Drawing on unique historical representations from Bancroft’s Latin Americana Collection, the fall 2017 gallery exhibition, ¡Viva la Fiesta!, examined the cycle of Mexican celebrations from the standpoint of communal identities, national politics, religious practices, and indigenous customs. The distinctive customs, ethnic composition, and geographic characteristics of Mexico’s many regions influence how local residents remember and celebrate religious devotions, personal holidays, and patriotic commemorations. The exhibit highlighted the importance of these regional differences and honored the local traditions of Mexican celebrations.

Ritual calendars reflecting agricultural cycles, religious celebrations, and naming patterns ordered the daily lives of the indigenous peoples of Mexico long before their first contact with Europeans in the early modern period. When the Roman Catholic calendar was introduced in the sixteenth century, it incorporated and continued many of these traditions. The new syncretic calendar was prominent in printed almanacs, travelers’ guides, and handbooks that often included a santoral (liturgical calendar), and drew attention to the Holy Days of Obligation or particular Mexican representations of Jesus and Mary. Bancroft’s copy of the Almanaque imperial, which formed part of the library of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, who reigned during the brief period known as the French Intervention (1862-1867), features the santoral for 1866. This almanac also functioned as a directory listing the country’s ambassadors abroad, foreign representatives in major Mexican cities, and the many businesses in Mexico City.

The traditional elements of the fiesta—food and drink, popular entertainment, dance, music, and dress—are determined by regional custom. Over generations, however, traditional foods from individual regions have been borrowed and adapted more widely throughout the country, where they have become everyday menu items. Foods like mole, tamales, and tacos have come to be considered “authentic” Mexican food, albeit with regional variations. The anonymous Libro de cocina en que se manifiestan varios potajes curiosos (Cookbook in Which Various Curious Stews Are Revealed), from 1807, illustrates that some recipes for now-common foodstuffs, like tortillas, were virtually unrecognizable, calling for ingredients like eggs that are not found in today’s recipes.

Regional dress has also undergone this sort of transformation. In more remote regions of the country, residents continue to don traditional forms of clothing, especially for local festivals. Carlos Nebel’s lithographs, entitled Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico sobre la parte mas interesante de la Republica Mexicana (Picturesque and Archeological Trip through the Most Interesting Part of the Mexican Republic), published in 1839, are wonderful illustrations of traditional dress that became the national dress of Mexico in the 1860s. Carlos Nebel, Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico sobre la parte mas interesante de la Republica Mexicana (Picturesque and Archeological Trip through the Most Interesting Part of the Mexican Republic), 1839. Off F1213.N22.

Continued on page 4
From the Director’s Desk

The Bancroft Gallery at Ten

Focus on Mexico

Adding a real gallery to the renewed Bancroft Library has proved to be one of the greatest benefits of the retrofit. The full-sized exhibition space has made it possible to introduce whole collections to the public that were previously known to only a handful of researchers. It’s a wonderful teaching tool and a great way to give first-time visitors to Bancroft an inkling of the depth and variety of the collections. It’s a wonderful teaching tool and a great way to give first-time visitors to Bancroft an inkling of the depth and variety of the collections. Since 2008 the Bancroft staff — occasionally partnering with other organizations — has presented a wide range of exhibitions. Some of these surveyed the full breadth of the collections, some focused on a single genre, personality, or event, while others foregrounded communities whose histories have shaped the vast region that Hubert Howe Bancroft worked to document.

The Bancroft practice of saluting individual Western communities in its shows began well before the opening of the new gallery. Over the last twenty years Bancroft exhibitions have presented images of Native Americans (2000), women as workers and patrons (2005, 2011), Chinese in California (2005), German Jews in California (2011), the LGBT community in the Bay Area and in the Bancroft collections (2012), pioneering African Americans on the Berkeley campus and in the Bancroft collections (2014, 2016), and cultural encounters of immigrant groups in California (2011).

Latin Americana Curator José Adrián Barragán-Álvarez continued this series in fall 2017 with an exhibition that presented Mexico through its festivals. ¡Viva la Fiesta! opened just before All Saints Day and led viewers through the vibrant calendar of annual Mexican celebrations, season by season, feast by feast, and region by region. Evoking these performance traditions from textual evidence spanning five centuries, Barragán-Álvarez emphasized that celebrations of all kinds — liturgical, political, and personal — continue to play a central role in the cultural life of Mexico today. The show included a Día de los Muertos altar and a wall of remembrance (“¿A quién recuerdas?”), where visitors were invited to participate in the celebration by writing the names of their departed loved ones on bright paper tags that they added to the memorial exhibit. By the end of the show, the wall was filled with the names of dozens of individuals who are loved and missed. Bancroft also commissioned local artist Enrique Martínez to create bright papel picado garlands for the exhibition, proclaiming “The Bancroft Library” and “¡Viva la Fiesta!” These fluttered merrily over the rotunda all last year and are now part of Bancroft’s contemporary Latin American collection. To recall some of these moments from the show or read about items you may have missed, you can visit the online guide to the exhibition. (http://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/vivalafiesta)

The Fiesta exhibition was the heart of a wider Bancroft focus on Mexico last year, in which we added significantly to the Latin American collection and completed an exciting multi-year restoration and digitization project. The latter story began several years ago when Professor Ivonne Del Valle of the UCB Department of Spanish and Portuguese wanted to show her class an early nineteenth-century map of Mexico City, the 1807 Plano general de la Ciudad de México. The Bancroft staff had to tell her, with regret, that the item was in too poor condition for her to use in teaching. A few years later, in spring of 2015, Bancroft received another request to view the map, this time from Professor Neil Safier, Director of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, who hoped to compare the Bancroft copy of the map with one that he was researching. Still concerned about its fragility, we did open the map a few inches with our visitor from the east, but just far enough for us to see what a spectacular project this grand, hand-colored print had once been. The Bancroft map was so brittle and tattered that it could neither be fully opened nor used without damaging it further.

The Plano general was based on a survey of Mexico City done by Diego García Conde in 1793 and published in 1807. It was the collaborative effort of printer Manuel López López, engraver José Joaquín Fabregat, and artist...
Rafael Jimeno y Planés. Printed in sections and sold by subscription, the map is enormous — ca. 60 by 80 inches — and considered by some to be the most remarkable nineteenth-century map of Mexico City. It quickly became the model for smaller versions that were published over the next few decades in London and New York. (See Barragán-Álvarez’s online guide to the exhibition.)

The continuing interest in the map, as well as its historical significance and beauty, made it a priority to have this monument restored and returned to the active-duty roster of Bancroft’s working treasures. We were extremely fortunate to find specialists close at hand who could undertake this work. Over a period of two years, distinguished local experts and their teams worked in succession to conserve, stabilize, digitize, and frame the 1807 Plano general: Karen Zukor (Zukor Art Conservation); E.M. Ginger (42-line); and Barbara Anderson (Barbara Anderson Gallery & Framing). A detailed account of the heroics these women performed remains for them to tell, I hope at a future Bancroft event. The result of their combined efforts, however, is amazing and is now available online for enthusiasts everywhere to enjoy through the Calisphere (https://calisphere.org/item/83cbedca-e4cd-45ec-b2d1-490d6b9fd951/).

Over the course of the last year, Bancroft purchased a copy of the smaller (19 by 21 inches) New York third edition of the map, which is more manageable than the huge original for teaching purposes. We were also able to acquire the extremely rare, single-leaf printed invitation to subscribe to the production of the Plano general. Bancroft’s is now the only known copy of this text in the U.S. We added two dozen very rare photographs of Mexican revolutionaries by Sara Castrejón (1888-1962) to our Mexican holdings as well. The Getty appears to be the only other U.S. institution that holds any of her work.

This year, as we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the renewed Bancroft Library, I am deeply grateful to each of you who supported that effort and continue to make it possible for us to share the treasures of the remarkable Bancroft collections with an ever-expanding community.

The Bancroft Gallery has been a big part of our increased effort to bring more people into closer contact with the incredible materials held in trust for them here. Each part of the gallery story above, from the installation of the Fiesta exhibition, to the restoration of the Plano general that was out of use for thirty years, to the new additions to the Latin American collection, is something that you made possible. Thank you from the heart for giving Bancroft these opportunities.

The James D. Hart Director
The Bancroft Library
attire. Worn by three women and representing the state of Puebla, it became the national dress during the period of French occupation. Dance troupes or beauty pageant contestants often wear this dress today to represent all things Mexican.

The documentation of Mexican and Central American religious celebrations is particularly strong in Bancroft’s Latin Americana collection. Roman Catholicism in Mexico, imbued with indigenous and African customs as it is, celebrates the various stages of an individual’s Christian faith, the life and death of Jesus, and the cult of the saints, including the many devotions to Mary. Sermons, devotional prayer books, and other ephemera recorded the divine favors shown to parishioners. An excellent example of this practice featured in ¡Viva la Fiesta! was Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero’s Escudo de armas de Mexico: Celestial protección de esta nobilísimas ciudad de la Nueva España [...] en su portentosa imagen del mexicano Guadalupe (Coat of Arms of Mexico City: Celestial Protector of this Most Noble City of New Spain (...) through the Marvelous Image of the Mexican Guadalupe), dated 1746. It recounts the Virgin Mary’s many intercessions on behalf of the citizens of Mexico City, beginning with her first apparition in 1531 and continuing through the typhus epidemic of 1737. News of her miraculous intervention spread beyond Mexico City, and in 1755 Guadalupe was proclaimed patron saint of New Spain. Our Lady of Guadalupe has become one of the main representations of the Virgin in Mexico, and her feast day, December 12, draws crowds from throughout the world.

The patriotic section of ¡Viva la Fiesta! highlighted a few civil celebrations, including the commemoration of Mexican independence (September 16) and the beginning of the Mexican Revolution (November 20). Ephemera created for Cinco de Mayo (May 5) celebrations were also presented in the exhibit. This holiday, centered primarily in the state of Puebla, celebrates the defeat of the invading French armies in 1862, and generally includes military parades and reenactments near the city of Puebla, where the battle took place. Although the holiday is celebrated outside of Mexico—often, and incorrectly, as Mexican independence—it remains a localized event within the country. The proclamation of the first Mexican Constitution was another regional holiday featured in the exhibition. Known formally as the Decreto Constitucional para la libertad de la America Mexicana [Constitutional Decree for the Liberty of Mexican America], the constitution was first printed in 1814. The city of Apatzingan, Michoacan, where it was first proclaimed, holds a major regional fair that draws visitors from the western part of the state on October 22.

The section on marriage, baptism, and death offered a glimpse at fiestas that celebrate significant events in the lives of individuals. These celebrations mark a person’s union with a partner, their entrance into the Catholic faith, and the familial obligations of compadrage (godparenthood), which have been recorded in Mexico since
the sixteenth century. Of special interest among this group of texts was a baptismal register written in the Nahuatl language documenting the years 1569 through 1621, from Acatlan in Mexico State. Records of this kind make it possible for historians to trace naming patterns and linguists to study the development of writing in indigenous languages in the Americas. Similarly, the Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) altar represented the syncretism of indigenous and Catholic traditions surrounding death. Traditionally, these altars are meant to welcome loved ones back from their year away. They can be as ornate or as simple as the local tradition dictates. They feature traditional offerings like pan de muerto (a bread baked specially for the holiday) and calaveras de azúcar (decorated sugar skulls) as well as dishes and drinks that departed family members especially enjoyed. One item that is always present is the flor de muertos (cempochualxochitl) or Mexican marigolds, which are native to central Mexico.

One thread that ran throughout the exhibit was the work of José Guadalupe Posada (1852-1913), who is arguably one of Mexico’s most highly regarded artists. In the last fifteen years of his life, Posada worked as the principal illustrator in the publishing company of Antonio Vanegas y Arroyo. It is estimated that Posada engraved nearly 20,000 sheets, of which Bancroft has but a few. He is best known for his calaveras (skulls, but also skeletons), and small, inexpensive prints peddled for the Día de los Muertos commemorations mentioned above. ¡Viva la Fiesta! presented examples from the vast array of genres and themes that comprise Posada’s work. These included unpublished songs and corridos (ballads), religious texts, chapbooks, current events, popular games — among them an early version of the lotería game — and, of course, calaveras for the Día de los Muertos altar.

The items in the exhibition surveyed 450 years of Mexican traditions of celebration and reflected the grand scale of Bancroft’s collections. Globalization will inevitably introduce foreign elements into these celebrations, and the movement of peoples will carry the spirit of these fiestas to new locations. Participants, too, will no doubt change whom they honor and how they are celebrated. Bancroft plans to keep collecting items that capture and record these changes as they take place. We invite you to visit the exhibit online and experience these traditions through the lens of Bancroft’s rich Latin Americana collection. (http://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/vivalafiesta)

— José Adrián Barragán-Álvarez  
Curator of Latin Americana
In fall 2012, Western Music Association Hall of Famer Dave Stamey spent a day at Bancroft conducting research on the ghost town Bodie and visiting the Mark Twain collection. Afterwards he delighted Bancroft Friends and staff with a concert in the Morrison Library. One of his songs from that afternoon has stayed with me ever since because it captures so well the limitless possibilities of the American West, which continue to draw people to this region—and also to the Bancroft collections that preserve their history. The lyrics go like this:

It’s a place, it’s a feelin’
and sometimes it’s just a state of mind.
It may not be what you were looking for
but it’s here in what you find.
And it’s all these things, it’s the west.

It can be anything you ever dreamed of
and it might be more than you bargained for... .

This chorus can as easily describe a trip to Bancroft as a hike in the Sierra. Researchers often approach the Bancroft collection with feelings about the West they can’t define. They don’t always know quite what they are looking for, but they recognize it when they find it. And together all the things they discover help shape our understanding of the West.

In April the University Library announced an $8-million initiative for The Bancroft Library along with the wonderful news that generous gifts from Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bancroft III and an anonymous donor have already brought the new Bancroft & the West initiative halfway to its goal. This campaign will support Bancroft’s Western Americana collection and program. The Bancroft family gift of $1 million plus $2 million of the anonymous gift will endow the Western Americana curatorship, ensuring permanent leadership for the development, interpretation, and presentation of this largest and most heavily used of the Bancroft collections. The additional $1 million and the funds yet to be raised will be used to expand the collection and increase its impact and usefulness for students, researchers, and the communities that it documents.

We are most grateful to Dave Stamey for letting Bancroft use the lyrics of his terrific song “It’s the West” in the materials for the Bancroft & the West campaign to support the Western Americana program.

—Elaine Tennant
The Bancroft Library recently received the Julia Bader Collection, a remarkable assemblage focusing on Hungarian applied art between 1890 and 1940, a period covering the approximate start of the Hungarian Secession art movement through Hungary’s entry into World War II.

The Hungarian art of the book features prominently in this collection, with covers and illustrations by leading artists of the day. Most of the collection was published in Budapest, but a few works were published in Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Kolozsvár (Cluj in present-day Romania), and other European cities. Many works are not held by any other American library, and some are not held outside of Hungary.

Born in Budapest in 1944, Julia Bader immigrated to the United States in 1956 and earned a Ph.D. in English at UC Berkeley in 1971. She has taught in the English Department at Cal since 1971 and is now professor emerita. She began her collection in the late 1960s, and it grew to encompass thousands of books.

Poetry, novels, short stories, plays, history, philosophy, psychology, and works in translation (both fiction and nonfiction) are included, as well as books on art, architecture, photography, design, and home decorating. There are also trade catalogs from businesses of all kinds.

This has been a fascinating collection to explore as a cataloger, and also a poignant experience. As I worked with these books and researched the numerous authors and artists, I learned that some who were alive before World War II did not survive the war. The writers Endre Kádár and Béla Révész died in Auschwitz in 1944, as did István Parkas, head of the Singer és Wolfner Publishing Co.; another writer, Sándor Antal, and a poet, Zoltan Körmendi, also died in concentration camps. Dezső Szomory, a playwright, died of starvation in 1944 while in hiding in Budapest under Swedish protection. The writer Artúr Elek committed suicide when the Nazis entered Budapest in 1944, and the writer László Lakatos committed suicide in Nazi-controlled Nice the same year. The typographer/printer Imre Kner was shot by Nazi guards in 1944, and the writer/director Imre Roboz was shot by Nazis in 1945. It is sobering to think the lives of these creative people and others were cut short simply because they were Jewish and fascist policies devalued and destroyed them. Fortunately, thanks to the efforts of Professor Bader, we still have their works, as well as the works of many other Hungarian artists, authors, poets, dramatists, philosophers, and political thinkers.

Among the holdings included in the Bader Collection is a complete run of *Magyar Iparművészet* (Hungarian Applied Art). The journal was published from 1897-1944, and no library outside of Hungary has a full set. There is also a complete set of *A Ház* (The House), and extensive runs of several other Hungarian journals of applied art and design, including *Magyar Nyomdászat* (Hungarian Printing), *Magyar Grafika* (Hungarian Graphics) and the modernist *Ter és Forma* (Space and Form).

Many books in the collection have cover art and illustrations showing the influence of the Secession, the art movement influenced by Art Nouveau that took place in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and elsewhere in
Europe beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. An excellent example of this influence is a Hungarian translation—via the German—of a work by the Englishman Samuel Smiles, *A Boldogulás Útja* (Thrift), published in 1904. It is lavishly decorated with floral designs and flourishes and appears to be an edition intended for the younger reader, identified as “Legjobb Ifjusagi Konyvek” (Best Children’s Books).

Another particularly stunning cover was created by László Hegedüs for *Elbeszélések* (Stories) by József Andor, published in 1897. *Kolteményi 1880-1902* (Poems 1880-1902), by Elek Lippich, was illustrated by artists Aladár Körösföl Kriesch, who founded the Gödöllö art colony, which was the center of the Hungarian Secession movement, and Sándor Nagy, a later member of the colony. It is a beautiful example of Hungarian book art, with color marginal decorations, as well as full-page and half-page color illustrations throughout. Nagy, a leading artist in the Hungarian Art Nouveau movement, also illustrated *Tündérvilág a Városligetben* (Fairy World in the City Park) by Mrs. Nándorné Báthory. The book was published in 1914 and features a haunting, elaborate cover and numerous text illustrations. Dating from the same period, artist Anna Lesznai’s work illustrates the cover of author Béla Balázs’s *Miszteriumok Három Egyfélvonásos* (Three One-Act Mysteries) in a very bold, distinctive style. Lesznai was close to members of the Nyolcak (The Eight), a group of painters whose Expressionistic style influenced her work. Balázs and Lesznai were also members of the Vasárnapi Kör (Sunday Circle), an intellectual group that met to discuss the nature of art.

The Bader collection includes a number of works by poet, artist, and editor Lajos Kassák, who was a member of the Nyolcak and one of the leaders of the Hungarian avant-garde. *Világanyám* (The World: My Mother) is a collection of avant-garde poems published in 1921 in Vienna (where Kassák was in exile) that features cover and text illustrations by the author. This work is the first appearance of Kassák’s képversek (picture poetry), poems that marry typography and poetry in a modern form representative of Constructivist art. Iván Hevesy’s *Futurista, Expressionistina és Kubista Festészet* (Futurist, Expressionist and Cubist Painting), published in 1919, is another outstanding example of the Hungarian avant-garde movement in both its subject and the cover illustration, a bold linoleum-cut by Sándor Bortnyik, an artist who was influenced by Kassák. The book has a number of plates of work by French, German, and other European artists.

The Bader Collection dates from a period in Hungarian history that includes World War I, and numerous works of poetry and personal accounts of experiences during the war are represented. One example is *A Szenvedések Országútja* (The Country’s Suffering) by Ferenc Göndor, published in 1916, in which the author recounts his experiences as a wartime reporter. The cover graphically depicts the destruction he saw.

Many of the books published immediately following World War I were printed inexpensively on poor quality paper, but a notable exception is the...
Hungarian personal names are expressed last name first (Eastern name order) on title pages and in other statements of responsibility. For the purposes of this article, names appear in Western name order.

Morituri (Dying), by Endre Ady, 1924.
(f PH3202.A35 M67 1924.)

Morituri (Dying), by Endre Ady (Dying), which features a stunning Art Deco binding. It was published posthumously in 1924 in a limited edition of 1,000 copies. Ady was an important Hungarian poet who edited the journal Nyugat (West). He died in 1919 at the age of 41.

The Julia Bader Collection is an exquisite and deep documentation of the Hungarian Secession and avant-garde that greatly enriches Bancroft’s Central European holdings and complements its strong collections of book arts and fine bindings. Rarer and less frequently collected than their better known Austrian and German cousins from the fin-de-siècle and the interwar period, these beautiful Hungarian books provide a glimpse at the European world of yesterday not often seen in American collections.

—Julie Wong
Cataloger

A Szemvedések Országútján (The Country’s Suffering) by Ferenc Göndor, 1916.

Note: Hungarian personal names are expressed last name first (Eastern name order) on title pages and in other statements of responsibility. For the purposes of this article, names appear in Western name order.
THE ANNUAL MEETING
of the Friends of The Bancroft Library
Saturday, June 10, 2017

Alexandra Marston and Camilla Smith enjoy each other and the company of fellow Friends.

Hubert Howe Bancroft Award recipient Professor Emerita Leanne Hinton (right), her family, colleagues, and partners in language revitalization listen to introductory remarks.

Todd Hamer, Louis Trevino, and Josy Hamer enjoy Professor Hinton’s remarks as she describes the collaborative efforts of teachers, students, and archivists to preserve native California languages.

Council members Leslie Borasi, Mary MacDonald, and Sophie Hahn pause for a photo while discussing Friends business.

Robin Frazier, Peter Frazier, Rose Marie Beebe, and Brian Van Camp share a laugh as the Friends settle in for lunch.

Geographer Gray Brechin and former Council Member Robert Chlebowski listen intently to updates at the business meeting.
Jason Bezis, frequent Bancroft researcher and author of a forthcoming biography of U.S. Senator Thomas Kuchel, looks at the section on regional forms of dance, music, and dress. The materials included early twentieth-century song books and guides on how to perform traditional Mexican dances.

Bill Roberts, former University Archivist, and Bancroft Principal Pictorial Archivist James Eason cannot contain their excitement as they enter the new exhibition.

Diana Vergil, Mrs. Meri Jaye, Tommy Bolling, and Max Bolling catch up with each other at the start of the evening.

Karen Zukor, expert conservator, Emilie van der Hoorn, associate conservator at Zukor Art Conservation, and E.M. Ginger, president, bask in the glory of the now-restored map.

Alison Wannamaker, Library graphic designer extraordinaire, examines the Marian material on display.
In the historically brief span of roughly 20 years, support for the freedom to marry for same-sex couples went from an idea that a small portion of Americans agreed with to a cause supported by virtually all segments of the population. In 1996, when Gallup conducted its first poll on the question, a seemingly insurmountable 68 percent of Americans opposed the extension of marriage rights. In a historic reversal, fewer than 20 years later, several polls found that over 60 percent of Americans had come to support the freedom to marry nationwide.

The rapid increase in support mirrored the state-by-state progress in securing the right to marry. Before 2004, no state issued marriage licenses to same-sex couples. By spring 2015, 37 states affirmed the freedom to marry for same-sex couples, a number of states having extended marriage through votes of state legislatures or at the ballot box. The discriminatory federal Defense of Marriage Act, passed in 1996, denied legally married same-sex couples the federal protections and responsibilities afforded married different-sex couples—a double-standard corrected when a core portion of the act was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2013 in United States v. Windsor. The full national resolution came in June 2015 when, in Obergefell v. Hodges, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution’s guarantee of the fundamental right to marry applies equally to same-sex couples.

In February 2017, the Oral History Center of The Bancroft Library completed and released to the public the first major oral history project documenting the vast shift in public opinion about marriage, the consequential reconsideration of our nation’s laws governing marriage, and the actions of individuals and organizations largely responsible for these changes. The project produced 23 interviews totaling nearly 100 hours of recordings. Completed oral history transcripts and video clips from the interviews are available now through the website of the Oral History Center (bancroft.berkeley.edu/ohc).

At the center of the effort to change hearts and minds, prevail in the courts and legislatures, win at the ballot box, and persuade the Supreme Court was Freedom to Marry, the national campaign launched by Harvard-trained attorney Evan Wolfson in 2003. Freedom to Marry’s national strategy focused from the beginning on setting the stage for a nationwide victory at the Supreme Court. Working with national and state organizations and allied individuals and organizations, Freedom to Marry succeeded in building a critical mass of states where same-sex couples could marry and a critical mass of public support in favor of that freedom. This oral history project focuses on the pivotal role played by Freedom to Marry and their closest state and national organizational partners as they drove the winning strategy and inspired, grew, and leveraged the work of a multitudinous movement.

The Freedom to Marry Oral History Project documents the specific history of Freedom to Marry within the larger, decades-long marriage movement. Some interviews reach back as far as the 1970s, when a few gay activists first went to court seeking the right to marry, and the 1980s, when Evan Wolfson wrote a trailblazing thesis on the marriage and domestic partner legislation first introduced in a handful of American cities. One interview, with law professor Barb Cox, details the early effort in Madison, Wisconsin to pass these basic protections for couples. Many interviews trace the beginnings of the modern freedom-to-marry movement to the 1990s. In 1993 the Supreme Court of Hawaii responded seriously to an ad hoc marriage lawsuit for the first time ever and suggested the potential validity of the lawsuit, arguing that the denial of marriage to same-sex couples might be sex discrimination. The lengthy life history interview with Wolfson, who served as co-counsel in the case, provides a key participant’s account of the world’s first-ever marriage trial in 1996. This trial, moreover, culminated in the first-ever victory affirming same-sex couples’ freedom to marry (while at the same time anti-gay forces in Washington, D.C., successfully enacted the so-called Defense of Marriage Act).

Several interviews look back at the fledgling years of the movement and reveal the impassioned debates among gay and lesbian civil rights activists about whether marriage was even a desirable goal for the movement—let alone something achievable, given the wide public opposition to it. In her interview, National Center for Lesbian Rights executive director Kate Kendell reflects on why the battle was worth the effort for her:

I came to the conclusion that while I still felt like I still had a critique of marriage, just as an institution . . . our exclusion does create a tremendous amount of stigma and it actually provides people perfect cover for never checking their own biases, because all they have to say is, “Well, the government won’t even let them marry or be in the military, so something must be wrong with them.” And so we had to end the exclusion, we had to end the government sort of putting their thumb on the scales, and have the open dialogue about our place in civil society, but we had to get rid of the governmental barriers to our place in civil society.

The vast majority of the interviews focus on the post-2003 era and the work specific to Freedom to Marry. Several
interviews provide insight into what it was like to start a new organization and how foundations and individuals were convinced to fund, in increasingly large sums, what many considered a quixotic social justice goal. Tim Sweeney, who spent many years with San Francisco’s Haas, Jr. Fund and the Gill Action Network in Denver, explains how foundations were convinced to make such a risky investment and the roles those organizations played in setting goals and pushing the agenda forward. Other accounts available for the first time in these interviews go behind the scenes with attorneys, including the ACLU’s James Esseks, to provide insight into the development of legal strategies within the movement.

Perhaps the most interesting interviews detail how Freedom to Marry and other organizations bounced back from the devastating loss in California’s passage of Proposition 8 (2008), which wrote discrimination into the state constitution. Thalia Zepatos, who became known as the campaign’s “message guru,” walks through the fascinating process by which she and her colleagues were able to “crack the code” and give people the opportunity to recognize that supporting the extension of marriage was consistent with—and not in opposition to—their core values. Zepatos describes one focus group when their research started to bear fruit:

From behind the wall, I remember scribbling a note and we decided to send it in to the moderator [of the focus group] and the moderator said [to the participants], “Well, why did you decide to get married?” “Well, I mean we fell in love and then we decided we wanted to make a life together, so for us it was only natural to do that. You mean gay people might think that same thing, they might want to get married for that same reason?” In that kind of suspicious way, really wondering what the motives were. So you know very quickly, people come around to—this is the thing that kind of lets them off the hook—well, they said, “They can have a domestic partnership or they can have a civil union, and that’s fine for them and it leaves marriage to us and everything is okay.” “Right, but you said a little while ago, that the Golden Rule was the most important value in your life; treating other people the way you would want to be treated, and now what you’re saying is marriage is good enough for you but it’s not good enough for them. So how does that work with the Golden Rule?” And then we got people kind of like looking up at the ceiling, putting their head in their hands, like their mouth is dropping open, what the researchers call cognitive dissonance.

Although I’m simplifying the story here, in essence the movement learned it was better to talk about marriage in terms of “love and commitment” rather than just “rights and benefits.” As a result, the marriage campaigns revised their messages and very soon defeats turned to victories. The collected interviews tell a remarkable story of social change, the rate of which was rapid (although spanning more than four decades) and the reach profound. Anyone interested in social justice and social movements, politics and policy, and law and jurisprudence will surely pore over the freedom-to-marry movement for explanations of how and why this change occurred, and how it happened so rapidly and completely. The combined interviews of the Freedom to Marry Oral History Project provide a first-draft answer to many questions, including: What explains such a profound transformation of public opinion and law, particularly in an era in which opinions seem more calcified than malleable? What strategies and mechanisms, people and organizations played the most important roles in changing the minds of so many people so profoundly in the span of less than a generation?

Having witnessed this change, the Oral History Center had an obligation to record the thoughts, ideas, debates, actions, strategies, setbacks, and successes of this movement in the most complete, thoughtful, and serious manner possible. Alongside the archived written documents and the audio-visual materials created by Freedom To Marry, this oral history project preserves the many and varied personal reflections of the participants so future generations might gain insight into the nature of social change.

—Martin Meeker
Charles B. Faulhaber Director
Oral History Center
“Viva la Fiesta!” papel picado created by artisan Enrique Martínez.


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