, and American poet laureate was often a guest of the Stanford Slavic Department in the 1990s. In the papers of Gleb Struve in the Hoover Archives collection, Brodsky found a *samizdat* carbon copy of one of his own poems, which he had typed himself as a teenager. Somehow it had been smuggled out of the Soviet Union. Asked in 1992 if it should be published, Brodsky answered with a firm "*nyet*," because it was too juvenile, in his opinion. In 2013, the Stanford University Libraries Special Collections Department acquired eight boxes of Brodsky's letters, drawings, and poems.

Piotr E. Pasternak, 2010. The grandson of persecuted Russian writer Boris Pasternak came to Hoover with several Russian and English family members for the 2010 launch of the book *Boris Pasternak: Family Correspondence 1921–1960*, published by Hoover Institution Press. Piotr Pasternak—whose resemblance to his grandfather is unmistakable—is working closely with the Hoover Archives and Stanford's Slavic Department to preserve the scattered papers of the Pasternak family.

of Stalin's foreign minister, but she always viewed herself primarily as Ivy Low, the writer. She was born into an environment where the people closest to her were constantly reading and writing for publication. Her paternal grandfather, Maximilian Löwe, was a political refugee from the 1848 revolutions in Central Europe and something of an intellectual businessman. Her father was a writer and a friend and colleague of the author H. G. Wells. Ivy's mother was a writer and professional book reviewer, and her stepfather, a curator at the British Museum Library, published a significant body of work.

In the U.S.S.R., Ivy worked as a translator and a piano and English teacher. She raised two remarkable children and doted on her grandchildren—especially Pavel, whose baby photo she treasured in the United States. With her daughter Tanya, she wrote English translations of many Russian novels and stories, which are still in use. Although Ivy constantly complained of writer's block, she wrote two early semiautobiographical novels, two versions of a mystery, a volume of short stories, and a lengthy stream of articles, sketches, and reviews for publications such as the *Manchester Guardian*, *Vogue*, *The New Yorker*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, over a 60-year period. Many of Ivy's early pieces were anonymous, and she never kept track of them all. She also refused to cash in on her husband's fame by commercializing her knowledge of his life's work.

LAWRENCE REVISITED

She did, however, write about her early encounter with D. H. Lawrence. In her article "A Visit to D. H. Lawrence," she viewed the episode, 30 years later, through more worldly eyes. She took pleasure in writing about her youthful adventure with gentle irony and controlled humor—a calmly bemused tone that contrasted with her emotionally stormy correspondence during the war years. Ivy's research on Lawrence at Stanford helped her steady her nerves while awaiting her perilous return to the Soviet Union.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Stanford librarian Jeannette Hitchcock helped Ivy Litvinov research the letters in the Bender Room, and Ivy stayed overnight in Hitchcock's home so she could spend more time with the collection.

Once the war was over, in 1946, she was able to place the article in *Harper's Bazaar*.[9] She tells her polished story without any reference to her later life as the wife of a high-level Soviet diplomat. The issue also includes a poem by a young Gore Vidal and "Notes on New Orleans" by Truman Capote. The article has since been reprinted in a serious scholarly context and is now considered a fundamental source on Lawrence's early career.[10] There is a noncirculating copy of this issue of *Harper's Bazaar* in Stanford's Special Collections, as well as a copy of Ivy's second

In 1943, three decades after she met Lawrence in Italy, Ivy was thrilled to see his original correspondence in a manuscript collection donated to Stanford by Kay Felton Elkins of San Francisco

PHOTO BY ARNI/JOSEPH FREEMAN PAPERS, HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

In her 60-year career as a writer, Ivy Low Litvinov wrote two semiautobiographical novels, two versions of a mystery, a volume of short stories, and numerous articles, sketches, and reviews for publications including the *Manchester Guardian*, *Vogue*, and *The New Yorker*.

novel, *Questing Beast*. There is a penciled notation that Ivy Low is "Mme. Litvinoff," in handwriting that looks much like Jeannette Hitchcock's.

Decades later, Hitchcock's plan for an Ivy Litvinov collection finally materialized. In 1980, the Hoover Archives at Stanford purchased a large collection of papers from the family of Ivy's American friend, Joseph Freeman. The papers included Litvinov family letters and manuscripts. In 1987, Ivy and Maxim's daughter Tanya, who by then had left Moscow and was living in Brighton,[11] donated a large collection of family papers to the Hoover Archives.

Decades later, Jeannette Hitchcock's plan for an Ivy Litvinov collection at Stanford finally materialized

THE LITVINOV COLLECTION AT STANFORD

Ivy's endless unfinished drafts in the Hoover papers reveal her spontaneous personality, sparkling insights into literature, and wry commentary on people. Her highly variable handwriting is almost a seismograph of her emotional state. Tanya's donation also includes rare letters showing Maxim's state of mind during the vagaries of his career. It seems right that the Litvinov papers are housed at Hoover,[12] not far from the D. H. Lawrence collection at Green Library.[13]

There is, as yet, no comprehensive Ivy Low Litvinov bibliography, and there are still many mysteries about her life and work. The biggest mystery is how she managed to survive Stalin's murderous purges, as George Kennan observed. It is possible that her compulsion to communicate and publish her work in the West inadvertently formed a lifeline of sorts. Even when the Iron Curtain was at its most impervious, Ivy kept up a correspondence with people like Catherine Carswell, who helped her place articles in the British press. Ivy sometimes had to use couriers and intermediaries to keep these connections alive in harsh times. Despite the dangerous isolation of the Soviet period, she was intent on keeping in touch with friends in Europe and later, also, in the United States. They all remained actively interested in Ivy and her well-being.

In her old age, Ivy returned to Britain and died at Hove in 1977. Her six-week visit to D. H. Lawrence in 1914 and her two-day stay at Stanford in 1943 are both now history, but her presence in her papers in the campus collection is a permanent part of the university's cultural fabric.

Elena Danielson is Hoover Institution Archivist, Emerita. Under her direction, the Archives at Hoover were augmented with collections including correspondence of the Romanov family; the papers of poet and novelist Boris Pasternak; the papers of Soviet literary critic, dissident, and political prisoner Andrei Siniavskii; materials of Chiang Kai-shek and T. V. Soong; papers of German steel industry executive Dieter Spethmann on the process of European unification; and the Ivy Litvinov collection. Danielson was awarded the Society of American Archivists' 2005 Fellows' Ernst Posner Award for her article "Privacy Rights and the Rights of Political Victims: Implications of the German Experience" in the American Archivist. *After retiring in 2005, she wrote a book on archival management, entitled* The Ethical Archivist, *that was published in 2010.*

ENDNOTES

1. Letter by historian George Kennan to Elena S. Danielson, December 15, 1989.
2. John Carswell, *The Exile: A Life of Ivy Litvinov* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983). See also Zinovy Sheinis, *Maxim Litvinov*, translated from the Russian by Vic Schnierson (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988). The online biographical sketches of the Litvinovs are unusually error-ridden. These two volumes, while not totally error-free, benefit from the cooperation of the Litvinov family.
3. Information on the Joseph Freeman Papers courtesy of Eric Wakin, director of Library and Archives, Hoover Institution, email August 26, 2013. From Washington, Ivy wrote in a letter to Joseph Freeman, dated January 19, 1943: "My dear Joe, A great crisis is approaching, and I need you very much. I trust you implicitly not to give t. slightest hint of what I am going to tell you. It is possible that in a very very short time I (we) shall be leaving." Hoover Institution Archives, Joseph Freeman Papers, Box 29, Folder 8. Finding aid available through the Online Archive of California.
4. James T. Boulton, editor, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 7 vol., 1979–1993), May 6, 1914, in vol. ii page 168. The letters, in various repositories, contain numerous references to Ivy and Maxim.
5. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Ivy Litvinov to Joseph Freeman, November 6–7, 1943, Joseph Freeman papers, Box 29, Folder 18.
6. Hoover Archives, Ivy Litvinov to Berta Rantz, December 18, 1943, Ivy Litvinov papers, Box 8, Folder 22. Finding aid available through the Online Archive of California.
7. For the history of Stanford's special collections see David Weber, "Early Seeds to Nourish Learning: Stanford's Special Book Collections," *Sandstone and Tile*, Winter, 1992, pp. 9–12. For the fate of the D. H. Lawrence papers, see Michael Squires, editor, *D. H. Lawrence's Manuscripts: The Correspondence of Frieda Lawrence, Jake Zeitlin and Others* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). Finding aid for the D. H. Lawrence papers (M0116) available through the Online Archive of California. Information on the acquisition of the Lawrence papers courtesy of Daniel Hartwig, Stanford University Archivist, email June 24, 2013. When Lawrence manuscripts and correspondence were dispersed after his death in 1930, much of the material eventually went to the Harry Ransome Center in Austin, Texas. A set of his letters to Ivy's close friend Catherine Carswell found their way to the Beinecke Library at Yale.
8. Stanford University Special Collections, Jeannette M. Hitchcock papers, box 2, folder 1, letter to a British friend, "Patsy," February 21, 1944. Finding aid available through the Online Archive of California. Hitchcock was a Stanford graduate earned a library degree and returned to campus to pursue her career.
9. Ivy Litvinov, "A Visit to D. H. Lawrence," *Harper's Bazaar*, 1946, vol. 80, No. 10, pp. 411–418, in Stanford Special Collections, Felton PR6023.A41.Z.L75. Ivy frequently complained that the magazine edited out some of the crucial elements of the tale, including her reaction to an article by Henry James, which she felt slighted the genius. The Joseph Freeman and Ivy Litvinov papers both contain early, uncut drafts of her Lawrence article, including the passages edited out by *Harper's Bazaar*. See Hoover Institution Archives: Ivy Litvinov Papers, Box 9, Folder 6, Joseph Freeman Papers, Box 174, Folder 6. See also Stanford Special Collections, Ivy Litvinov papers, 1943, Misc. 622, where there are traces of an effort to create an Ivy Litvinov collection.
10. Edward Nehls, *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), vol. I, pp. 215–222.
11. Tatiana Litvinov, born 1918 London, lived 1919 to 1976 Moscow, died 2011 Brighton. See "Lives Remembered: Tatiana Litvinov," *The Times*, London, December 16, 2011.
12. "I am happy to think that your prestigious institution will take care of my parents' papers, as I am sure they both would have been." Tanya Litvinov to Charles Palm, director of the Library and Archives, Hoover Institution, July 4, 1987, Hoover Institution Records, Litvinov collection development file.
13. Hoover Institution Archives: Ivy Litvinov Papers, Box 9, Folder 6, Joseph Freeman Papers, Box 174, Folder 6.

Stanford through the Century 1913–2013

100 YEARS AGO (1913)

Memorial Church reopened in October, after its renovation following the 1906 earthquake. Much of it had been rebuilt from the ground up around metal framing, like several other structures in the Quadrangle. An arched window replaced the original façade's stained-glass rose window, and the bare walls awaited new mosaics from Italy. In place of the original spire was a shingled cap, later replaced by a glass skylight. In 1915, the spire's bells and Seth Thomas clockworks were mounted in a wooden tower behind the church. They now occupy a 45-foot bell tower near the Quad and the Education Building.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

After the 1906 earthquake, Memorial Church—like several other buildings in the Quad— was rebuilt from the ground up around metal framing. The reconstructed church reopened in 1913.

Citing injuries and its "thoroughly objectionable" qualities, a student-governing group abolished the ***Plug Ugly,*** a satirical outdoor play followed by a hat-smashing melee in the Quad. The three-part event—which took its name from plug hats that were also a Berkeley tradition—started with junior men advertising their upcoming skit through posted fliers, which seniors would rip down. The play, held in the track enclosure, started its 15-year run as a satirical burlesque of seniors individually and collectively, eventually including faculty and administrators. It was "more often than not very questionable in taste and very weak in humor," according to the *Stanford Alumnus* magazine. Some years, the audience would abandon the performance and head early to the Quadrangle for the traditional third act: an upper-class brawl in which juniors struck back at seniors using as weapons their "plugs"—top hats hardened with layers of thick lead paint, beneath elaborate decoration.

75 YEARS AGO (1938)

The **School of Education** building—constructed with funds donated by Dean Ellwood P. Cubberley and his wife, Helen—was dedicated in November. Cubberley stipulated that the building not be named for him, but the library and auditorium inside bear his name. In the late 1880s, Ellwood Cubberley studied science and mathematics at Indiana University, where he developed a friendship with Indiana's president, David Starr Jordan. As Stanford's first president, Jordan recruited Cubberley in 1898 to serve as assistant professor of education. In two months, Jordan promoted him to department head, telling him the unit was in disrepute and giving him three years to make it respectable, which he did. Cubberley spoke and published extensively on the power of education as a social force. His memorial resolution notes his eminence as a "teacher, administrator, historian, editor, public speaker, social reformer,

and educational engineer," but says that he could have been equally successful as a "physicist, chemist, geologist, architect, financier, or industrial manager." Beginning with $400 in 1901, Cubberley carefully invested earnings from his books. Shortly after his retirement in 1933, he gave the university stocks and bonds valued at $367,000 ($6.6 million in 2013 dollars). Later contributions to the university brought his gift total to $772,000. He died in 1941.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

The cast of a satirical Plug Ugly play poses with their "plugs," top hats layered with heavy lead paint and decorations. A Stanford student-governing group abolished Plug Uglies in 1913, citing their "thoroughly objectionable" qualities.

50 YEARS AGO (1963)

The **Stanford Band** went on strike, skipping two home football games, after the Music Department replaced director Julius Shuchat—also band director at nearby Palo Alto High School—with Arthur P. Barnes, a doctoral student in conducting. Student opposition to Barnes evaporated after he negotiated a settlement making the Band a student-run organization and facilitating its evolution from a typical military-style group to a hip gang in red blazers and decorated golf hats. The strike over, the musicians premiered Barnes's dramatic rendition of *The Star-Spangled Banner*, in which a loud, long drum roll fades to silence and a lone trumpet plays the first half. The reeds join in, softly followed by brass and percussion, as the anthem builds to a crescendo and the crowds roar. On Nov. 30, the Band repeated this version at the Big Game, postponed a week by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. This time, the crowd stood in stunned silence, weeping.

Bechtel International Center, a meeting place for Stanford's many foreign students and their families, opened in the old Zeta Psi fraternity house. In 1961, fire had destroyed the I-Center's previous house on Lasuen Street.

Prince William of Gloucester, first cousin of Queen Elizabeth II and seventh in succession to the British throne, enrolled for a year of graduate study in economics and political science. He was the first member of the royal family to attend a coeducational school and the first to study at an American institution. He died nine years later while competing in an air race.

25 YEARS AGO (1988)

Six evening courses, ranging from the history of ancient athletics to modern molecular neurobiology, were offered to adults in local communities during the inaugural quarter of the **Continuing Studies** program. Popular from the start, the program now attracts more than 11,000 students annually in 400 courses that are taught by Stanford faculty and academic staff, as well as recruited scholars. An interdisciplinary master of liberal arts degree was added in 1991.

Dr. Irving Weissman and colleagues at the School of Medicine announced development of a colony of **experimental mice** that possessed human blood-forming and immune cells, an advance that would pave the way for new studies of diseases such as AIDS and leukemia.

—KAREN BARTHOLOMEW

Stanford Historical Society Membership

SEPTEMBER 1, 2012, THROUGH AUGUST 31, 2013

The Stanford Historical Society is deeply grateful for the support and encouragement of our many members during the past year. (Please notify stanfordhist@stanford.edu if you find any errors or omissions in this list—we apologize and pledge to correct them.)

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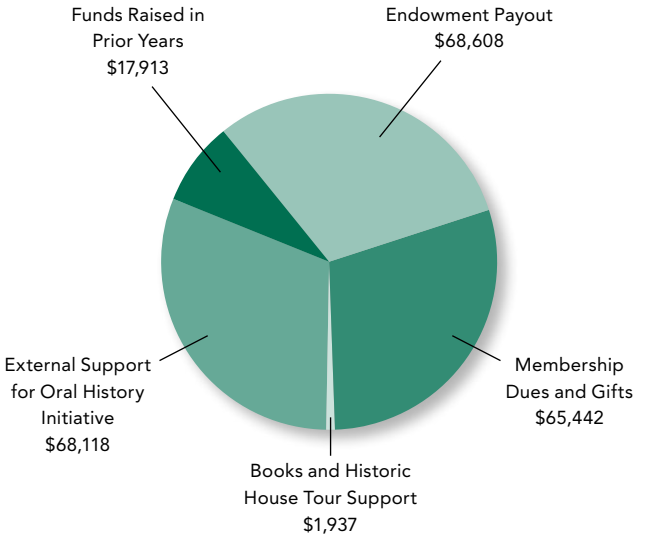
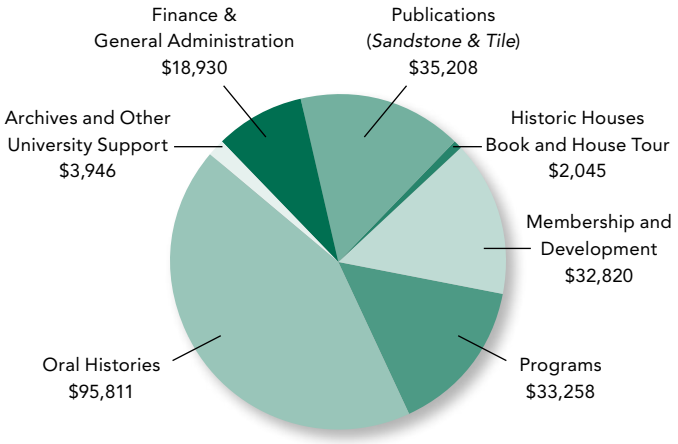
Stanford Historical Society 2012–13 Financial Summary

The Historical Society uses a "total consolidated budget" in keeping with University practices. The "Where Funds Came From" chart displays activity in all of our accounts, including some endowment and other special-purpose funds which are not necessarily spent in every year. All figures are net of the university's 8% infrastructure charge. The "How Funds Were Used" chart includes an allocation of the salary and other costs of the Historical Society's administrative officer to the various programmatic areas.

Where Historical Society Funds Came From
Consolidated Sources—Year Ending August 31, 2013
222,018



How Historical Society Funds Were Used
Consolidated Expenses—Year Ending August 31, 2013
$222,018



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Would you like to do something unique to promote the mission of SHS and to introduce the society to people who may share our vision?

Please consider sharing your pleasure and commitment by sponsoring a one-year gift membership for a family member, friend, colleague, or neighbor. Your recipient will receive invitations to all of the society's programs and events, a subscription to *Sandstone & Tile*, and the gratification of learning about the mission of SHS and knowing that they are helping to promote the preservation of Stanford's rich heritage.

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We hope that you will take advantage of this opportunity. If you need assistance, email Charlotte Glasser at cglasser@stanford.edu or call her at the Society's office at (650) 725-3332.

Stephen Player
Chair, Membership-Development Committee

Susan Sweeney
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Fall 2013
Volume 37, Number 3

Stanford Historical Society

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- annual subscription to the society's journal, *Sandstone & Tile,* mailed to members three times a year
- invitations to free on-campus programs on aspects of Stanford history.

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- Current Stanford Student $10
- Society Member $50
- Contributing Member $150
- Supporting Member $250
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- Benefactor Circle $1,000
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UPCOMING SOCIETY ACTIVITIES

January 23
Stanford in Government

February 18 Herant Katchadourian on teaching sex at Stanford

March 13 Gerhard Casper on the "Winds of Freedom"

April 17 Panel discussion on Freedom Summer

May 13 Annual meeting and President John Hennessy on the history of computer science at Stanford