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# Scripps Women and the Shaping of Anti-Vietnam War Activism: A Comprehensive Archival Study

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*Scripps College*

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**SCRIPPS WOMEN AND THE SHAPING OF ANTI-VIETNAM WAR ACTIVISM:  
A COMPREHENSIVE ARCHIVAL STUDY**

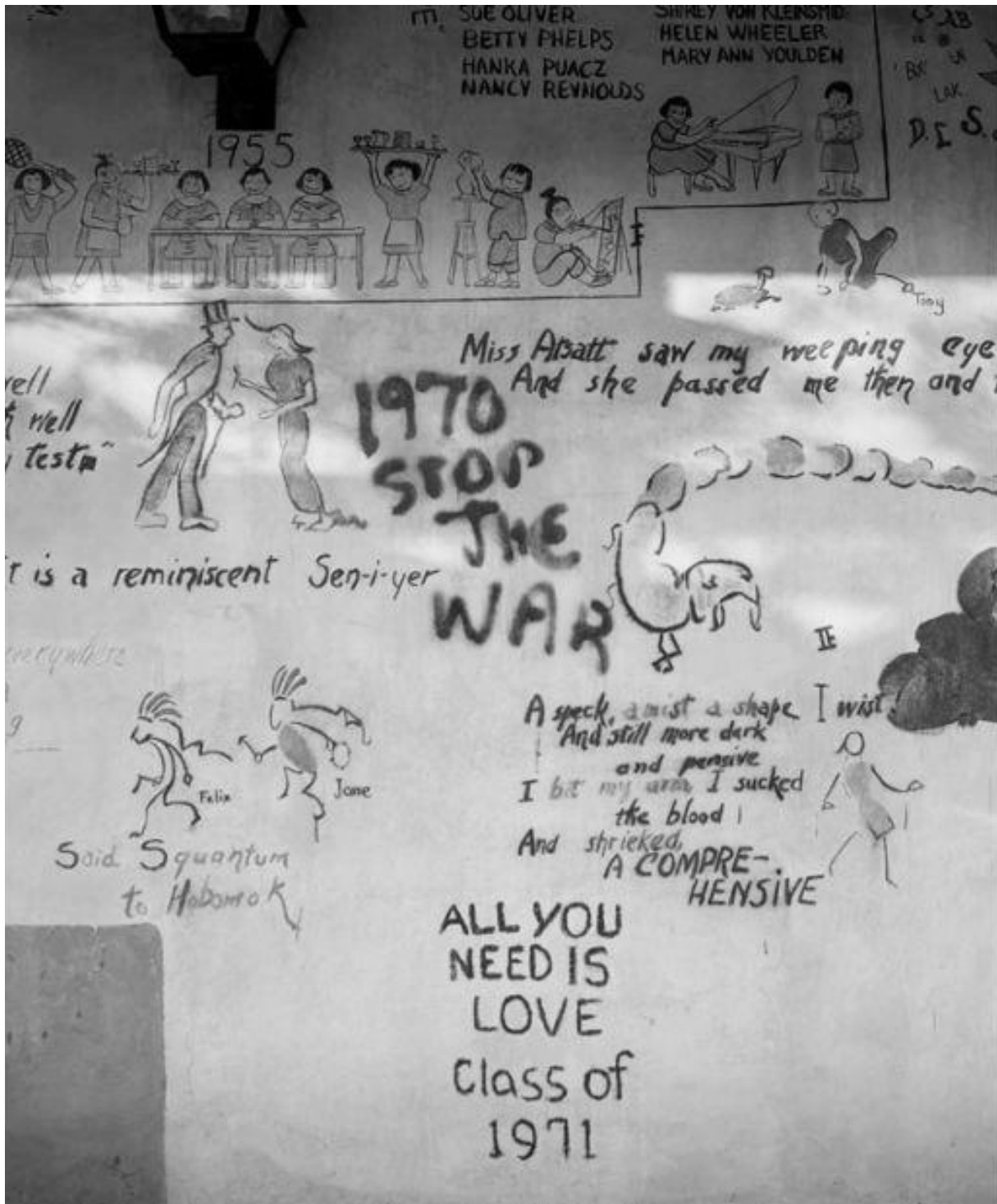
by

**Leah A. Hurwitz**

**SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**PROFESSOR PAHWA  
PROFESSOR SUMMERS SANDOVAL**

**December 8, 2023**



**Abstract**

Women have actively participated in various social movements across different times and locations, contributing their efforts in diverse capacities. The Long Sixties was a period of social activism, particularly for young, antiwar American college students. Literature shows that women and young students engaged for varying reasons against the Vietnam War. However, there is less research regarding the explicit role women played in the antiwar movement on women's college campuses, specifically concerning how their relevant identities shaped their activism. Using a case study and network analysis alongside archival research, I perform an analysis of the political opportunity structures, framings, and networks related to antiwar activism on women's college campuses. I find that Scripps women largely engaged with the issue of the Vietnam War as students and Americans rather than as women. Scripps women did reconstitute their gender identities through their activism and the cultural changes in the Long Sixties, challenging traditional notions of women's activism. Scripps women did utilize available networks within the Claremont Colleges and at the national level to gain recognition and validation in their community and from the institutional leaders.

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<sup>1</sup> Photo courtesy of Richard Howard (Howard 2013).

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my readers, Professors Sumita Pahwa and Tomás Summers Sandoval, for their encouragement, advice, and critical edits. They are both phenomenal thinkers and teachers.

Writing thesis was what I was most fearful of when starting at Scripps but this process was challenging, illuminating, and joyful because of you both. Thank you.

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I would like to thank my community at Scripps: my friends, roommates (former and present), and Denison staff friends. It has been a joy. I would also like to thank my Writing Center thesis buddy, Grace Hill, who is a force and was lovely to work with.

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Cheers to this being our last!

I dedicate this thesis to the students of Scripps - past, present, and future.

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## **I. Introduction**

“The paramount obligation of a college is to develop in its students the ability to think clearly and independently, and the ability to live confidently, courageously, and hopefully.” Ellen Browning Scripps, Scripps College's founder, wrote this and it is a guiding message for the Scripps community being posted outside of the main entrance to the college (“Honnold Gateway Inscription” 1964). With this quotation, Miss Scripps bestowed upon the institution a new challenge for the historically women's institution, setting itself apart from the traditional norms of women's colleges. Scripps College, set in the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains, is a member of the Claremont College consortium, a system of schools with shared resources yet independent colleges. Opening in the American West in 1926, Scripps explored a new frontier for women's education. Earmarked by global wars, Scripps's first century of education faced unique challenges, specifically regarding changing notions of gender roles within American society.

As a Scripps student myself, I have been interested in what issues draw Scripps students to mobilize, how they mobilize, and what, if anything, comes of it. In my time at Scripps, I have seen students mobilize on a variety of issues including labor practices through the Claremont Student Worker Alliance, dining services contracts through Drop Sodexo, and grading policies during the pandemic through Nobody Fails at Scripps (Mariana Duran, Jake Chang, and Siena Swift 2022; Maria Heeter and Marc Rod 2020; Kendall Lowery 2020). Notably, these battles are all local to Claremont and even just within the campuses, though all reacting to larger phenomena. What about national and global issues? When considering this, I was drawn to the Long Sixties, the period from 1955 to 1973 full of activism and turbulence in the United States (Hotson 2017). Specifically, Vietnam War activism proved to be an interesting case study given

its implications for women's activism broadly. Perceptions of activism for women in this era may be tied to the women's liberation movement or limited to a supporting role in male-dominated movements. While this notion is not entirely false—women were moved to act in this time on issues such as reproductive rights and workplace discrimination and women were relegated to certain roles within the New Left movement—there were women-dominated antiwar spaces, including naturally occurring ones on a women's college campus.

American culture has long had a fascination with the Vietnam War as shown by the music, films, and academic research inspired by the war. My fascination with this era in American history began in my seventh grade English class where we spent many class sessions watching a documentary about the Vietnam War. Part of what makes the war such a dominant player in the cultural zeitgeist is its role as the first war to be documented live to a nightly news audience. The hours of footage shown on American televisions each day created a strong and poignant collective memory. Often missing in this history is a women-centered or feminist understanding of the war and the movements it inspired.

Current research suggests that women are likely to engage in antiwar movements and that college campuses were hotbeds for political activism regarding the Vietnam War (Conover and Sapiro 1993; van Dyke 1998). How did Scripps College students engage in Vietnam War protests and shape the political opportunity structure? How did their actions reconstitute notions of gender? In what ways did Scripps's antiwar activism utilize networks to build their movement? How did Scripps College students frame their activism during the Vietnam War protests, and what rhetorical strategies did they employ to convey their message and goals? To investigate these questions, this paper couples archival research, primarily within the Scripps Colleges archives, with qualitative and quantitative data from a variety of authors. Using a case study and



network analysis, I found that Scripps women largely engaged with the Vietnam War as students and Americans rather than as women. Answering these questions requires first an understanding of the varying types of women's activism, both within and outside of antiwar activism; the historical context of a women's college and the Long Sixties; and antiwar or peace activism broadly.

In this paper, I will begin by introducing the methods employed in my study, namely case study and network analysis. Additionally, I utilize archiving theory and methods to conduct and analyze my primary source research. Next, I will perform a critical review of existing literature, noting that there is a unique angle to my work in terms of its combination of social movement formation theory, primary source research, and a historical understanding of women's colleges, antiwar protest, and feminist social movement theory. Then, I provide a historical context to the Vietnam War and the Claremont Colleges and utilize social movement theories to analyze my case study of antiwar protests at Scripps College. Those frameworks are political opportunity structure, framing, and networks, with a specific focus on identity. I conclude by discussing my takeaways, implications for broader cases, and areas for further research.

## **II. Methodology**

To conduct my research on the Vietnam-era protests at Scripps College, I turned to the Denison Library Scripps College Archives and supplemented my research with secondary academic sources. Specifically within the archives, I utilized the Scripps College student periodicals, the student activism collection, and student government meeting minutes, among others. In completing this research, I primarily utilized a case study methodology approach. In "On Casing a Study versus Studying a Case," author Joe Soss introduces two lines of thinking in doing a case study analysis: the realist view and the nominal view. The realist view "positions

the researcher as an outside observer who identifies and selects from cases made available by the real world” (Soss 2018, 21). In the beginning stages of research, I used a realist view to guide my search of primary source materials at places such as Denison Library. With an understanding that the 1960s and 1970s were an era of social upheaval, especially for young people, I proceeded to use that as a case to study. Furthermore, there were three “types” of protest prevalent in this era: antiwar activism, student activism, and women’s activism. With the understanding that these three cases existed broadly and consistently throughout America, I looked at the Scripps College Archives to seek out examples of those three types of activism.

A realist approach guided my search in the plethora of materials at Denison Library. However, upon further exploration, considering classifications used by library staff within the archives as set in stone and predetermined proved limiting in the analysis. Soss builds on the traditional theories of case study analysis by introducing the nominal view. He describes this as a continuing research activity that “allows the researcher to put the study into dialogue with a different set of empirical phenomena, creating new standpoints for interpretation, new paths for generalization, and new terms for relational, processual, or comparative analysis” (Soss 2018, 23). Through this perspective, I opened my research to being analyzed in new ways. I connected other women’s colleges’ activism to Scripps’ and utilized complex empirical studies that post-dated the period at hand to fill in any research gaps.

These viewpoints can be applied to archival practice and theory as well. The realist view as Soss lays out follows the traditional archiving practices and the nominal view has similarities to radical archiving theory. Due to the essential part primary documents played in this research, archiving theory was a guiding resource in conducting research. *The Princeton’s Guide to Historical Research* offered practical tools, with a notable focus on historians’ ethics. This

chapter proved particularly valuable in addressing a researcher's relationship to confirmation bias and the significant role judgment plays in the research process. Additionally, works like “Archives for Black Lives,” Howard Zinn’s “Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest,” and Michelle Caswell's *Urgent Archives* critically examine the existing norms of archival practices. These sources challenge users to engage in both critical analysis and introspection regarding their approach to archiving (Zinn 1971; Alexis A. Antracoli et al. 2023; Schrag 2021). Radical archivists have asserted that there is a myth of neutrality in the archives when in reality, archivists and librarians have biases of their own that shape the archives both in tangible and intangible ways.

An example of this myth can be found in my research. Due to Scripps College students, researchers, and faculties’ personal and academic interests, materials on social movements at the Claremont Colleges are heavily requested, so much so that librarians have compiled folders and files on social movements to expedite the research process. Radical archivists would argue that these collections are artificially created by individuals or groups of individuals therefore wrapped up in their own biases and prejudices. While I believe there is often no malice by the librarians, the issue comes from the assumption that there is neutrality within the archives and they are complete.

I argue that there are comparisons to be made between this and the case study methodology. The realist view sees case studies as happening naturally to the world in the same way that a traditional archivist would view categorizing materials as naturally occurring; the nominal view argues that the cases can be contested, challenged, and reframed in the same way that the radical archivist sees primary source material as able to be looked at in many different lights. To drive this point home, I return to the social movement collection at the College’s

library. A traditional realist would see this category as predetermined and the analysis to be done is if a case or material fits the category using “ontological questions.” The radical-nominal view would challenge how we view a social movement's collection. With this in mind, I extended my research beyond the social movements collection, struggling as many researchers do, with the magnitude of the archives. Using a period of dates to conduct my research, versus artificially collections, proved fruitful in finding archival sources, such as the newspapers, presidential records, and student government meeting minutes.

To connect this theory with my research inquiries, I will be evaluating the activism at Scripps College as antiwar, women’s, and student activism. Instead of asking whether one aspect takes precedence over the others, the pertinent questions will revolve around understanding the methods through which Scripps students advocated for their ideology. Specifically, I aim to explore how Scripps students battled for their activism to be viewed as one type of activism over the other and how their activism posed challenges to their identities as women, students, and antiwar protestors.

### **III. Literature Review**

To begin exploring the role of college women in the anti-Vietnam War movement, one must explore the history of social movement studies, women’s role in social movements, as well as a history of student activism. Early scholars considered social protest or collective action to be irrational, deviant behavior. Political theorists, however, have moved away from that definition of social protest. In their book *Women and Social Protest*, scholars Guida West and Rhoda Lois Blumberg present a broader interpretation of social protest, defining it as the collective mobilization of groups and individuals to challenge the prevailing societal norms (West and

Blumberg 1990). They go on to assert that social protest is not only a form of collective action but also a rational and purposeful political tool.

West and Blumberg further the definition of social protest by adding a feminist lens to it. They define a feminist perspective on social protests as including a women-centered interpretation of who, what, where, when, and why women engage in social protest. It features a dynamic and historical understanding of the situations that led to social organizing. A feminist understanding also notes that differences in resources will lead to different actions and that often, social movements are a political act to survive (West and Blumberg 1990). Women's role in social protest, however, is a more complicated story. Women's role in collective action is often limited to feminist causes or causes that are directly related to women and their role in society, such as suffrage, abortion rights, and equal pay. Moreover, as I will explain later in depth, the work women put in in other social movements was often overlooked or the movements available to women were limited to ones relating to their role as wives and mothers. When exploring the Scripps College Archives, I anticipated finding more examples of Scripps women engaging in women's rights issues than other issues, at least explicitly, unrelated to gender. A feminist perspective of social protest understands that women's activism applies to many issues and a feminist analysis can be applied to "non-feminist causes." I hypothesize that Scripps women were more likely to engage in issues unrelated to gender and without a gendered approach to the issue because an exclusively female space grants women the opportunity to go forward in a space without considering their gender.

There is also a historical understanding of women's role in social protest to be limited to social welfare issues. The first chapter of *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism* written by Corrine McConnaughey explores women's entrance into the public

sphere through issues of slavery, lynching, and temperance—all three of which were framed as a moral issue making it appropriate for women to be involved in the matter. There were issues in the homes therefore it was in women's purview to be involved. McConnaughy furthers this by uncovering that the issue areas women mobilized around were reflective of social norms and how they mobilized were restricted to certain means deemed acceptable. The petition was one main way that women expressed themselves.

Women utilized tools that were permissible in other venues, such as the church, and put them to use in a new venue: politics. The precedent set here is that women's participation in movements is mediated via moral and social norms of appropriateness and for most of the 20th century, that meant that the activism women were permitted to be involved in was limited to issues regarding the home (McCammon et al. 2017). In the Vietnam era, it is instructive to consider and analyze the norms of appropriateness, examining how they influenced earlier instances of women's participation in social movements and whether or not these norms applied to Scripps antiwar activists. McConnaughy asserts that women employ layers of activism, channeling their own interests through an array of organizations, utilizing organizational repertoires, and making coordinated political demands. A layered era approach, which can be applied to the Long Sixties era, is useful in understanding how social identities shape processes.

But of course, we know women's involvement in social movements expanded far past issues pertaining to the home and women themselves. The extent to which the media and scholars acknowledge that, however, is contested (West and Blumberg 1990). Women's role in social movements is often pushed to the sidelines. Jo Ann Robinson published her book *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It* in 1987. The book was the first to truly account for women's critical role in the 1955 Montgomery boycotts which were considered to

have sparked the civil rights movement in the American South. In it, she explains that women were the backbone of the movement, largely through the organization Women's Political Council (WPC). The Women's Political Council was founded in 1946, well before the Black Montgomery population considered the bus boycotts. Robinson, a member of the group, describes it as "'women power,' organized to cope with any injustice, no matter what, against the darker sect," (Robinson and Garrow 1987, 23). The group met with city leaders to express complaints on behalf of Black Montgomrians and held community programs, such as training students in civic education. WPC's sustained efforts gained the respect of the community, positioning them to be the place people turned to with complaints about the busing system. According to Robinson, it was in a WPC meeting that the prospect of boycotting the buses was first brought up. The network of women allowed them to have a far reach and succeed in creating changes to the busing system.

The framing of this issue was led by the moral leaders in the churches, namely, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The framing was effective and the venue being the churches was incredibly necessary as it was the community center for Black Montgomery. Also, without the organization and on-the-ground labor of the Women's Political Council, pamphlets alerting of the boycott wouldn't have been distributed, and the carpool system wouldn't have been established, both contributing to the success of the boycott. This case demonstrates how women's networks and resources can be mobilized, engaging

Another essential point made here is the positioning of Rosa Parks, a quiet, pious, older woman as the inciting incident. Robinson articulates well that Parks was hardly the first and only example of challenges to the busing system. Claudette Colvin, a young, unmarried pregnant woman was arrested before Parks, and the Black leadership decided that Colvin was not the

person to put on the pedestal for this moment, for her safety as well as for the success of the cause. Black men, Robinson documents, faced immense harassment, violence, and discrimination on buses. She writes, “The women intuited danger in their men’s tiredness, in the limits of their children’s and their own endurance.” She continues, “The women felt not that their cup of tolerance was overflowing, but that it had overflowed; they simply could not take anymore. They were ready to boycott. On paper, the WPC had already planned for fifty thousand notices calling people to boycott the buses; only the specifics of time and place had to be added. And, as tempers flared and emotions ran high, the women became active.” (Robinson and Garrow 1987, 39). Here, Robinson is articulating what brought women to act on this cause. The women became involved because a breaking point was reaching all of Montgomery's Black population. The moral framing was successful in articulating their desires to act and mobilize for change but based on Robinson’s account, was a tool more than anything. The women had the infrastructure to engage on the issue as well. And still, Black women's role in the boycott is overlooked and pushed to the side.

College students in the South were some of the first to participate in sit-ins, often considered to be an inciting action to spark the larger civil rights movement. The Greensboro Four, who were the four young Black men to first stage a sit-in, were all students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (“Greensboro Sit-In” 2010). Martha Biondi in her book *The Black Revolution on Campus* asserts that “Black students, so prevalent in representations of the sit-ins, freedom rides, and voter registration drives of the early 1960s, virtually disappear in the histories of the late 1960s” (Biondi 2014, 2). Later she writes that the centrality that race played in student activism has been forgotten as demonstrated in part by the heavy media attention paid to student incidents like at Kent State. While the images from Kent



State remain in our collective memory, what is forgotten is that students, alongside their demands to pull out of Southeast Asia, were arguing for the freedom of political prisoners like the Black Panthers' Bobby Seale. Biondi's point that the centrality of race in the student movement of the 1960s has been forgotten rings true and carries into the archives of the Claremont Colleges, which is a primary source for my research. At the same time, students were making demands for Black Studies Departments alongside demands to remove ROTC presence on campus. Instead of thinking in terms of a binary, the Vietnam demands versus the Third World Movement's demands.

Doug McAdam in his chapter on biographical availability in his book *Freedom Summer* explores in great detail students' involvement in the Freedom Summer movement. Freedom Summer which was a 1964 voter drive of Black Americans in the South. In addition to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committees (SNCC) organizers, they recruited white, often wealthy, college students to spend their summer registering voters (McAdam 1988). Why? Because they could. The students had the time and money to devote to the cause but importantly, they also had a belief that they could create change. Students have the energy, time, and resources that a college campus provides to devote to causes of many types.

The underexplored intersectionality of the various elements discussed in this literature review holds significant scholarly importance. This analysis has uncovered the historically overlooked dominance of women in organizing within spaces like student activism and the Black Panther Party. Conventional narratives often place men at the forefront of student activism, but this study challenges that paradigm. By examining war as a masculinist project through a feminist lens, particularly within the context of women's colleges, such as Scripps, we gain insights into the role of women in activism when issues are not explicitly tied to women and their

families. This reexamination prompts a serious consideration of women's agency in broader societal frameworks, encouraging a deeper understanding of how women's gender is constituted and reconstituted. Drawing on *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism*, suffrage movements, and the broader history of protest and activism, this contributes to our understanding of how these forces shape individuals' conceptions of themselves.

#### **IV. Thesis Statement**

Scripps College students engaged in Vietnam War protests, changing the political opportunity structure on campus and reconstituting their own notions of gender as well as others' ideas of their gender. They engaged in a reciprocal relationship with other women's colleges in developing their forms of activism, showing a trend within these campuses as well as demonstrating the strength of networks within elite, private American colleges. Scripps women represent a shift in culture at women's colleges away from traditional, conservative American values and lifestyles, presenting tension within the student body and between the students and their parents, Scripps alumni, and college leaders. These shifts and dynamics are represented in the modes and methods of activism, the framing of their activism, and the use of networks.

#### **V. Discussion**

##### *A. Historical Context and Analysis*

When examining Vietnam War activism at Scripps College, it is essential to provide some context regarding how Scripps students engaged with social movements. This includes movements targeting Scripps as an institution, as well as national and global institutions. Scripps students had engaged with broader issues and with Scripps administration on social issues. Notably, World War II inspired Scripps students to act in a variety of ways, following national trends of women's wartime efforts. During the war, Scripps women went to the nearby orange

fields to pick fruit, filling the labor gaps created by the war. The Scripps Archives shows that Scripps women worked with the League of Women Voters on war relief and aid. During Lent of 1946, they also skipped all desserts, opting to send that money to Europe for relief work (*The Scripture* 1946). In November of 1945, *The Scripture* printed an article titled “Students Act on Atom Bomb,” describing the letter that the Scripps student body sent to President Harry Truman requesting the creation of an international board and stating their opposition to limiting the research and development of the bomb (*The Scripture* 1945b). With many of their male peers deployed overseas, women seized the opportunity to actively participate in national and international affairs, a role previously limited by their predominantly domestic responsibilities. During World War II, an estimated six million women joined the workforce. Despite their vital contributions, this newly emerged group faced workplace discrimination, harassment, low wages, and challenges in securing adequate childcare (McDermott 2018). I hypothesize that Scripps women, within the context of an elite academic institution, connected these new societal roles by actively engaging in issues like the war. This involvement may have caused tension as they navigated the intersection of their academic experiences and the expectations of their parents and the Scripps administration.

Incipit Vita Nova

# THE SCRIPTURE

**War Is Never  
Over for the  
Red Cross**

VOL. XVI, NO. 21      SCRIPPS COLLEGE, CLAREMONT, CALIF.      MARCH 8, 1946

**MARTINEZ BEGINS  
CAMPUS RESIDENCE**

Dorsey hall, beginning Monday, will be long term hostess to Mexican muralist Alfredo Ramos Martinez while he executes the Memorial Garden fresco.

Plaster was being applied to the south wall of the garden this week, so Mr. Martinez can begin immediately. He not only does not object to student on-lookers, but also sincerely hopes they will enjoy watching him work.

Carlos, young Padua student who takes painting lessons at Scripps, will assist the artist. Completion of the fresco is expected to take three months or more.

Mr. and Mrs. Martinez were vivacious and enthusiastic visitors Tuesday when they lunched

**Large Student Majority Favors  
Dessertless Lent to Aid Europe**

By eating one dessertless meal six days a week during the Lenten season, until Easter Sunday, April 21, Scripps students will be able to send between \$250 and \$300 to the American Friends Society for European relief work.

Voting Tuesday was almost unanimously in favor of the one-a-day plan, as opposed to elimination of just three desserts a week or no action whatsoever. Many students favored the giving up of all desserts during the period, but that plan, held impractical by administrative officials, could not be voted upon.

Pat Morris, Dorsey sophomore,

**Memorial Services  
Honor Miss Eyre  
At Next Vespers**

A memorial service for Miss Mary Brooks Eyre will be held at vespers in Baleh auditorium, 5 p.m. Thursday. Miss Eyre, whose tragic death occurred at the end of January, was professor emeritus of psychology from Scripps, having taught here from 1931 to 1943. Her closest friends from Claremont and the associated colleges are conducting the service.

President Hard will preside, Mr. Hogue is to give the invocation and benediction, and five speakers will pay tribute to Miss Eyre.

Dr. E. F. F. Copp from the

## STUDENTS ACT ON ATOM BOMB

### Views Expressed in Letters to Washington

Putting itself on record as against limitation of research and development of atomic power, and in favor of immediate establishment of an international board to include scientists as well as statesmen, Scripps student body, in a specially called meeting yesterday afternoon, approved a letter expressing their feelings to be sent immediately to President Truman, the McMahan committee which is investigating public opinion on the matter, and California congressmen.

<sup>2</sup> *The Scripture* 1946

<sup>3</sup> *The Scripture* 1945b

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, in her book *Alma Mater*, articulates well the culture shift that occurred at women's colleges at the beginning of the 20th century. There were tensions between changing conceptions of femininity, sexuality, and womanhood, shifts in goals of educating women, and around the 1920's, Horowitz describes a cognitive dissonance that many women's college graduates were feeling upon leaving their campuses (Horowitz 1993). On campus, women were taught to be critical and engaged thinkers; their opinions and ideas were considered and valued. When leaving campus, however, this did not carry over and they were told they went to school to get their Mrs. Degree. There was also a decrease in political engagement in the 1910s and 1920s but the right to vote, for these women, encouraged them to seek more freedom within their college campuses.

The 1940s, in contrast, was centered around the war, not just because of the global implications, but also because Scripps women's way of life was interrupted. Food was rationed, access to transportation was limited, campus grounds were not tended to as frequently, and perhaps most significantly to the student body, the dating scene was severely limited. A *Scripture* article in 1945 updates Scripps students on the situation at Pomona after the war ended stating that "The situation is progressing! One hundred fifty delightful fellows are enrolled at Pomona, but they have been well mangled by the 500 girls there," (*The Scripture* 1945a).

## Enter: Post-War Possibilities

One vital question burns on the lips of every returning student: "What does the end of the war mean to our hallowed seat of learning?" The change at Scripps may be slow, but the day of dawning is coming.

*Dept. 1, Food.* Miss Kuebler is optimistic about the meal situation. The first of the year should bring old time meals and cocoa has already returned to the breakfast tables.

*Dept. 2, Station wagons.* New regulations will be made governing station wagon trips. Since gas is available, in all probability there will be longer and more frequent trips (couple will still not be permitted to sign out wagons for trips to the wash).

*Dept. 3, Grounds.* Hopes are up for the renewal of the picnic gardens and general reconditioning by the end of the year if more help is available.

*Dept. 4, Men.* The situation is progressing! One hundred fifty delightful fellows are enrolled at Pomona, but they have been well mangled by the 50 girls there. Cal Tech looms with more regular civilians and more transportation available. San Ana redistributes are too weak to protest against us and Victorville air base is only 90 air miles away. Excelsior, Scripps, Excelsior!

The Claremont Colleges have a profound connection to wars, industrialization, and neo-liberal projects. With war specifically, the Colleges have been influenced by their industries, objectives, and the transformative impact on culture. Pomona College's history is ripe with colonialism and industrialization of the American West. Scripps College's founders were interested in the educational needs of post-war women and its faculties were influenced by pushback from the conservative intellectuals inspired during World War I (Horowitz 1993). Harvey Mudd College and Claremont Men's College, now Claremont McKenna College, are particularly emblematic of this historical connection, having strong ties to war industries, especially as beneficiaries of the G.I. Bill. Harvey Mudd was founded to address the intellectual deficits within the nation during the Arms Race of the Cold War, while Claremont Men's College sought to strike a balance between business and public policy—both grounded in the values prevalent in post-war America. This historical context provides a nuanced understanding of how war and its aftermath have shaped the ethos of these institutions.

When the 1950s rolled around, Scripps women desired a return to normalcy, similar to how many other (white) Americans, especially of this higher class, felt. This return to traditions is felt in the archives. The *Scripture* published many articles about men and dating; yearbooks at this time show Scripps students hosting, what appears to be, a Confederacy reenactment dinner with students in Blackface ("La Semeuse 1955" 1955). Interestingly, in the 1955 yearbook, it's clear that the Scripps student body and their families have ties to the imperialist history of the United States. The "international students" mentioned are non-native students from Guam, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

There is a sharp change from discussing global events and how Scripps students can engage with them to hardly any mention of national politics. As a consumer of the archives, my

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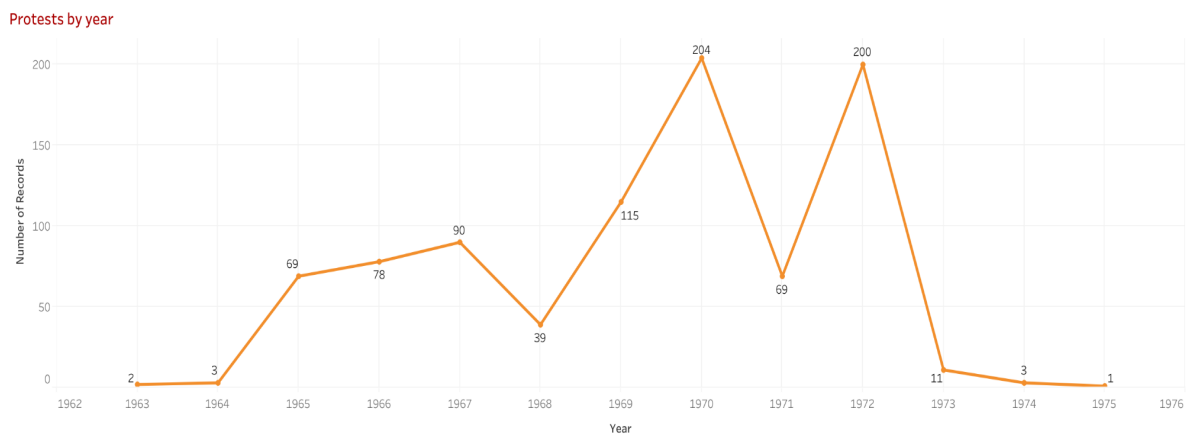
<sup>4</sup> (*The Scripture* 1945a)

first reaction to this was how it feels as though there was a flip of a switch from the 1950s and even early 1960s to lots of evidence of political activity from 1968 onwards. This initial research question sparked further engagement with this era in the Scripps College Archives. What made Vietnam a catalyst for activism among young women in America? What inspired them to act and how did their choices in acting constitute and reconstitute understanding of gender and femininity to them and others? It is through these questions that I conducted further research within the Scripps College Archives at Denison Library as well as within historical sources, social movement formation theory, and gender and feminist theory.

Introducing the Vietnam War and its key dates and events is essential to understanding the events that occurred on American college campuses. European nations had a long history of involvement in Southeast Asia; the French colonized Vietnam in 1862 with the Treaty of Nhâm Tuất. France expanded its colonization into modern-day Laos and Cambodia, establishing the French Colony of Indochina (Hoh 2018). During World War II, Germany's ally Japan invaded Vietnam and replaced France (Robert Citino 2017). This era of colonization of Vietnam and global instability led to a power vacuum following the end of World War II. For fear of communist influence in Vietnam, the United States became involved. In 1964, North Vietnamese forces fired on two destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, resulting in Congress passing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution increasing U.S. military presence in Indochina ("U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War: The Gulf of Tonkin and Escalation, 1964" n.d.). By passing this resolution, Congress and President Lyndon B. Johnson escalated the war severely. In July of 1965, he increased the draft to 35,000 each month and by 1967, it is estimated that 500,000 U.S. troops were in Vietnam.



The first antiwar protest was considered to be in the spring of 1963 in Connecticut, with demonstrations popping up across the country in the following years, reaching their peak in 1970 and 1972 (Miller n.d.). The National Vietnam Moratorium Committee organized nationwide teach-ins and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, with smaller chapters forming at universities and colleges. The two most significant protests were on October 15 and November 15, 1969. It is considered to be the largest mass demonstration in American history and engaged middle-aged and middle-class Americans to protest. That demographic had previously not been as engaged in protests against the Vietnam War.<sup>5</sup>



6

### *B. Political Opportunity Structure*

Political Opportunity Structure explains “specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilization which facilitate the development of movements in some contexts and constrain them in others” (Kitschelt 1986). It is a useful tool for analyzing social movements, looking closely at emergence, form, and outcome

<sup>5</sup> This is a very brief summary of relevant dates and events for the purpose of this thesis; it is in no way a comprehensive and complete version of events in Southeast Asia nor does it fully acknowledge the violence committed by the U.S. Military. Further reading may include “The Violent Legacies of the U.S. War in Vietnam” by Simeon Man (Man 2018).

<sup>6</sup> The University of Washington’s Mapping American Social Movements Project is a great resource for those seeking visual demonstrations of the breadth of protests in the 1960s and 1970s (Miller n.d.).

as well as the cycles of opportunity and how that influences the movement. While, of course, social movements can create their political opportunity, many rely on an opening in the system to act. There are a variety of elements that can make an opportunity structure, such as an “open government,” one that is willing to make and has made concessions. An unstable government, influential allies, and divided elites can also open up an opportunity for change.<sup>7</sup>

While many view the Vietnam War as a pivotal, inciting incident for young college students during that era—an assertion with validity—the extensive activism and organization of the Civil Rights Movement in the preceding decade played an undeniable role in shaping the trajectory of the Vietnam War protests. Originating in the American South, the Civil Rights Movement drew inspiration from World War II, paralleling the sentiments of later student movements in the late 1960s. Black soldiers returning from the war found the prevailing status quo no longer acceptable. Organizers across the South sought change through legal action, civil disobedience, and mass protests, thereby opening up a political opportunity structure in the United States due to the broad impact of their actions. The youth of the late 1960s witnessed diverse forms of activism, instilling in them a belief that they could affect change in their nation and the world.

This period of activism also bred sentiments of discontent with the existing state of affairs. Young activists within the Black Liberation Movement grew weary of traditional mechanisms for change, particularly the emphasis on nonviolence. They also championed a global approach to effecting change, a departure from previous norms. These shifts contributed significantly to a broader cultural transformation among younger college-age Americans, as evidenced by various manifestations, such as the demands articulated by antiwar activists.

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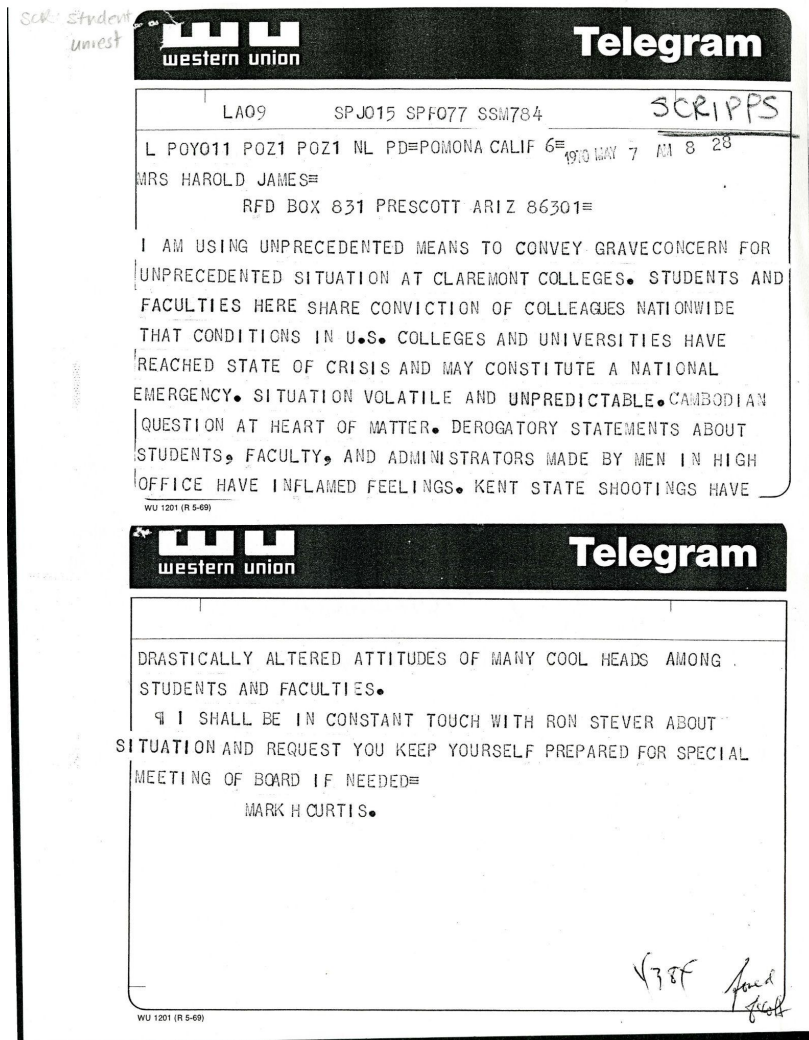
<sup>7</sup> Amanda Miller, n.d.

In Claremont, students focused their protests on key issues, including opposition to the war, especially President Richard Nixon's deployment of troops to Cambodia, condemnation of the tragic events at Kent State University, calls for the school to divest from any "war-related industry," and the cessation of ROTC operations on all Claremont College Campuses ("Proposed Resolutions to Be Discussed at the Scripps College Community Meeting of Students, Faculty, and Administration (Including All Staff) to Be Held at 10:30a.m. in the Humanities Building Courtyard" 1970). Meanwhile, students at other women's colleges championed the freedom of political prisoners ("Why We Strike, 1970" 1970). Scripps women, along with their counterparts at women's colleges nationwide, were making their demands and actions integrative and nationwide. They sought changes at both the university and federal levels, demonstrating a nuanced understanding of the institutional systems within which they operated.

Between the student activists and the administrators, the extensiveness of student protests in this era created a more open opportunity structure in some regards. In all senses, this was a mass movement. To prove this, more than 900 American universities, colleges, and high schools engaged in the May 1970 student strikes which were in reaction to the violence at Kent State University (Miller n.d.). The incident at Kent State, as well as the extensiveness of the protests on college campuses generally during this time, caused concern from university leaders, elected officials, parents of students, and alumni of the universities. Documents demonstrate that many conversations were had concerning the "campus crisis." I assert that the concern for the students limited the options school leaders had in responding to the protests.

The tragic incident at Kent State illustrated to the nation the potential dangers of police and military presence on campuses. In reaction to this "crisis," campus leaders conceded to students' demands to restrict police presence on campus. In a telegram sent in the morning of

May 7, 1970, in the heat of the nationwide May 1970 Student Strike, the Claremont Colleges Provost and Scripps College President Mark H. Curtis sent an urgent telegram to Jean 'Mitzie' Butz James, a Scripps class of 1941 alumna and Board of Trustees member. In the telegram, it is clear the gravity of concern Curtis was feeling at that time. He writes, "Students and faculties here share conviction of colleagues nationwide that conditions in the U.S. colleges and universities have reached state of crisis and may constitute a national emergency" (Mark H. Curtis 1970). He also informs the out-of-state Trustee member that an emergency board meeting may need to be called.



<sup>8</sup> Mark H. Curtis 1970

There was more of an effort to acknowledge the students' concerns regarding the war in Vietnam—though often actual concessions to demands such as ROTC presence on campus were not made. Documentation also demonstrates that campuses including Scripps and the other Claremont Colleges sent groups of students and administrators to Washington D.C. and Sacramento to discuss with government officials students' concerns regarding the war (“Final Report of the Washington Delegation” 1970). Important to note is that in many ways these were performative meetings more concerned with the optics of America's future leaders expressing disillusionment with the United States and its institutions.

### *C. Women and War in the Data*

There is an understanding in academic research that while men make war, women make peace which media portrayals of women have reaffirmed during wartime (Burgin 2012; York 1996; Yuval-Davis 2015). But where does the data stand on this? Some data does show that women are more statistically likely to hold antiwar beliefs. Authors Pamela Conover and Virginia Sapiro in their piece “Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War” provide the most comprehensive study addressing why women are more opposed to war. They introduce three theories to answer this: biological differences, maternalism, and feminism. According to their study, women are less supportive of U.S. involvement in wars by an average margin of seven to nine percentage points. They also found that higher levels of education depress militarism among women and not men and that party identification impacts militarism among men and not women. This could help explain the patterns of activism against the Vietnam War at women's colleges in the United States. Their data, while based on a study conducted during the Gulf War, can be applied to my study of Vietnam War activism at Scripps College. It affirms women's involvement in antiwar movements as key players.

My investigation sought to understand the reasons behind Scripps women's involvement in the Vietnam War, exploring whether their participation was influenced solely by the engagement of their male peers nationwide in these movements, leading them to join what was popular at the time, or if they had their own political and ideological motivations. Taking into account the race, economic class, and education status of Scripps women's male associates, including friends, brothers, and boyfriends, it appears that they were less likely to be drafted for the Vietnam War. Consequently, the imminent threat of the draft played a diminished role in motivating their involvement. However, the apprehension of being drafted, or for women, the awareness of someone they knew being drafted, remained a persistent concern. This fear was reinforced by the continuous reminders of the war and its toll on television. Notably, the Vietnam War is recognized as the first extensively televised conflict. Between 1950 and 1966, the ownership of televisions in American households skyrocketed from 9 to 93 percent, amplifying the impact of war-related information and casualties on public consciousness (Kratz 2018). Regardless of whether there was a perceived threat or not, the participation of Scripps women in antiwar protests signifies their connection to antiwar ideology.

Conover and Sapiro substantiate, through quantitative data, a higher likelihood of antiwar ideology among women compared to men. Women have their motivations to participate in antiwar activism that is unrelated to men and this is confirmed in the Scripps College Archives. While certain antiwar events were coordinated by a coalition of Claremont College students, others were exclusive to Scripps, emphasizing both the leadership of Scripps women in antiwar protests and the motivations that drove their participation in the movement. (“Calendar for October 1969 Discussions” 1969; “Schedule of Events on the Scripps Campus” 1970). This pattern is also evident in East Coast women's colleges. The presence of antiwar protests on these

campuses, although often modest in size and contained, reflects the sense of duty felt by young women during this era.

In the documents below, Scripps students have documented their interest and engagement in the student protests. The “Calendar for October 1969 Discussions” is from the Scripps Student Government Meeting Minute files at Denison Library. The student government was involved in discussions about campus protest policies. Other documents show internal conversations on whether Scripps student government should involve themselves in protests and make a formalized statement. While this document doesn’t state political opinions about the war, it does indicate their role as campus leaders in organizing spaces for students and faculty to convene on the matter. The “Schedule of Events on the Scripps Campus May 7, 1970” lays out Scripps’s activity for the May 1970 student strike which emphasized discussions as a main mode of engagement. These documents underscore the leadership that Scripps women assumed in discussions surrounding the antiwar movement.

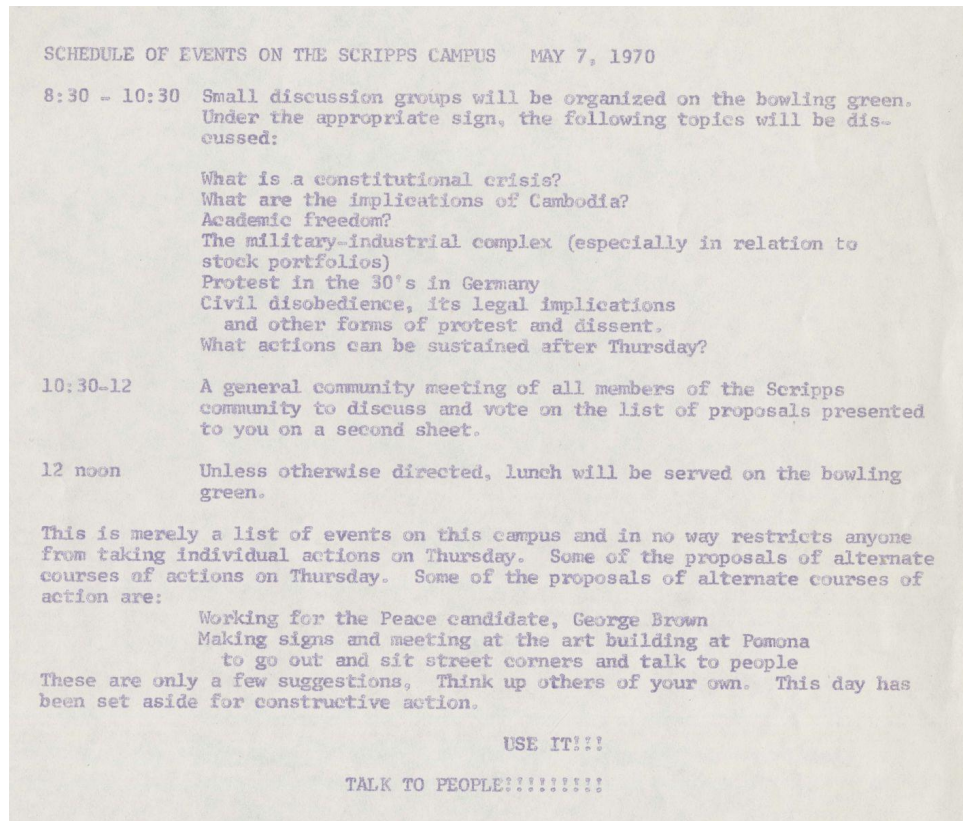
Calendar for October 1969 Discussions  
 (as always, this is very much subject to change...)

- 13 Oct Monday Make Statement on Student Rights and Responsibilities available to all students. Letter to faculty and students stating the schedule of discussions for the month of October, and noting location of copies of the statement.
- 15 Oct Wednesday Moritorium activities planned thru-out the day  
 (16 Oct Thurs. Founder's Day Convocation; Miss Drake, speaker; Balch aud.)
- 23 Oct Thurs. NO CLASSES  
 9-12: Discussion of Statement on Student R & R section by section. Any amendments deemed necessary by differences of opinion or popular demand should be formulated.  
 12-1: Lunch (bowling green?)  
 1-5: Governance issue: report of summer committee, with appropriate background information. Open meeting for questions and debate.
- either 19 or 26 Oct (Sunday) a Sunday Brunch and variety of faculty-student recreational activities to facilitate exchange of ideas between members of the faculty and the student body.
- 28 Oct Tues If there were any amendments to Student R & R proposal, they will be distributed at this time.
- 29 Oct Wed Faculty associates to dinner? in effort to continue discussions on R & R and governance proposals.
- 30 Oct Thurs Faculty vote in faculty meeting on R & R proposal. Students vote by secret ballot in all halls.

hopefully, discussion of the governance issue can be completed and vote taken by 7 Nov, so that we can start discussing the Humanities proposal developed by the summer committee and EPC.....

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#### D. Framing in Antiwar Movements

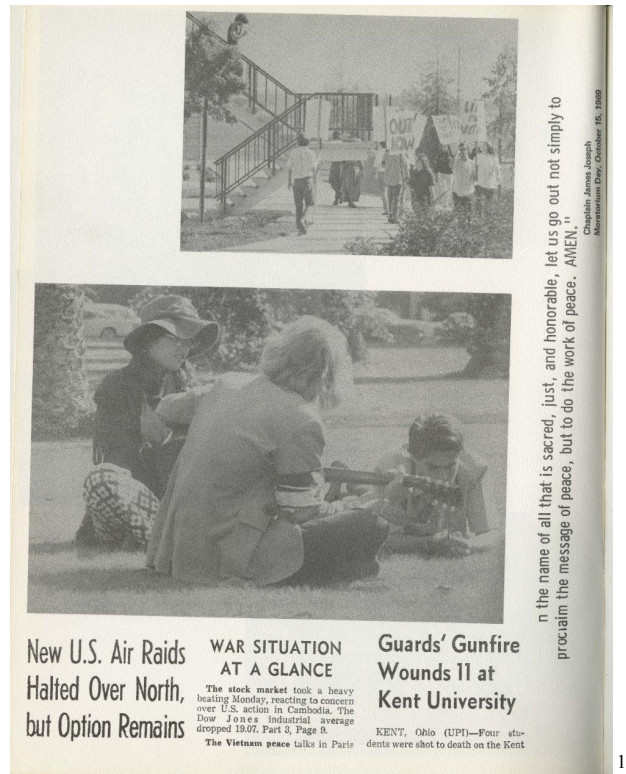
Now that it's established that women are involved in antiwar causes through empirical data and archival documents, one can move forward with analyzing the articulations of their ideologies and movements. Conover and Sapiro established that a variety of factors influence why women are more likely to engage in an antiwar ideology, such as education levels and relationships to feminism and maternalism. In this case, Conover and Sapiro's work would indicate that Scripps women's education levels influenced their engagement. Analyzing framing within primary source materials can indicate how a relationship to maternalism influences social movement formation during the Long Sixties at Scripps.

<sup>10</sup> "Schedule of Events on the Scripps Campus" 1970

Maternalism, within the context of social movements, policy, and framing, pertains to the utilization and assertion of motherhood as a rationale for ideology and action. For example, as laid out in the historical context section, women used a maternalist framing in expressing anti-lynching sentiments (McCammon et al. 2017). Maternalism has a ripe history with war, both in support and against. Some women use maternalism as a tool in supporting war efforts and supporting the troops. Typically stemming from a more conservative ideology, though not exclusively, this perspective follows traditional understandings of gender and uses war as an affirmation of traditional norms of gender.

The Mothers for Peace in San Luis Obispo formed in 1969 in opposition to the Vietnam War represented a “housewife warrior” class of activists (Jasper 1997). As their name demonstrates, these women asserted upfront their gender identity in their activism. With the time and resources available to these mostly middle-class housewives, the women were able to mobilize their communities and extend their efforts into the anti-nuclear movement within their community. Jasper argues that the Mothers used a “moral shock” in their organizing, supporting previous literature that women-led social movements utilize moral arguments and framings to gain recognition and validity. The concept of a moral shock was applied throughout anti-Vietnam war organizing, including at Scripps College, though no explicit reference to gender identity and norms was made. In the Scripps College 1970 yearbook, among many spreads of students' portraits and quotes, the page seen below sticks out in the pages. Without making an overtly political statement, yearbook creators demonstrated the role that antiwar protests had on campus during the 1969-1970 school year. One clipping reads, “Guards’ Gunfire Wounds 11 at Kent University,” which stands out on the page and conveys the impact the Kent State incident had on college students. Placing news clippings alongside photos of students on campus quietly and

powerfully articulates the significance the war had on campus. Missing in this is any indication that Scripps women were impacted differently because of their identity as women, indicating that their gender identity was less salient in their social movement.



11

In Vietnam War activism, antiwar women used maternalist framing as well. Longtime pacifist and the first United States Congresswoman, Jeannette Rankin, led 5,000 women in protest against the growing tension in southeast Asia (“Jeannette Rankin” 2023). Rankin had a long history in antiwar activism, being the only legislator to vote against the declaration of war on Japan following Pearl Harbor. In her activism, she highlighted her femininity and used it as an emotional framing tool. Rankin played upon a traditional female role, asserting a type of wartime femininity harkening back to Rosie the Riveter (Burgin 2012). This action sparked a new, younger generation of women to assert their femininity in a different way when it came to

<sup>11</sup> “La Semeuse 1970, Vietnam War Press Clippings Spread” 1970

political protest. The “burial of traditional womanhood,” led by the New York Radical Women, was a counterprotest to Rankin’s and outright rejected her assertion of traditional womanhood as a political tactic. This indicates a generational shift among American women as they seek to reconstitute their notions of gender, as well as others' perceptions of womanhood. This is when the trope of bra burners begins.

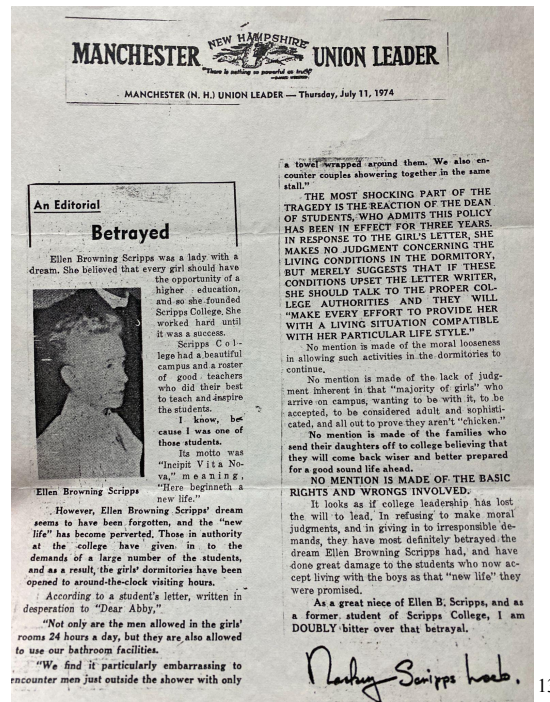
Though history tends to isolate social movements from one another, this shift in feminism was directly related to Vietnam activism, not only because they were inspired to act after an antiwar protest. These women felt solidarity with draft dodgers and saw parallels between their actions. One protester at “the burial” said, “You have refused to hanky-wave boys off to war with admonitions to save the American mom and apple pie” (Burgin 2012, 23). A maternalist, or motherist, framework, while still existing, has shifted in dominance in women’s peace activism. This period, however, marks a moment in time in which women were debating, whether consciously or subconsciously, how to center gender relations and power dynamics within movements. Scripps women are representative of this generational shift and tension and it is replicated in the archives at Scripps.

It was in the era of the Long Sixties that Scripps students were challenging certain campus policies such as grading and dorm policies. One specific policy that changed was dorms could opt to have a 24-hour open door policy, causing outrage from parents, alumni, and stakeholders, including an article in the Manchester Union Leader by a great-niece of Ellen Browning Scripps (Scripps Loeb 1974). Another policy change resulted in Scripps abandoning the traditional letter grading system in favor of a satisfactory or unsatisfactory policy. This change occurred in the 1967-1970 school year and the institution eventually returned to the letter grading system in 1976 (“Scripps College Bulletin” 1969; “Scripps College Bulletin” 1976).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For more details, please refer to the Scripps College Bulletin’s available at Denison Library.

Their newfound sense of freedom encouraged them to prioritize their roles as students first, deemphasizing their femininity in the same way previous generations had.



When delving into the archives to uncover evidence of the dynamics as mentioned above, the explicit documentation was notably sparse. This apparent scarcity of evidence aligns, to some degree, with expectations. Specifically, there was a conspicuous absence of indications that Scripps women employed maternalist framings in their antiwar protests. A parallel observation held for the other women's colleges under examination, suggesting a broader trend.<sup>14</sup> This absence signifies a deliberate divergence by Scripps women from what is now considered "outdated" notions of femininity, as evidenced by the rejection of maternalist rhetoric in their activism.

<sup>13</sup> Scripps Loeb 1974

<sup>14</sup> These colleges included Radcliffe College, Vassar College, Bryn Mawr College, Barnard College, Wellesley College, and Smith College, chosen based on the accessibility of their respective digital archives. Thank you to the research and special collection librarians for their assistance with my research.

The concept of archival “gaps” is a recurring theme in scholarly discussions on historical collections. Scholars have long dispelled the myth of neutrality within archives, emphasizing the power dynamics that shape whose voices are heard and whose stories are preserved (Zinn 1971; “Primary Source Literacy at USC Libraries & Beyond: Archival Silences, and: Are Archives Really Neutral?” n.d.). The silence or omissions within archives carry significance, prompting critical examination.

In the present context, the shortage of maternalist framings in the archives raises intriguing questions. Does this absence indicate a conscious decision by women of that era to eschew such rhetorical tools in their activism, marking a shift in ideological approaches? Alternatively, could it suggest that the voices and perspectives of women who did utilize maternalist framings are not adequately represented in the archival records available for this primary source research? The exploration of these possibilities underscores the complex interplay between historical records and the narratives they convey.

#### *E. Networks*

Network analysis can be defined as the study of links between persons, organizations, or states. Studying networks can “capture important contours of opportunity and constraint that shape social, political, or economic behavior” (Ward, Stovel, and Sacks 2011). In the context of this study, it is useful to look at the ways in which Scripps antiwar activists utilized networks to gain recognition and validity from their peers as well as their adversaries. Network analysts assess how close or not a person, organization, or state is to the network to gain critical information on the functions and characteristics of these social movements. The networks at play in this case are national ones, as well as within the Claremont community.

One key moment in this case study is the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, a national organization protesting the war in Vietnam. Their first moratorium day was on October 15, 1969. The event was recognized across the country, drawing crowds of 250,000 in D.C., 100,000 in Boston, and an estimated 1,000,000 people nationwide (Rosenbaum 1970; *BBC* 2019). The October Moratorium was a reckoning point for middle-aged and middle-class Americans and there were many protesters for the first time, speaking to the mass support the moratorium had. In images of the protest, there are peace signs and American flags, demonstrating the enormity of this cause and the convergence of antiwar ideologies with traditional American values.

In Claremont, as with many other American colleges and universities, a moratorium was held on campus with a similar message of “No Business-As-Usual.” Analyzing Claremont’s Moratorium Coalition Committee’s program, which includes information on the who, what, where, when, and why of the day, offers key insights into how university students were influenced by national movements as well as how they weren’t and where they set themselves apart from the larger movement (Sundquist, Kulk, and Mitchell 1969). Because of the consortium element at Scripps College, this event was across all the Claremont Colleges but evidence from the archives has made clear that Scripps women were involved in this particular action. What isn’t absolutely clear is the leadership roles they did or didn’t have. So while this particular piece of evidence doesn’t speak to the differences in college women-led and dominated antiwar spaces, it does offer useful insights into how Scripps women were engaging with national issues.

THE MORATORIUM AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

A Program For The DAY OF MORATORIUM

Against THE WAR IN VIETNAM

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1969

**No Business-As-Usual**

The events on this program have been developed by several different groups who agree in their opposition to the war, though not necessarily on the tactics for expressing that opposition. The Moratorium Coalition Committee urges you to participate in as much of this program as you are able.

7:00 am Leave from College Avenue and Bonita to leaflet workers at General Dynamics, Pomona

9:00-12:00 Teach-in for College Community at the corner of College and Bonita

1:00 pm March from College and Bonita to Bauer Hall, CMC to protest presence of ROTC on campus

2:00-5:00 Teach-out teams calling on leaders of business, industry, religion, education and all elected public officials in the Claremont area.

3:00-5:00 Teach-in for high school and community people at corner of College and Bonita

7:00 pm March leaving from College and Bonita to rally at Alumni Field, Pomona College

\*Note: There will be a training session for Teach-out teams at 8:00 on Tuesday, October 14 (place to be announced).

For more information contact Eric Sundquist-2238, Jim Kulk-624-6589, or Doug Mitchell-621-1950.

WHY HAVE A VIETNAM MORATORIUM?

"NO BUSINESS AS USUAL" is the theme of the October 15 Moratorium because there is more important business to be attended to -- ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR! The moratorium on criticism of the Nixon administration is OFF and the moratorium against the Vietnam war's indefinite continuation is ON!

The moratorium is not a protest against classes. It is a one-day ordering of our priorities. It is not anti-intellectual. It is educational in the fullest sense of the word. It demands commitment of the total person -- to think clearly, to articulate precisely, to listen carefully, and to put oneself visibly on the line against the Vietnam war and for effective means to insure peace!

The National Mobilization Committee for the Moratorium has stated the purpose of the day as follows:

"We call for a periodic moratorium on 'business as usual' in order that students, faculty members, and concerned citizens can devote time and energy to the important work of taking the issue of peace in Vietnam to the larger community."

"TEACH-OUT", the term that refers to reaching the larger community, is a critical focus of the program for the day in Claremont and the Pomona Valley. (See schedule over) Even the "TEACH-IN" is designed to support and contribute to the effort to inform, influence, and mobilize the colleges and the citizens for effective action to end the war.

The "Teach-In" will feature a variety of speakers from the colleges in the morning session and will hope to have the Street Theatre, a representative of the Draft Counseling Center, and discussion in the afternoon round that is aimed at students from the high school. Each is designed to inform people about the arguments against the war and to help prepare additional people for the "Teach-Out" in the afternoon. Do not feel that you do not know the arguments! Feel committed enough to join the 2-or-3-man teams to challenge Claremont leadership to act!

The program includes two marches. The first is the march on Bauer Hall to protest the presence of the Army's ROTC on campus. The Moratorium Coalition Committee could not overlook the direct connection of The Claremont Colleges with the war by the continued contractual agreement with the Defense Department. ROTC nation-wide provides nearly two-thirds of the Army's first and second lieutenants!

The second march is the grand finale to the day and culminates in a rally under the lights at Pomona's Alumni Field. The "Teach-Out" teams will endeavor to encourage Claremont and other Pomona Valley people to participate in this after-work mass rally.

NO BUSINESS AS USUAL -- GET YOUR PRIORITIES IN ORDER -- WORK FOR PEACE NOW

\*\*\*\*\*

LATEST CASUALTY FIGURES OF DEFENSE DEPARTMENT:

U. S. soldiers killed	14,738	
So. Vietnam soldiers dead	93,738	How do YOU justify that slaughter?
No. Vietnam & Viet Cong soldiers dead	546,804	Can YOU afford to remain silent?
Civilians dead	?? ? ? ? ?	

<sup>15</sup> Sundquist, Kulk, and Mitchell 1969



Within the program, organizers also indicate networks within the Claremont Colleges. They write, “The events on this program have been developed by several different groups who agree in their opposition to the war; though not necessarily on the tactics for expressing their opposition” (Sundquist, Kulk, and Mitchell 1969). This statement, being the first sentence on the program, demonstrates a dynamic present both in Claremont and at the national level—antiwar organizers disagreed on methods that should be used when protesting the war, emulating similar tensions from older and younger generations of leaders within the Black Liberation Movement. From the timeline of the program, one can observe the fine line between more visible, assertive actions like marches against ROTC presence on campus and educational teach-ins for community members.

The teach-ins also offered support to the assertion that the moratorium, within the context of an academic institution, was not just a day off school, which some Scripps alumni were concerned about. Later in this document, the organizers write speaking to the educational value of the moratorium: “It is not anti-intellectual. It is educational in the fullest sense of the word. It demands commitment of the total person -- to think clearly, to articulate precisely, to listen carefully, and to put oneself visibly on the line against the Vietnam war and for effective means to ensure peace” (Sundquist, Kulk, and Mitchell 1969). The choice to include this was a wise one as it attempted to push back on the critiques of the moratorium.

The Scripps College Archives also show that the Scripps student body debated joining the National Student Association (NSA). The NSA was founded in 1947 as a post-World War II student activist community with networks across the country and developed ties to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the national civil rights organization led by young people. In the Scripps College student government meeting minutes, there is a back and forth in the

mid-1960s between student government members on whether they should join the organization (“National Student Association (NSA)” n.d.). Though the student government opts to remain uninvolved from the NSA, these documents demonstrate the involvement Scripps student leaders had with other colleges and universities.

### **Conclusion**

Through this analysis of primary and secondary sources, I find that Scripps College students' activity in antiwar protests did not assert their identity as women in framing and articulating their antiwar stance. As the literature demonstrates, women historically utilize women-centered framings or moral arguments when organizing social movements to avoid challenging moral and social norms of appropriateness. Scripps women represented a new generation of women and feminists who sought recognition and identities unrelated to their gender identity and expression and this is reflected in the archives—or rather the lack of this in the archives is what demonstrates this. Scripps women did reconstitute their gender identities through their activism and the cultural changes in the Long Sixties, challenging traditional notions of women's activism. Scripps women did utilize available networks within the Claremont Colleges and at the national level to gain recognition and validation in their community and from the institutional leaders. Through their work with the other Claremont Colleges and national student organizations and associations, Scripps women joined a larger cohort of American students who protested on the same days, making similar demands, and rejecting the same institutions, namely the military-industrial complex.

It is important to acknowledge that the Vietnam War activism, both at Scripps and nationwide, went hand in hand with Black Liberation Movement struggles. In the Claremont community, students of color were demanding more resources for students of color at the

Colleges and in recruiting new students of color. One of the demands included the formation of a Black Students Center, which sparked protests on campus by students and faculty. Led by the Claremont Colleges Black students and faculty, and supported by a multi-racial coalition, the Claremont College Provost announced the formation of a Center in February of 1969 (Sullivan 2022). Crucially, the integrative nature of Scripps College students' activism, enmeshed with the Black Liberation Movement, epitomizes a commitment to intersectionality—a lasting testament to the enduring impact of their endeavors on the broader landscape of social change. Further research could ask questions about the collaboration between these two movements, such as if relevant identities changed or how the relationship between the students and administrators changed.



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<sup>16</sup> The fight for the Black Studies Center in Claremont has a profound and fascinating history with an immense amount of records in archives. Utilizing library archives, Averi Sullivan chronicles this story wonderfully and I highly recommend further reading on this subject (Sullivan 2022).

Following this era of activism, Scripps and the Claremont Colleges continued to have waves of activism. There continue to be devoted organizations and individuals to women's activism. In 1982, after months of advocating and organizing for a Women's Union, one opened at Pomona College, offering support and resources for women (Jennifer Braun 1982). In 2001, Scripps women of color launched a campaign called "Whose Voice, Whose Vision," addressing the lack of financial and physical resources on campus for communities of color. This movement was framed in the juxtaposition of Scripps's capital campaign in honor of the 75th anniversary which was titled "Women of Voice of Vision" (*Whose Voice? Whose Vision? : Teach-In* 2001). In 2014, Black Lives Matter protests broke out nationwide, including in Claremont (Cisneros 2014). The Colleges have cemented their role as a politically engaged campus and tracking this history offers valuable insights into social movement formation.

In retrospect, the Vietnam War protests at Scripps College stand as a transformative epoch, reshaping the very fabric of the institution and echoing far beyond. This era witnessed a profound change in the campus political landscape, a redefinition of gender norms, and a reciprocal collaboration with women's colleges that illuminated evolving trends in activism. The strength of networks within elite institutions became evident, underscoring the interconnectedness of Scripps College with a broader academic milieu. Scripps women emerged as catalysts for a cultural shift, challenging traditional values and sparking tensions within the college community and beyond.

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