

The Quiet Diplomats: American Diplomatic Wives and Public Diplomacy in the Cold War, 1945-1972

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A thesis submitted to the Department of International History of the London School of Economics and Political Science for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, February 2023.

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For Rob, who convinced me not to quit the PhD when I wanted to. Our world is so much worse off without you in it.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely appreciative to everyone who has supported me throughout the PhD process. When I started the dissertation, I had no idea a global pandemic would make it even more challenging. What made it so survivable was the support of the LSE, family, friends, and colleagues. Please indulge me in my slightly longer appreciation.

First, I want to thank Matthew Jones and Imaobong Umorean, my PhD supervisors. From our first meeting, they have been incredibly supportive of this project, and I could not have completed it without their guidance and support. Previously my academic education has primarily focused on the nineteenth and early twentieth century history and they were patient with me as I received a crash course on Cold War history. They were so valuable in helping me articulate the argument I was trying to make. With Matthew's guidance on American foreign policy in the Cold War and Imaobong's infinite knowledge of gender theory and historiography, as well as the US in the wider world, they make an excellent team. Thank you for everything over the last 4.5 years.

Besides my supervisors, there are a number of people in the Department of International History department that I would like to thank. Tanya Harmer and Vlad Zubok oversaw the PhD programme during my time and I have to thank them both for their support. Tanya quickly became one of my favorite people in the department for her sage advice, welcoming personality, and endless support. The scholar who might have had the biggest impact on my work after my supervisors would be Victoria Phillips, to whom I owe a great deal. Victoria's knowledge on public diplomacy and women in the Cold War helped me every step of the way and I am so grateful to her for her feedback throughout the process. I am also grateful for her friendship and support, as well as welcoming me into her home and library. Her guidance and encouragement made the PhD infinitely better. Without Paul Keenan's encouragement, there would be no PhD. After a course in my master's, I stayed in touch and often caught up whenever I was in London and he convinced me that my personal archival trips and research projects after finishing my master's should turn into something much bigger. Stephen Casey, my advisor and upgrade examiner, was another measure of advice when needed. I also have to thank Nayna Bhatti, Demetra Frini, and Edlira Gjonca were very helpful with helping me get the support I needed to manage my disability and my dissertation.

I have been so fortunate to make many good friends throughout my journey at LSE. I do not think I could have completed the dissertation without the friendship I found in Sinan Ekim, Rishika Yadav, Will Mitchell, and Marral Shamshiri-Fard. From day one Sinan was my PhD buddy and we bonded over our past work in Washington, DC, mutual friends, and love of good food. Rishika has been a faithful friend, cheerleader and second pair of eyes. No matter how far apart, we managed to stay in touch- even on four continents and through a global pandemic. I also have to thank my friends from my master's degree at LSE who listened to my victories and frustrations in my writing. Dinners and long conversations with Chantal, Shreya, and Jade, were the best part of living in London. I'm eternally grateful to Lissy Dutch who provided a place to stay, champagne, and good company on my shorter trips to London during my research year. Geila, Erik, Markus, and Kang were my cheerleaders from abroad and I am so grateful for our time together as master's students. Last, but not least, I have to share my deep appreciation for

Helen and Paul who adopted me in London. They made sure I always had good food and good friendship, for which I can never thank them enough.

A four-year LSE Studentship supported their project financially, and with the generous grants from the International History Department and the Cold War Archival Research project, I was able to complete the research needed at archives throughout the US. I am incredibly grateful to the wonderful librarians at LSE who managed to find copies of books for me during the pandemic when I couldn't access the library. I also have to thank the wonderful archivists who helped me find exactly what I needed at the Library of Congress, National Archives, Georgetown University (especially Scott Taylor), Schlesinger Library, Columbia University, Massachusetts Historical Society, University of Virginia, and University of Texas. Anne Causey, Heather Thomas, Jenny McElroy, and Dylan Joy were amazing at helping create digital scans of archives during the pandemic and their libraries were shut down. Most important to my research has been Heather Ashe at ADST, who did not give up when I asked about a forgotten trove of archival material. She kept looking and then graciously welcomed me in to sort through papers that hadn't been seen in almost three decades and without this work would be sorrier.

I am also grateful to my team at Amideast who didn't think I was crazy when I announced I was starting a PhD programme and allowed me to still work part time. Helen Rubeiz became the person I talked to the most during the pandemic and without her support, I would not have finished this PhD. The same goes for Shannon Conheady. The support of supervisors like Helen, Heather Yuzvenko, and Ayad Zein gave infinite support, a flexible schedule (and days off to focus on the dissertation full time). My work at Amideast infinitely enriched my dissertation and my research. Through this work I found the perfect people to interview for oral histories and am grateful to Sarah O'Sullivan for answering my questions about the Foreign Service. I also want to thank Amelia Arsennault, Andrew Ballard, and Katherine Brown who welcomed me into their public diplomacy PhD club and helped me figure out what sort of career I wanted.

I was fortunate enough to get to do a number of oral histories during my PhD research. Meeting with each of these amazing women provided so much insight into their lives in the Foreign Service. I am beyond grateful to Jewell Fenzi who started the Foreign Service Spouse oral history project in 1987 to capture the stories of the women she knew had so greatly influenced diplomacy. Without her, this project would not exist. Meeting her in person and hearing about a treasure trove of archival material she collected over two decades, was the highlight of my degree. Elinor Constable, Phyllis Oakley, Margaret Sullivan, Judith Heimann, especially enriched my work and helped me understand the bigger picture, sending little nuggets of information and advice throughout the process. Pat Veliotis, Judy Canning, Pat Chatten, Mette Beecroft, Andrea Rugh, Ann La Porta, Diana Negroponte, Marjorie Ransom, Susan Gillespie, Karen Knopes, Shom Edmonds, Fanchon Silberstein, Pat Ryan, and Pat Barbis, all helped me better understand Foreign Service life and provided extra examples for my thesis.

I am so lucky to have had an amazing support network outside of academia. All of my friends from Saint Mary's have been my biggest cheerleaders. Cathy, Regina, and Liz provided weekends away from the archives and infinite phone calls. My friends in Washington, especially my little pod of YFPF people, were the best escapes from writing and mental health. David gets the first shout out of gratitude for being my outstanding informal editor for most of the first two

years of the degree. Kolby, Zarana, and Tom indulged me in board games, while Sean, Colleen, and Paul even hoped across the pond to visit during my final year in London. My other foreign policy and global health nerd friends, Ryan, Leah, Jen, Alex, Caleb, Liz, and John have made my life so much richer. Thank you to Morgan and Emily for endless girls nights when I needed them. Of course, I have to thank my friends from NIAHD. We met when we were all sixteen-year-old awkward kids with a passion for history and have been friends ever since. I especially want to thank Adam, Sam, Laura, and Izzi who have talked about everything historical under the sun with me for fifteen years. Thank you, Katie, for the care packages and endless hours of complaining over the phone. Mia, you've been my best friend since we were five. We flew off to Europe together at 22 and you always popped over from France to visit in London and welcomed me when I needed to escape the UK for a few days. Rob, Ellen, and Kat became a second family to me, welcoming me into their home and their family. Their support during my PhD has been endless, including meals and a place to live between trips. Losing Rob in the last few months of the PhD was incredibly hard and I miss his unconditional love and support daily.

Maybe unorthodox in acknowledgements, but I have to also thank Dr. Manikum Moodley at the Cleveland Clinic. When I showed up at 14 with a strange array of symptoms, he didn't stop looking for a cause. Without him, I would not have found a diagnosis or learned to manage my condition, but I also would not have survived high school, college, grad school, or the intervening years. All of my doctors have worked to ensure that I can live as healthy of a life as possible. It has not always been easy. My type of migraines meant there were sometimes weeks when I could barely eat, let alone look at my dissertation. Without new medications like Emgality, I would never have been healthy enough to write almost 100,000 words.

I would not be where I am today without my family, especially my parents, Karen Pavlat and Paul Penler. It is impossible to put into words how grateful I am to you and how much you mean to me. My mother filled my constant need of books throughout my childhood and adulthood and my father took me to every historical site or library between Cleveland and Williamsburg. They encouraged my love of history in so many ways, finding programmes like NIAHD and fighting for me to get into advanced classes. My brother Austin and my sister Brittany are an endless source of love and levity.

The single most supportive person in this entire process has been Andrew. I cannot put into words the amount of encouragement I received from him throughout the whole process, but he is the person who made sure I had dinner whenever I got lost in an archive or writing. He did more than his fair share of the cooking and cleaning while I studied and put up with me calling him a house husband as I wrote about Cold War housewives. I've received quite a bit of marriage advice from my case studies over the last few years, and all of them have started with pick the right person, and I have that in you. Thank you for always listening to my random historical ramblings and being my biggest cheerleader.

Abstract

The Quiet Diplomats: American Diplomatic Wives and Public Diplomacy in the Cold War, 1945-1972, illustrates how much of the unpaid work diplomatic wives did between 1945-1972 can be re-categorised as instruments of public diplomacy – a growing field today. Drawing on archival research and oral histories, this thesis reveals how American diplomatic wives were able to actively participate in public diplomacy during the Cold War because of the soft power nature of the Cold War and changing gender roles in the post-war period which gave women and everyday citizens opportunities to engage in diplomacy. It reveals the ways in which the State Department encouraged this work for decades through informal policies and techniques such as training courses. The State Department relied on the unpaid labour of diplomatic wives, while a common joke on Capitol Hill and in the Department regarding the overseas posting of married male diplomats was “two for the price of one,” a tag which many wives either embraced or resented. Diplomatic wives engaged in public diplomacy through activities which included representational entertaining and advocacy; listening and information gathering; cultural diplomacy; educational exchange; and health diplomacy and humanitarian aid. They became conduits of soft power while representing the US in foreign postings. Through the era reviewed, the wives’ roles changed as society became more accepting of working women including wives and mothers. Until 1971, diplomatic wives were assessed by the State Department as part of their husband’s performance evaluations, and it was not until 1972 that diplomatic wives were considered private citizens. While their function was debated through the rest of the 1970s and the 1980s, this PhD thesis will show that diplomatic wives played a vital but unacknowledged role in American foreign relations during the Cold War.

Abbreviations

AASFWS: American Association of Foreign Service Wives (now Women)

ABP: Avis Bohlen Papers, Shlesinger Library

ADST: Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Oral History Collection

FADST: Unorganized papers collected by Jewell Fenzi, hosted by Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training at the Foreign Service Institute.

ARK: University of Arkansas Special Collections

BP: J. Max and Ruth Clement Bond Papers, Columbia University

COL: Columbia University

COM: Chief of Mission

CU: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection, University of Arkansas

DCM: Deputy Chief of Mission

DOS: Department of State

DSBP: Dorothy Stebbins Bowles Papers, Schlesinger Library

DSB: Dorothy Stebbins Bowles

HCL: Henry Cabot Lodge Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

HCLJ: Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.

HR: Haru Reischauer

FAM: Foreign Affairs Manual

FSI: Foreign Service Institute

FSO: Foreign Service Officer

FUL: J. William Fulbright Papers, University of Arkansas

IVLP: International Visitor Leadership Program

JCP: Julia Child Papers, Shlesinger Library

JMC: Julia McWilliams Child

JMP: James Moose Papers, ARK

JSCOHP: John Sherman Cooper Oral History Project, University of Kentucky

KL: Katie Louchheim

KLP: Katie Louchheim Papers

LOC: Library of Congress

LCP: Lorraine Cooper Papers, Schlesinger Library

MMBP: Mary Marvin Patterson Papers, LOC

MOMA: Museum of Modern Art

NARA: National Archives, College Park

O/CAS: Office of Community Advisory Services, Department of State

OWN: An Overseas Wife's Notebook, NARA

Truman: Truman Presidential Library

SL: Schlesinger Library, Harvard University

UK: University of Kentucky

USIA/S: US Information Agency (US Information Service abroad)

USAID: US Agency for International Development (also known just as Agency for Development or AID)

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Introduction

Research Focus

1. Research Aims and Objectives

This thesis aims to determine whether diplomatic wives' work in this period can be classified as public diplomacy. It seeks to further explore the role wives played in US foreign relations in the first half of the Cold War. It will examine different facets of public diplomacy theory to assess wives' engagement in representative entertaining, listening, cultural diplomacy, international education, global health diplomacy, and humanitarian aid.

Using primarily archival material, this research aims to shed light on diplomatic wives' influence and work. No previous scholars have directly analysed American diplomatic wives' day-to-day activities, instead focusing on their social influence or how their role changed due to the 1970s women's movement. This research will hopefully expand the conversation around the definition of public diplomacy to include more diverse tools and actors of soft power. Finally, this work aims to include these often-overlooked women in the historical narrative, challenging historians to view them as pioneers of public diplomacy rather than appendages to diplomacy.

2. Significance of Work

The Cold War has long been considered the Golden Age of US public and cultural diplomacy, with the large influx of governmental funding after World War II and the cultural realm becoming the setting for competition between the US and Soviet systems. Through the US Department of State, US Agency for International Development (USAID) and US Information Agency (also known as US Information Service abroad or USIA/S), the US government funnelled funding into public diplomacy to combat communism, promote peace, and advocate for the US and its interests. While scholars have documented the role of propaganda in public

diplomacy during the Cold War, diplomatic wives' contributions and how the State Department encouraged and directed their involvement remains largely ignored. This research will add to the body of historical research on public diplomacy, particularly on education and exchange programs, which is sorely lacking. While there has been some scholarly work on this, including articles by Molly Bettie, Liping Bu, and Antônio F de Lima, nothing has been published on teaching English in the Cold War, for example. At the same time, the fact that it was by far the most common activity for diplomatic wives demonstrates its utilisation by the State Department.¹

It is also vital to scholarship to understand the role of women in this work. Women went abroad early as young recruits to USIA/S as teachers and some women even joined the Foreign Service before marriage. An entire generation of diplomatic spouses gave up careers in a wide range of fields after 1945 to dedicate themselves to their husbands' work and American foreign policy objectives. What is different about this generation compared to previous generations is that many of them left intellectually stimulating and varied careers and therefore wanted to find more meaning in their work as a diplomatic spouse. This drove many of them to return to school to get advanced degrees in education and library studies in order to work abroad, which provided careers that were flexible and easy to transfer from post to post and was considered acceptable work to the State Department.

Women channelled the skills and education they earned through previous work experience or advanced degrees into productive careers as diplomatic wives. Some had PhDs and law degrees while others worked as contractors for US government projects but at a local and very low wage. Many wives devoted their time to charitable activities supporting US government foreign aid

¹ Molly Bettie, "Exchange Diplomacy: Theory, Policy and Practice in the Fulbright Program." *Place branding and Public Diplomacy* 16, no.3 (2020): 212–223. Liping Bu, "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War." *Journal of American Studies* 33, no.3 (1999): 393–415. Antonio F de Lima, "The Role of International Educational Exchanges in Public Diplomacy." *Place branding and public diplomacy* 3, no.3 (2007): 234–251.

objectives, such as family planning and infant nutrition. Women who had been raised to be housewives and homemakers used their hostessing skills to provide the perfect atmosphere for their husbands' diplomatic work. During their careers, the US government habitually overlooked these women, but they argued for recognition as a close-knit community. These women dedicated their lives to diplomacy and deserve the acknowledgement and credit due to them.

Thesis Statement

This dissertation hypothesises that much of the unpaid work American diplomatic wives did abroad between 1945-1972, can be re-categorised as public diplomacy. While the term did not enter popular use until the end of the twentieth century, this dissertation argues that the US government was encouraging such work for decades through the informal roles assumed by diplomatic wives. American diplomatic wives were able to actively participate in public diplomacy during the Cold War because of its soft power nature and changing gender roles in the post-war period which gave women and everyday citizens opportunities to engage in diplomacy. Their engagement in public diplomacy took the form of representational entertaining and advocacy; listening and information gathering; cultural diplomacy; educational exchange; and global health diplomacy and humanitarian aid.

The State Department relied on the unpaid labour of diplomatic wives. A common refrain by US government and Congressional leaders regarding the work of married male diplomats abroad was “two for the price of one.” Yet because of their gender, the wives were relegated to informal people-to-people diplomacy, becoming a conduit of soft power, while their husbands instead focused on “harder” forms of diplomacy. Wives participated in cultural exchange, taught English, engaged in charitable work, and advocated for their country, all the while representing

the US. Through the era reviewed, the wives' roles changed as society became more accepting of working women including wives and mothers.

Until 1972, diplomatic wives were assessed by the State Department as part of their husband's performance evaluations, and it was not until this year that diplomatic wives were considered private citizens. Previously, they were considered de facto employees of the State Department, with wives following a strict embassy hierarchy of their own. While their role was debated through the rest of the 1970s and the 1980s, diplomatic wives played a vital but unacknowledged role in American foreign relations during the Cold War.

In making these arguments, this dissertation adds to four historiographies which will be discussed in the literature review. Firstly, this thesis builds on current research on gender in diplomacy, particularly the role of diplomatic wives in nineteenth and twentieth century Western foreign relations. Secondly, this work builds on the existing historiography of marriage and public wives. Thirdly, it utilizes and develops scholarship on the US Foreign Service by giving a voice to these quiet diplomats. Finally, this research supplements previous works on the history of public diplomacy, a field that particularly lacks research on gender in a historical context.

Research context

1. The 1972 Directive and the "liberation" of American diplomatic wives

Between 1945 and 1972, the role of diplomatic wives greatly expanded at the encouragement of the State Department. Their role has far longer roots in women's history. Prior to the end of the nineteenth century, wives did not accompany their ambassador husbands to their postings abroad. By the turn of the twentieth century, diplomacy increasingly required both a diplomat

and a hostess operating a foreign embassy or legation.² Between 1900 and 1945, diplomatic wives' activities primarily revolved around social obligations. A marked shift occurred after World War II, as American diplomatic representation increased due to the US' elevated status, power, and influence in international relations. Combined with the creation of USIA/S and USAID (and their many iterations), this required a larger American presence abroad. After the war, wives participated in a number of people-to-people diplomatic activities that helped further American foreign relations. People to people diplomacy is defined by State Department as when diplomats meet directly with the citizens of their host country, rather than just with official representatives.³

Most of these women gave up their own promising careers to dedicate themselves to their husbands' and US foreign policy objectives and had similar, and in some cases superior education and training to their husbands. Until 1972, the State Department required female Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) to resign upon marriage and many female FSOs married male officers, thus becoming diplomatic wives. The State Department required diplomatic wives to work unpaid and assessed their participation on their husbands' efficiency reports (performance evaluations), while at the same time provided training and strict oversight of wives' activities through US mission hierarchies.

During the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s, many diplomatic wives began organizing in partnership with female Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) to challenge discrimination within the State Department. In 1970, Deputy Undersecretary for Management

² Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 183.

³ "People's Diplomacy," National Museum of Diplomacy, US Department of State, last modified 27 January 2023, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/online-exhibits/diplomacy-is-our-mission/prosperity/peoples-diplomacy/#:~:text=People%2Dto%2Dpeople%20diplomacy%20is,economic%20partnerships%20that%20advance%20prosperity.>

William Macomber released a new management strategic report, “Diplomacy for the ‘70s”, which “virtually ignored women.”⁴ In response, a group of women met to discuss changes they felt needed within the State Department. Among these were female FSO Alison Palmer, who later won a class action lawsuit against the State Department for discrimination, and Martha Caldwell, a representative of the American Association of Foreign Service Wives (AAFSW). This group later became the Women’s Action Organization (WAO) and their work led to the 1972 Directive, “Policy on Wives of Foreign Service Employees”.⁵

This directive, which was sent out to all US missions worldwide on January 22nd, 1972, effectively declared diplomatic wives private citizens. It removed them from their husbands’ performance evaluations and made it clear they were no longer required to perform work for embassies and consulates. For some wives, this was a victory; for others, it became known as “The Day They Fired the Wives.”⁶ There were two groups of wives, which Jewell Fenzi breaks into camps: traditional and feminist. Feminist wives celebrated, with some such as Elinor Constable and Phyllis Oakley, re-joining the Foreign Service. Others such as Penne Laingen and Naomi Mathews, felt “dismissed.”⁷ Laingen felt she had worked her way up the ranks, and then when her husband became Ambassador, she no longer had other Foreign Service wives below her. The crux of the issue was that Ambassadors’ wives still had representational responsibilities, and the department did not provide enough financial or logistical resources to get them done without wives.

2. Katie Louchheim and the US Department of State

⁴ Jewell Fenzi with Carl L. Nelson, *Married to the Foreign Service* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994), 177.

⁵ See also Oral history interviews of the Women’s Action Organization, 1974-1977, Schlesinger Library.

⁶ “Jewell Fenzi”, oral history interview, *Frontline Diplomacy: The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training* series (hereafter ADST), Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, VA, interview transcript, 180.

⁷ “Penelope Laingen”, ADST, interview transcript, 11.

Diplomatic wives had long volunteered in their host communities, which will be detailed in chapters four, five, and six. The State Department found several ways to encourage this through training and print materials, but the most effective and important link between the State Department and diplomatic wives that emerged during the 1960s was through Katie Louchheim.

Louchheim was raised in New York City, the daughter of a Jewish stockbroker who lost the family funds and a socialite. An uncle paid for her to go to Rosemary Hall but as there was not enough money for her to go to college, she later became a secretary before meeting her husband who worked on Wall Street. During the 1930s, they moved to Washington DC where her husband worked for the Security Exchange Commission, reforming Wall Street. Louchheim's upbringing until this point was identical to many diplomatic wives of her generation, an affinity that would serve her well in her later career. In the 1930s, Louchheim went to work for the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, and later the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration during World War II.

She became Director of Women's Activities for the DNC and when John F. Kennedy won the presidential election in 1960, he appointed her Special Assistant for Women's Affairs at the State Department. A press release detailing her role said that she would "work on a variety of problems concerned with the participation of women in international, cultural, and educational affairs."⁸ Another facet of her role was to work with women's groups. Louchheim detested how the department treated and ignored women. When she moved to public affairs, she was determined for wives to be seen as a "strategic diplomatic resource."⁹ In this role, Louchheim became a champion for diplomatic wives. She knew many of them socially from her decades in Washington. She became the liaison between wives in the field who needed financial support for

⁸ Katie Louchheim, *By the Political Sea* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 196.

⁹ *Ibid*, 200.

their volunteer projects and raising that money in the US through private women's groups and corporations.

In 1962, she was made Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, the highest-ranking woman at the State Department to date. That same year, she launched the Office of Community Advisory Services (O/CAS) which aimed to link the Foreign Service with grassroots initiatives in the US. Louchheim believed the Foreign Service had been overlooked as unsung heroes of American government and aimed to garner more support amongst Americans. O/CAS later became a hub for raising funds for diplomatic wives. In this role, she worked to distribute stories of wives' volunteering and hard work to American local press outlets around the country. She herself gave talks to women's groups on the value of diplomatic wives and the Foreign Service. In many ways, Louchheim's career and education, a mix of paid and unpaid volunteer roles, mirrors that of diplomatic wives, which is perhaps why she became their most ardent supporter within the State Department.

Louchheim recalled later that "politics had taught me the value of wives of public officials."¹⁰ Other than her work for the State Department, much of her work with the DNC had been done on a volunteer basis, so she understood how diplomatic wives organized and functioned as effectively unpaid employees. Diplomatic wives were similar to political wives in that they supported their husbands' position and gave them a public position of their own.

3. Gender Roles and the Public Wife

In a book published in 1956, Richard Boyce laid out the role of diplomatic wives, with a particular emphasis on the role of women in embassies. Boyce was a former diplomat, and his

¹⁰ Ibid.

book was recommended reading according to many FSOs, though Boyce noted while the advice was “compatible with the policy of our Government”, it was not approved by nor represents the official views of the State Department.¹¹ His book was a guidebook for diplomatic wives representing the US government. It featured advice on representing the United States, protocol and etiquette, overview of different roles within the embassy, briefs on regional geopolitics and norms, advice on culture shock, and more practical matters like packing and arranging children’s’ educations. Like many other diplomats of this era, Boyce had a particularly conformist view of gender norms in the 1950s and much of his advice follows strict gender roles.

Boyce instructed the wives of diplomats not to miss lectures or significant events, although they were "primarily there as window dressing."¹² In *The Phenomenon of the Public Wife*, scholar Joanna Gillespie argues that in American political theatre, the image of a leader and a representative is closely related to high moral standing, which can be best communicated by the dutiful, supportive, and loving wife standing beside him.¹³ A man with a 'good' wife must be worthy of public trust, even if that image is a facade.¹⁴ As Gillespie explains, family as a symbol of stability and validity is deeply entwined in American public life, and a public man's family establishes his legitimacy.

Similarly, wives reinforced the perception of the diplomat husband as a 'good man', worthy of trust—the bedrock of all diplomacy. While Gillespie argues that the role of wealthy, upper-class wives traces back to the American Civil War, for diplomatic wives, its importance begins with the conclusion of World War I.¹⁵ This was due to the increase in the number of diplomats

¹¹ Richard Fyfe Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 10.

¹² Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 6.

¹³ Joanna B. Gillespie, “The Phenomenon of the Public Wife,” *Symbolic Interaction* 3, no.2 (Fall 1980): 109-126, 111.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Gillespie, *The Phenomenon of the Public Wife*, 113.

sent abroad. No longer was an embassy just an ambassador, his wife, and a bachelor secretary in a few foreign countries, but instead a large team. The increase in press coverage also contributed. By the 1930s, every time a new Ambassador and his wife arrived in their host country, they were greeted by local, foreign, and American press. By the 1950s, Boyce offered strict instructions for Ambassadors on what to wear after arrival: clothes which were "plain in color" and comfortable for "demure sitting," before adding that this was excellent advice for all public occasions.¹⁶ Finally, he advised wives "should have a brief statement ready in case it is asked for, but obviously it is her husband who is the center of attention."¹⁷ According to Boyce wives were meant to be plain, decorous, and like children, "seen but not heard." The wife was not supposed to have opinions, interests, be her own person, or upstage her husband. At the same time, she had to project the image that there was nowhere else she would rather be, in order to appear genuinely interested instead of a consummate actor. Boyce wrote that wives had to "adapt" themselves to this unique public life.

By the 1960s, the State Department was well aware of the value of a wife, especially with the popularity of First Lady Jackie Kennedy. In 1964, State Department officials wrote that although a wife had not acquired any "official sanctity, she nonetheless is in the public eye and must constantly conduct herself in a manner which is both friendly and exemplary, whether she is in her home or out in public."¹⁸ They added that wives must maintain their dignity at all times, as "this dignity is not only hers but her country's."¹⁹ James S. Moose Jr., the former Ambassador to Syria and Sudan, went even further, saying, "The wife, by her own acts or by her failure to act,

¹⁶ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 10.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Working in Partnerships" Typescript, Bureau of Administration: Records Relation to the Publication of "An Overseas Wife's Notebook, 1962-1965" (OWN), Box 3, Records of the State Department, Record Group 59, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

¹⁹ "Wieland draft" Typescript, OWN, Box 3.

can derogate from, or enhance, the esteem which she enjoys, that enjoyed by the Ambassador, or that enjoyed by the US."²⁰ These statements, from three different high-ranking State Department officials, demonstrate the pervasive pattern of governmental expectations of public wives' 'goodness'. Wives were told to be themselves but be themselves at their best. In the game of diplomacy, there was no space for error. By the 1970s, it was just assumed that there was no such thing as a private life for diplomatic wives, even after the 1972 directive declaring them private citizens. As Margaret Sullivan remembers of life in the late 1970s and early 1980s, "The community rarely permits me the option to be the private person I am acknowledged by the Foreign Service to be."²¹ She continued, "In virtually everything I do, even in my purely private capacity, I am referred to as the wife of the US Deputy Ambassador. I am a semi-public person. Foreign Service dependents, and the Service, must accept the fact that we often function, with and without choice, wearing an embassy hat."²²

Like the US First Lady and Congressional spouses, diplomatic wives were instantly public women. Because of their role, there was no delineation between public and private when stationed abroad. This meant they not only had to represent the US government and the embassy or consulate, but they also had to represent American womanhood. Gender roles of the era controlled who they could be perceived as and were often leveraged by the State Department to accomplish its foreign policy goals, which will be detailed in more detail in chapter two.

4. Women and the American Dream in the 1950s

²⁰ Speech given by James S. Moose Jr at the Center for Continuing Liberal Education, Pennsylvania State College, 7 November 1963, JMP, Box 8, Folder 2.

²¹ Essay by Margaret Sullivan, "Privacy in a Fishbowl," Unmarked Box, Jewell Fenzi Collection at Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Papers at Foreign Service Institute (hereafter FADST), Arlington VA.

²² Ibid.

For diplomatic wives, the 1950s was a decade where representing the US meant articulating a particularly feminine persona. In the US, society encouraged a return to domesticity after the war years, with feminine housewives replacing the strong and independent 'Rosie the Riveter' image of the previous decade, though actual women's role in American society was far more complex.²³ This did not matter for diplomatic wives, who were representing American ideals, not just actual Americans. Their "correct" feminine representation also could deflect any allegations of disloyalty or sexual impropriety of their husbands, especially important during the Lavender Scare.

In February 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy gave a speech in West Virginia that accused 205 US Department of State employees of being members of the Communist Party.²⁴ McCarthyism defined much of the decade and dramatically decreased morale within the Department. The crusade against communism within the US paralleled the increase of American support, money, and military build-up to combat communism worldwide. Simultaneously, the US created an image of how to portray itself to the world—that of a free, capitalist society where the American Dream was possible. That might have been the case for a predominantly white upper middle class, becoming more affluent due to a robust economy, and who made up the majority of the Foreign Service. But omitted from the official image was a country grappling with race, social class, and gender tensions, which became increasingly impossible to conceal

²³ See May, Homeward Bound and Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 4 (1993): 1455-1482.

²⁴ Speech of Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling, West Virginia, 9 February 1950. US Senate, State Department Loyalty Investigation Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress; Joseph McCarthy to President Harry Truman February 11, 1950, Congressional Record, 81st Congress. See also David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy so Immense: the World of Joe McCarthy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Jonathan Michaels, *McCarthyism: the Realities, Delusions and Politics Behind the 1950s Red Scare* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), and Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), and "An Unfavourable Projection of American Unity" in Justin Hart, *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of US Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

from a global audience. Nevertheless, during the 1950s, the American Dream became an ethos where freedom and prosperity above all else prevailed, and it was the Foreign Service's responsibility to export this portrait to the world.

The 1950s stereotype of the American Dream was a single-family house in the suburbs with an employed, white middle-class father, homemaker mother, two children, a station wagon, a white picket fence, and a dog. This ignored the millions of Americans of colour, the white working class, and Americans living in urban areas, often in apartments or multi-generational homes. Many American women in this era worked in factories, and married women's employment outside the home grew in this decade. By 1960, 39% of all mothers with school-age children worked outside the home, with the highest percentage among middle class women.²⁵ Historian Susan Hartmann noted that explanations for women's growing employment was complex- a combination of technological, demographic, economic and social factors- such as war widows supporting their children or women finding they enjoyed working during the war and electing to continue.²⁶ Women had an increased self-confidence after the war, and this meant they did not return to their pre-war gender roles quietly.

This period of transition found wives in roles as workers, community activists, politicians, and housewives, or a combination of all of the above. Projecting these images to the world would have showed that the US had more in common with Soviet Russia, which had a high percentage of women workers, than Washington wanted to admit. In the battle with communism, this would have severely damaged their message. Both in the US and in the USSR, women who worked outside of the home were also expected to do the majority of domestic

²⁵ Susan M Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal" in *Not June Cleaver* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994).

²⁶ Ibid.

chores, and in both countries work and domestic duties shifted based on location and socio-economic status.²⁷ Ignoring the similarities, US political and social leaders, such as Vice President Richard Nixon, focused on how American women belonged in the home. James O'Connell, then Undersecretary of Labor said, "When a woman comes to be viewed first as a source of manpower, second as a mother, then I think we are losing much that supposedly separates us from the Communist world."²⁸ O'Connell was not alone in his viewpoint, and this idea of American women staying at home versus Soviet women working in factories or farms became a theme throughout the decade.

By the mid-1950s, the State Department spent millions of public diplomacy dollars exporting this stereotype around the world through world exposition and trade show exhibits. Both the US Pavilion in the 1956 International Trade Show in Paris and the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels highlighted the 'American way of life'. In a summary of the Paris Fair, the *New York Times* wrote: "It is the US' do-it-yourself movement versus Communist China's Five-Year Plan."²⁹ As internal USIA/S reports show, many visitors found the US Pavilion trivial with its focus on children's toys, home improvement technology, and kitchen gadgets.³⁰ In Paris, they sold the idea of capitalism through technology that eased women's housekeeping duties and fathers who had enough time outside of work and family to have leisurely hobbies such as woodworking.

Central to this ideal ethos was women, particularly middle-class housewives. The American Dream focused on the nuclear family, a term popularised during this era, and how

²⁷ See Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society: Equality, Development, and Social Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), and Susan Bridger, *Women in the Soviet Countryside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

²⁸ Judith Sealander, *As Minority Becomes Majority: Federal Reaction to the Phenomenon of Women in the Work Force, 1920-1963* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1983), 139-140.

²⁹ W. Granger Blair, "US Do-It-Yourself a Contrast to Red China Plan in Paris Fair," *The New York Times*, 13 May 1956.

³⁰ Memorandum from Heath Bowman to USIS Washington on "Fair of Paris, 1956 – US Pavilion Survey Study" Highlights and Interpretations, 27 July 1956, R045. European USIA/S Report Collection, Roper Center for Public Opinion, Cornell University.

good, wholesome mothers could prevent moral problems within a society. The nuclear family and the homemaker mother were the foot soldiers in the battle against communism, and anyone who deviated from it was labelled unpatriotic.³¹ Propaganda in the Cold War focused on the US as the land of opportunity with a strong consumer culture; new technology that primarily impacted women, such as the vacuum cleaner increased their standard of living. Many informational propaganda campaigns abroad during this period highlighted the home and the women within it.³²

While they funnelled funds into such propaganda through USIA/S, the State Department also had a free tool at their disposal: diplomatic wives. This picture of American women depicted a much rosier picture of white American womanhood, which in this era also struggled with higher rates of divorce, prescription drug use, and mental illness. Historian Wini Breines argues that there even was a culture of rebellion among white middle-class women in the 1950s, who lived a more bohemian life.³³ American women in this period were multidimensional, but that narrative was counterproductive to US objectives, and so diplomatic wives were forced into representing this idealised view of American homemakers.

The demonstration of the American way of life and American Dream through diplomatic wives was more successful than expositions. In the official guidebook for diplomats published in 1957, the State Department encouraged wives to remember that they "represent American ideas and ideals, as well as an American standard of living, and an American home."³⁴ American diplomatic wives were encouraged to be all-American in their depiction and to recreate an

³¹ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1988), 13–14.

³² Emily S. Rosenberg, "Consuming Women: Images of Americanization in the 'American Century'." *Diplomatic History* 23, no.3 (1999), 487.

³³ Wini Breines, "The 'Other' Fifties: Beats and Bad Girls" in *Not June Cleaver*, 383.

³⁴ The US State Department (DOS), *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, (Washington: US Government Printing Office, November 1957), 16.

American home abroad. In doing so, they would combat communism and reinforce the liberal world order.

The State Department understood the complexities of keeping an American home abroad. Boyce, in contradiction to Expo exhibit designers, wrote that the idea of the American home was separate from modern technologies like a coffeemaker, that all it needed was a welcome and happy wife.³⁵ For Boyce and the Foreign Service, the wife was the centre of the nuclear family, who kept everything running smoothly. Concurrently, the American home created by diplomatic wives became their sphere of influence. Similar to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century idea of "Republican Motherhood", where women were responsible for passing on the values of republicanism to their children after the Revolutionary War, wives were passing on American values to their children, servants, and anyone else who came into their home. Through the home, they could depict the US positively, showing off its wealth and high standard of living; in effect, its soft power. This home also became the stage where wives created a congenial environment to further their husbands' diplomatic objectives through representational entertaining. The wives and their homes became the exhibits themselves.

The State Department was increasingly worried during this era of officers 'going native', which referred to officers or their wives falling in love with the host country's culture and putting that country's interests above American ones. Boyce also wrote that it was important for wives to remain as American throughout their tour of duty as when they arrived. The Foreign Service understood the need for officers and their families to 'reconnect' with their 'Americanness', and the best way of doing so was through periodic home leave. A 1950s booklet

³⁵ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 17.

explained in more detail, “the officer and his family renew their experiences of life in the US and go out into the field again better equipped to represent the US.”³⁶

Boyce compared women to a battery, writing that period assignments in Washington would recharge their “natural American personality.”³⁷ Given these factors it is clear why the Department discouraged officers from marrying foreign wives, particularly those from Eastern European as was common in the pre-war period. The role of American wives was central to the Department’s propaganda and representation efforts, and at a bargain price too.

Analytical Framework

1. Timeframe

The period from 1945-1972 was a particularly fertile period for US diplomatic wives’ public diplomacy work. The expansion in global power and influence of the US after World War II meant that the US needed a larger Foreign Service, and returning GIs made perfect recruits. The nature of the Cold War, which prioritized the battle for hearts and minds, meant that the Foreign Service utilised diplomatic wives by encouraging them to engage in people-to-people diplomacy. Until January 1972, when wives were made private citizens after the 1972 directive, they were expected to work as unpaid diplomats, supporting their husbands’ work and engaging in their own volunteer projects. After the directive in 1972, many wives continued these activities, some paid and some voluntary. This provided a career that helped many wives find their own identity within the Foreign Service. It also gave them a greater purpose in which they could use their education and intellect to support American efforts abroad. Yet this work no longer had the same

³⁶ The US State Department (DOS), *The Foreign Service of the US* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, June 1958), 29.

³⁷ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 16.

support and promotion from the State Department that had peaked in the 1960s. While this dissertation will touch on some wives' experiences in the later 1970s, due to the aforementioned factors, this dissertation will start most of its coverage in 1945 and end in 1972.

Prior to 1945, there had been a major reform of the Foreign Service in 1924, with the passage of the Rogers Act. This act established a career organization with a competitive entry exam and merit promotion. Previously diplomats were chosen based on their income ability to pay for an expensive post abroad or based on their social connections. Many came from wealthy families, completed an informal apprenticeship abroad as a secretary to an Ambassador, and could leave the Service at any time. The new law was meant to open a career in diplomacy to “any American citizen who has the necessary qualifications.”³⁸ Besides setting an entrance exam, the law also unified the diplomatic and consular services, set salaries for classes, and created rotations, home leaves, length of postings, and a career pathway for officers. While it also created budgets for representational entertaining, due to the meagre amounts, Ambassadors throughout the 1930s-1950s often used their personal wealth to supplement US federal funds. The Foreign Service Act of 1946 updated the Rogers Act and created a “disciplined corps” of civil servants that fulfilled the greater need for US representation abroad. The 1946 law not only widened the Foreign Service, but it increased salaries, created a promotion system for career growth, and provided more training for officers. It created a professionalised Foreign Service, which therefore created the need for a professionalised Foreign Service wife.

2. Methodology

³⁸ “The Rogers Act,” Office of the Historian, US Department of State. accessed December 17, 2020, <https://history.state.gov/departments/history/short-history/rogers>.

When researching and analysing any element of diplomacy, but especially people-to-people diplomacy, methodologies and theory must be utilized from political scientists, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and communications specialists. Public diplomacy activities are at their heart social interactions where people around the world meet, representing their nation and culture and learning about others'. Yet it also involves nations' governments, encompassing and embodying their geopolitical and economic interests. The specific messaging utilized by governments, in this case the State Department, and their actors, including diplomatic wives, gives insight into specific nations' objectives and their political goals. Historians then must place this narrative and theory within a greater historical context. For example, diplomatic wives were influenced just as much by the global Cold War as second-wave feminism. Previous research that this dissertation builds upon comes from each of these fields, including political scientists Cynthia Enloe and Joseph Nye, anthropologists Hilary Callan and Hannah Papanek, sociologist Arlie Hochschild, and historians Catherine Allgor, Molly Wood, and Nicholas Cull.³⁹

Contextualizing diplomatic wives work within the wider historiography will be achieved by integrating gender and social history, as well as the history of international relations. It will also incorporate Joseph Nye's theory on soft power and Nicholas Cull's five elements of public diplomacy.⁴⁰ In his work, Cull focuses on five classifications of public diplomacy, including

³⁹ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 178. Catherine Allgor, "A Republican in a Monarchy: Louisa Catherine Adams in Russia," *Diplomatic History* 21, no.1 (1997), 41. Molly M. Wood, "A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico: Creating Professional, Political, and National Identities in the Early Twentieth Century," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 25, no.3 (2004). Molly M. Wood, "Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the 'Social Game' in the US Foreign Service, 1905-1941," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no.2 (2005): 142-165; Molly M. Wood, "'Commanding Beauty' and 'Gentle Charm': American Women and Gender in the Early Twentieth-Century Foreign Service," *Diplomatic History* 31, no.3 (2007). Molly M. Wood, "The Informal Politics of Diplomacy," in *When Private Talk Goes Public: Gossip in US History*, ed. by Kathleen Feeley and Jennifer Frost (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 505-530. Hilary Callan, *The Premise of Dedication: Notes Towards an Ethnography of Diplomats' Wives* (London: JM Dent and Sons, 1975). Arlie Hochschild, "The Role of the Ambassador's Wife: An Exploratory Study," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 31, no.1 (1969): 73-87. Hanna Papanek, "Men, Women, and Work: Reflections on the Two-Person Career," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no.4 (1973): 852-72. Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 31-54.

⁴⁰ See Cull, "Taxonomies," and Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no.1 (2008): 101.

listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting, and exchange diplomacy. However, he misses a vital sixth type. Humanitarian aid, global health diplomacy, and volunteering were crucial features of US foreign policy in the global south during the Cold War, and this dissertation argues it should be considered public diplomacy. Using Cull and Nye's theories allows this research to demonstrate how wives' work related to public diplomacy, both in the nature of the work, but also in the intentions and support of the State Department.

Concurrently, the dissertation will rely heavily on feminist theory generated by Emily Rosenberg, Kristin Hoganson, Elaine Taylor May, Joan Scott, and others.⁴¹ It is necessary to understand the gender roles and expectations wives faced during this period, particularly within the US and how their identities shifted during the 1960s and 1970s. This is crucial to understand why wives continued their volunteer activities before and after the 1972 directive, and how wives saw themselves within the wider State Department apparatus.

3. Research Sources

Three of the core research methods on this project will be oral histories, reviewing memoirs, and archival research. The backbone of this dissertation is over 120 oral histories of diplomatic spouses from the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training. Recorded in the 1980s and 1990s, these oral histories fill in individual experiences from a more comprehensive number of subjects than merely those who left behind archival material, a privilege of the well connected. These oral histories are unique in that they have never been used by scholarly research before. Combined with oral histories conducted specifically for this research of twenty

⁴¹ Emily Rosenberg, "Gender," *The Journal of American History* 77, no.1 (June 1990): 117. Kristin Hoganson, "What's Gender Got to Do with It? Gender History as Foreign Relations History," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 311. Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no.5 (December 1986): 1053-1075. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound*.

living diplomatic wives, these oral histories provide a broad selection of diplomatic wives from this period.

A smaller pool of memoirs, around thirty from diplomatic wives and a further twenty from diplomat husbands, were also reviewed. These memoirs provide the opportunity to dig deep into specific examples of public diplomacy the wives worked on, including background knowledge, important steps, actors, and if possible, results. Each chapter of this dissertation selects five or six exemplary diplomatic wives as case studies, combining research from multiple sources and focuses on the diversity of their experiences throughout the Cold War.

Archival material, including US government papers and personal papers of both diplomats and their wives, properly contextualize US government policy towards diplomatic wives. By reviewing State Department documents, internal memos, handbooks, and reports, it is possible to better understand government policy regarding diplomatic wives. Archival research at the National Archives at College Park, Library of Congress, US Department of State's Foreign Service Institute, and the University of Arkansas (which holds State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange archives from this era) has shed insight and detailed evidence on US government efforts to encourage, regulate, and direct diplomatic wives' work abroad. These papers have shown how the US government determined which wives' activities were supported, how wives were encouraged to partake in the "right" activities, how they were assessed, and if they met US foreign policy objectives. In the National Archives, boxes of material related to direct training programs of the wives and internal memos shed light on State Department objectives and the inner tension between staff regarding wives' position. Smaller private collections highlight the stories and experiences of specific diplomats and their spouses, adding a rich narrative to this work.

Until 1972, Foreign Service inspectors assessed wives on their husband's annual efficiency reports and internal assessments. After the 1972 directive, the State Department ordered the destruction of all personnel records that included mention of wives' involvement and activities in an effort to equalize the Foreign Service. This has deep repercussions for historical research, as wives were evidently erased from the historical record.

While some archives have been lost, others have been found. Jewell Fenzi, a spouse who started the oral history project with ADST, collected several private papers from the spouses interviewed, which were housed, undiscovered, at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), until early 2020. These papers often included pieces of information from wives, such as biographic surveys they filled out, photos, and copies of speeches or letters from their time in the Foreign Service.

However, recognizing that the wives who participated in the ADST spouse project are more likely to have a positive view of their time in the service, it was necessary to diversify archival sources. In order to better assess the wives' opinions towards their time in the Foreign Service, this research uses personal papers wives have left in archives around the US in a number of smaller archives. While they do not accumulate to very many papers in each archive, they are spread across the country. Materials from the American Association of Foreign Service Women, University of Arkansas, Center for Jewish History, Columbia University, Elon University, Emory University, Georgetown University, University of Georgia, Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Public Library, Princeton University, Schlesinger Library at Harvard University, University of Kentucky, Minnesota Historical Society, Yale University, Wisconsin Historical Society, the University of Texas at Austin, Hoover Institute, and the University of Virginia were all reviewed while researching this dissertation.

4. Limitations

Public diplomacy policymakers and practitioners have struggled for decades to measure the impact of public diplomacy as it is challenging to assess intangible results such as informing and influencing a foreign public and increasing mutual understanding between peoples of two nations. This dissertation does not seek to determine what impact the wives had on their host communities. Instead, it focuses on reviewing the role wives played in diplomacy and assessing the diplomatic wives' work to establish its contribution to public diplomacy.

Diplomatic wives' activities shifted based on their husbands' position and seniority within the embassy, as well as the country in which they were posted. For example, wives in the developing world often dedicated their time to social welfare projects, while wives in developed economies were more likely to focus on cultural pursuits. Junior wives had more time for volunteering activities, while senior wives' schedules were consumed by representational entertaining. The nature of life in the US Foreign Service meant that wives could have anywhere between two and twelve posts abroad during their marriages. These circumstances make it impossible to trace specific diplomatic wives throughout the period.

Structure

The first part of this thesis focuses on the traditional diplomatic work of diplomatic wives. Chapter One reviews wives' backgrounds and their changing role in the mid-twentieth century, as well as the State Department's efforts to train diplomatic wives to become effective diplomats. Chapter Two focuses on representational entertaining and how wives sold America abroad as total representatives of the US. Chapter Three then looks at wives' listening activities, examining how wives used information gathering to learn about the local community in which they were stationed.

Part two focuses on the volunteer activities wives undertook abroad. This is examined through wives' cultural diplomacy efforts in Chapter Four, paralleling the general rise in American cultural diplomacy. Chapter Five explores an often-overlooked element of public diplomacy: education and exchange diplomacy, a particularly rich activity for diplomatic wives who often were volunteered by the State Department as English teachers. Finally, Chapter Six examines a previously ignored subsection of public diplomacy - humanitarian aid, and wives' volunteer efforts in global health, after natural disasters, and social welfare activities, building on an American tradition of philanthropy and volunteerism.

Literature Review and Historiographical Essay

This dissertation sits at the intersection of four historiographies: gender and women's history, the history of marriage, the history of the US Foreign Service, and public diplomacy history. The vast number of works in each of these historiographies means it is impossible to include every work in a literature review, but in this section, several key ideas and arguments contained within existing work will be identified and discussed.

To understand diplomatic wives' actions and lives, one must understand the context and the background of the world the women lived in, as well as the nature of public diplomacy they practised. The historiography makes it clear that women impacted US foreign relations as informal participants, diplomatic hostesses, Foreign Service Officers, and more. For many diplomatic wives, marrying their husbands and joining the Foreign Service was life-changing. This needs to be understood in the context of society's changing views on marriage between the 1920s and 1970s and of the masculine and feminine roles attached to the world of diplomacy. In order to comprehend how the Foreign Service worked, it is essential to recognise the male-

dominated elite culture and the “old boys club” that women encountered. This led wives and many female officers to take indirect routes in their practice of diplomacy, routes which would be considered public diplomacy efforts today. Given this, it is crucial to arrive at a definition of public diplomacy and its many facets, including how it constituted a form of US soft power in the Cold War period.

Gender and Diplomacy

Over the last thirty years, the historiography on gender and diplomacy has grown considerably. Prior to Emily Rosenberg’s article, “Gender,” and Cynthia Enloe’s book, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* in 1990, the literature on gender and diplomacy was constricted to the study of “women worthies,” or exceptional and atypical women who broke into the male-dominated world of foreign policy.⁴² Their works attempted to integrate their arguments with more robust gender theory, using the writings of Joan Scott, Nancy F. Cott and others.⁴³ Such work, and that produced by other later scholars, have shown the considerable impact women have had on diplomacy, which was considered virtually non-existent as late as the mid-1980s.⁴⁴ While scholars of gender and diplomacy have focused on several themes, this literature review will concentrate on the following subjects directly related to this PhD thesis: women in foreign policy, the current literature on diplomatic wives, and masculinity and femininity in diplomacy.

⁴² Rosenberg, “Gender,” 117. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*.

⁴³ See Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis”; Joan Scott, “History and Difference,” *Daedalus* 116, no.4 (Fall 1987), 93-118; Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

⁴⁴ Edward P. Crapol, *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), vii.

Rosenberg argues that there are three approaches to gauge women's impact on diplomacy and international relations. The first approach is focusing on notable women or "women worthies". The second approach is based on the notion of separate spheres⁴⁵, that women were able to impact foreign relations by doing labour traditionally labelled as "women's work."⁴⁶ Rosenberg's final approach uses gender ideologies and their social and political implications to understand how women were involved in foreign policy.⁴⁷ This last approach leans heavily on Joan Scott's work on power dynamics between genders and is meant to complement the first two approaches rather than replace it.⁴⁸

Scholarly works regarding women in foreign policy can be divided between those three themes. In the edited volume, *Women and American Foreign Policy* (1987), historians Edward Crapol, Lynn K. Dunn, and Judith Ewell highlight work of notable women including Eleanor Dulles, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Jean Kirkpatrick. Crapol compiled the book as he sought to fill a gap in the literature and show that women were involved in foreign affairs, even if not directly as policy makers. Crapol admits "Women had been ignored or overlooked."⁴⁹ This argument was also made by Peter Nash in his 2002 article on Francis Willis, the first woman chief of mission. While Nash writes extensively on her many "first" accomplishments, he also uses Rosenberg's third approach, dissecting the discrimination Willis faced and how she was able to overcome it.⁵⁰ He highlights her flaws and criticises both her foreign policy views as well as her

⁴⁵ See Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no.1 (June 1988), 9-39.

⁴⁶ Rosenberg, "Gender," 118.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁸ See Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis"; Scott, "History and Difference"; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*.

⁴⁹ Crapol, *Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*, viii.

⁵⁰ Peter Nash, "'A Woman's Touch in Foreign Affairs'? The Career of Ambassador Frances E. Willis," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 13, no.2 (June 2002): 7.

decision not to speak out about sex discrimination.⁵¹ Rosenberg asserts that the notable women approach reinforces women's roles as outsiders, continuing their exclusion.⁵² While this dissertation will include notable women who worked as informal ambassadors, it raises the question of whether they are still excluded if we rethink the definition of diplomacy. What if these women were not practicing informal diplomacy but instead a version of public diplomacy in its infancy?

Instead of only looking at notable women outsiders, Larissa Grunig, Nancy McGlen, and Meredith Reid Sarkees examined why there were not more women involved in diplomacy.⁵³ These scholars focused on the discrimination women faced in the Cold War period, not only from other foreign policy professionals but also the State Department as an institution. While not fitting into either of Rosenberg's categories, McGlen and Sarkees's 1993 book, *Women in Foreign Policy: The Insiders*, tries to explain why women were left out of foreign policy decision making.⁵⁴ Using interviews, they highlight contributions women made once they were able to "surmount the blockades that have been set in their way."⁵⁵ Using interviews with women who worked exclusively for the Departments of State and Defense, their work examines what happened when women's participation increased dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s. McGlen and Sarkees argue that while women were excluded from foreign policy, the women were also heavily impacted and the authors detail why they were often left out.⁵⁶ Their work builds on Marxist feminist theory of maximisers and minimizers and highlights women working inside the male dominated sphere, but it also has a narrow focus. While they mention hurdles women faced,

⁵¹ Ibid, 14.

⁵² Rosenberg, "Gender," 117.

⁵³ Larissa A. Grunig, "Court-Ordered Relief from Sex Discrimination in the Foreign Service: Implications for Women Working in Development Communication," *Public Relations Research Annual* 3, no.1-4 (1991): 86.

⁵⁴ McGlen and Sarkees, *The Insiders*, 298.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 1-12.

such as caring for families, they do not mention the impact diplomatic wives might have had as insiders sitting at the same dinner tables as their husbands. This PhD thesis seeks to establish if diplomatic wives were either political insiders, outsiders, or both.

There have been few scholarly articles or books written on the role of American and British diplomats' wives.⁵⁷ Enloe first acknowledged their role in international politics, arguing that governments have relied on women in their unpaid roles as diplomatic wives for decades.⁵⁸ This argument is also made by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500* (2015), who trace the concept of a diplomatic team of husband and wife back to the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁵⁹ As Enloe explains, by the end of the nineteenth century, diplomacy and hostessing were so intertwined, governments began to expect this kind of labour from diplomats' wives.⁶⁰ Enloe also expands her work on diplomatic wives in her second edition of *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* to include the wives of foreign aid workers as more governments created bureaucracies to work in developing countries.⁶¹ It has to be noted that although the overwhelming majority of diplomatic wives during the era reviewed had well-educated backgrounds, were from the American upper or upper-middle classes, and were primarily white and Christian, there were some exceptions. However, Enloe does not explore this point nor the distinct experience of non-white diplomatic wives.

⁵⁷ While this work focuses primarily on the US and the literature review includes only Americans, following Mary E. Frederickson's call for more women in transnational history in her article *Going Global: New Trajectories in US Women's History* (2010), it is important to consider diplomatic wives in other global north countries. See also: Jennifer Mori, "How Women Make Diplomacy: The British Embassy in Paris 1815-1841," *Journal of Women's History* 27, No.4 (Winter 2015), 137-159. Annabel Black, "The Changing Culture of Diplomatic Spouses: Some Fieldnotes from Brussels," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 6, No.1 (March 1995), 196-222.

⁵⁸ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 178.

⁵⁹ Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James, *Women, Diplomacy, and International Politics since 1500* (London-New York: Routledge, 2015), 4.

⁶⁰ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 182. See also Allgor, "A Republican in a Monarchy," 41.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 208-210. See also, Rosalind Eyben, "Fellow Travellers in Development," *Third World Quarterly* 22, no.8 (2012), 1405-1421.

In her article, “A Republican in a Monarchy”, Allgor challenges the reader not to rethink gender but instead to rethink diplomacy. In Russia, the setting most used for diplomacy was not a private office but a parlour, a place modern historians consider a separate sphere.⁶² She argues that historians have acknowledged the importance of personal diplomacy but have not fully examined the implications it holds for women and diplomacy.⁶³ Taking inspiration from Allgor, who links information Louisa Adams gathered in social settings directly to her husband’s policy decisions,⁶⁴ this dissertation will look at the actions of diplomats and the language they used to determine if whether they conducting what we now would call public diplomacy. While Allgor writes that it is difficult to show women made a real political difference, this is only the case if narrow criteria define women’s work.⁶⁵

Historian Molly Wood has written extensively on American diplomatic wives, publishing three articles in 2005 and 2007 on the subject, but not going beyond World War II.⁶⁶ Wood correctly argues that although wives had no formal positions in the Foreign Service, they still played a significant role in the conduct of American diplomacy as “informal diplomats”.⁶⁷ Wood takes the second approach articulated by Rosenberg, that of acknowledging women’s work. Instead of focusing on the women’s actual impact women on foreign policy, a task that is much harder to accomplish, she instead concentrates on the vital social role many wives played at embassies. While Wood carefully lays out all the ways that Foreign Service wives managed the domestic duties and social obligations required of them without pay, she does not explore any

⁶² Allgor, “A Republican in a Monarchy,” 36.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 38

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁶ Wood, “A Diplomat’s Wife in Mexico”; Wood, “Diplomatic Wives,” 142-165; Wood, “‘Commanding Beauty’ and ‘Gentle Charm’”; Wood, “The Informal Politics of Diplomacy,” 505-530.

⁶⁷ Wood, “Social Game”, 143.

work outside the “the social game.”⁶⁸ Because of this, her work becomes trapped in “separate spheres,” and more questions are created than answered. For example, she argues that embassies relied on wives to reach out to local women in host countries and to work with them at local charities but gives little evidence of who gave them such directions, demonstrating that further research is needed.⁶⁹ Wood writes that the wives divulged few concrete details about their volunteer work. However, this PhD dissertation will document how wives performed such work in the early Cold War period.

Two authors have written on adjoining topics to this dissertation. Donna Alvah has demonstrated the influence and work of US military wives in the Cold War, while Helen McCarthy has studied British diplomatic wives. Alvah has successfully shown that military wives, like diplomatic wives, represented American values and US international goals abroad.⁷⁰ In the British Foreign Service, wives faced the same challenges as their American counterparts. Using extensive primary sources, Helen McCarthy looks at two distinct time periods for diplomatic wives in her 2014 book *Women of the World*. She argues that diplomatic wives performed duties such as calling, because they knew it was their responsibility.⁷¹ Her research also extends to the late twentieth century, arguing that second wave feminism changed how women’s roles were perceived in diplomacy as wives were soon considered private citizens and were under no obligation to work unpaid for the government.⁷² Building on Enloe’s work, historical research into American wives of the same era studied by McCarthy can establish this

⁶⁸ Ibid., 144.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 152.

⁷⁰ Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965* (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 51.

⁷¹ Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World: The Rise of the Female Diplomat* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 40.

⁷² Ibid., 325.

was a transatlantic and transnational transformation based on changing views within western society.

The arguments of Enloe, McCarthy, Allgor, and Woods all rely on the perceived differences between masculinity and femininity in diplomacy.⁷³ In particular, by integrating gender theory into the history of diplomacy, recent historians have given context to women's involvement in diplomacy as well as assessing their influence. Enloe asserts that relationships and trust, which are the basis of diplomacy, are nurtured in congenial and relaxed environments, such as private homes.⁷⁴ Diplomacy is directly connected to domesticity. The trust and confidence needed to conduct diplomacy does not occur naturally, it must be created in a congenial (domestic) environment that puts men at ease.⁷⁵ Both Enloe and Wood conclude that if diplomats are welcoming influential men into their homes, their wives are expected to entertain them, blurring the line between public employee and private citizen. As Enloe comments, it was essential for diplomats and officials to get to know one another "man to man," and it was a wife's duty to create this environment.⁷⁶ It is important to analyse men and women's different approaches to diplomacy, not only to negotiation but everyday diplomatic tasks. Recent scholarly research into women, peace, and security, has studied the impact women can have on conflict and peace negotiations but this dissertation seeks to discover if the increase of women's involvement in foreign affairs also had an impact on the way diplomacy was enacted throughout the Cold War.⁷⁷

Likewise, Wood's article, "Commanding Beauty," looks at how gender and gender stereotypes factored into State Department decision-making and thinking. She contends that

⁷³ Ibid., 48.

⁷⁴ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 184.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 185.

⁷⁷ Sahla Aroussi, *Women, Peace, and Security: Repositioning Gender in Peace Agreements* (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2015).

without realizing it, both Foreign Service Officers and their wives' made assumptions about gender roles. For example, wives were responsible for finding suitable housing once arriving in a new country as well as hosting embassy gatherings.⁷⁸ This can, to a certain extent, be explained by the period as well as a diplomat's socio-economic status. In a post-Victorian society, upper class women were viewed as less intelligent and malleable but also social and charming. In short, they were expected to be 'domestic'. Women were expected to host parties, raise families, train younger wives, find suitable housing, and even work as their husbands' secretaries, but were not supposed to have their own opinions on foreign policy. This argument, while taking into consideration the society they lived in, removes the wives' agency, and assumes that they did not have opinions. This dissertation will seek to discover what intentions the wives had and how seriously they took their roles as *de facto* government employees.

Several scholars detail the reasons women were not employed in the Foreign Service and why certain tasks were assigned to both female Foreign Service Officers or unpaid wives. According to Sluga and James, the gendered division of diplomatic labour was created to contain women who stepped outside of typical feminine roles.⁷⁹ Quoting diplomat Harold Nicolson, Sluga and James highlight how diplomats believe women's assumed qualities of intuition and sympathy, as well as their penchant for gossip, made them unfit for diplomacy.⁸⁰ Nicolson believed that diplomacy was based on the masculine 'art of negotiating' rather than the feminine 'art of conversation' or gossip.⁸¹ However diplomacy is not predominantly or always concerned with hard-line negotiations, but instead, often based on informal and casual interactions between citizens and agents of different countries. Similarly, in a 2014 book chapter, "Diplomacy and

⁷⁸ Wood, "Commanding Beauty," 507.

⁷⁹ Sluga and James, *Women, Diplomacy, and International Politics since 1500*, 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 9

Gossip: Information Gathering in the US Foreign Service, 1900-1940”, Wood examines how gossip is seen as synonymous with women,⁸² and that wives were expected to straddle the divide between “good” gossip or information gathering, which was considered crucial to diplomatic negotiations, and bad gossip or the giving away of secrets.⁸³ While she does not write that men were concerned that women would practice the second form of gossip, it is heavily implied. Nash concurs, stating that one of the reasons not to let women in the diplomatic service was their “well-known” inability to keep a secret, as well as the physical risks involved with foreign travel.⁸⁴

Women’s penchant for gossip was not the only reason the Foreign Service refused to hire women. In a separate article, McCarthy describes how embassy Chief of Missions believed female staff were inefficient and would distract male embassy staff- both with their incompetence and sexuality.⁸⁵ Every scholar has detailed the discrimination women encountered in the Foreign Service but what has not been detailed is the discrimination women faced as diplomatic wives.

Women’s experiences in State Department during this period need to be seen in the context of the parallel development of the women’s movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Most scholars of gender and diplomacy, including Enloe, McGlen, Sarkees, Sluga, and James, have detailed the relationship between the women’s movement and the Women’s Action Organization (WAO).⁸⁶ Enloe details the relationship between the American women’s movement and its relationship to female Foreign Service Officers’ and American diplomatic wives’ group

⁸² Molly Wood, “Diplomacy and Gossip: Information Gathering in the US Foreign Service, 1900–1940,” 139.

⁸³ Wood, “The Informal Politics of Diplomacy,” 139.

⁸⁴ Nash, “Women’s Touch,” 223.

⁸⁵ Helen McCarthy, ‘Women, Gender and Diplomacy: a historical survey’ in Jennifer Cassidy, ed., *Gender and Diplomacy* (London: Routledge, 2017), 26. See also, Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 182.

⁸⁶ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*; McGlen and Sarkees, *The Insiders*; Sluga and James, *Women, Diplomacy, and International Politics since 1500*.

advocacy for equal treatment through court cases and the WAO. She raises the important argument of why marriage should advance a man's career but hinder a woman's.⁸⁷ The women's desire for equal treatment and the State Department's agreement emerged as American second-wave feminism came to prominence in the 1960s. Nancy MacLean has illustrated how the 1960s women's movement emerged from other social reforms in the twentieth century as activist women gained "ideals, tools, and confidence to seek changes" and saw gender inequalities "with fresh eyes".⁸⁸ Nancy Cott's *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (1987) remains one of the best histories of the American women's movement, as is Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon's essay "Second-wave Feminism" in Nancy Hewitt's *A Companion to American Women's History* (2008).⁸⁹ Baxandall and Gordon successfully argue that the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s was the largest social movement in the history of the US and permanently altered the country.⁹⁰ This can be seen in the history of women in US diplomacy, and Baxandall and Gordon use the example of Esther Peterson, a former diplomatic wife, and her work on the Presidential Commission for the Status of Women. The history of diplomatic wives and female diplomats cannot be understood without a comprehensive understanding of the wider societal changes brought by second-wave feminism and the American women's movement.

In summary, the role of women in foreign policy and international politics has become a popular field of study for historians, sociologists, and anthropologists over the past three decades. By looking at the impact of both insiders, such as female Foreign Service Officers or diplomatic wives, as well as outsiders such as peace activists, scholars can trace the evolution of

⁸⁷ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 199.

⁸⁸ Nancy MacLean, *The American Women's Movement, 1945-2000: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford St Martins, 2008), 3.

⁸⁹ Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*; Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, "Second-wave Feminism," in *A Companion to American Women's History*, ed. Nancy Hewitt (New York: Wiley, 2008).

⁹⁰ Baxandall and Gordon, "Second-wave Feminism," 414.

women's activities and influence. The research in this dissertation seeks to build on previous scholarly work but also move beyond the 'notable women' and 'separate spheres' narratives. Instead, it focuses on the diplomatic work undertaken by women, as well as the State Department's directions regarding that work.

Marriage and Public Wives

In the early 2000s, as the morality and legality of same-sex marriage was debated, several works sought to give an overview of marriage as an institution. Many scholars focused on how economics and politics have shaped marriage.⁹¹ In order to explain how marriage has been transformed, works such as Stephanie Coontz's *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered* (2005) and Marilyn Yalom's *A History of the Wife* (2001) gave broad transnational and historical overviews of marriages from cultures around the globe. As Cynthia Enloe observed in *Beaches, Bananas, and Bases*, marriage is a political institution just as it is an international one.⁹² Coontz and Cott explored the relationship between women in the workforce and society's views on marriage, as well as the political implications. In her book *Public Vows: A History of Marriage* (2000), gender historian Nancy F. Cott asserted that marriage, as a public institution, was the primary way in which the government shaped the gender order in America as well as organised the community.⁹³ Coontz makes a similar argument, noting a distinct shift after the eighteenth century; marriage became a private agreement with public consequences instead of a

⁹¹ See, for example, Elizabeth Abbot, *A History of Marriage: From Same Sex Unions to Private Views and Common Law, the Surprising Diversity of a Tradition* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2010); Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005); Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Wife* (New York: Perennial, 2002).

⁹² Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 10.

⁹³ Cott, *Public Vows*, 3.

public institution governed by social hierarchy.⁹⁴ Historically, women needed marriage to attain any political position, including suffrage. Since women could not hold political office, they often wielded their influence through their husbands. This was especially true of upper-class women whose husbands had political or monetary power.

The meaning of “public women” is vital to this dissertation. In this work, it refers to women in the public eye or of interest to people and the media in general, such as those married to men including clergy, businessmen, politicians, diplomats, doctors, and academics. While Coontz does not recognise or distinguish the impact of public wives of stature, Catherine Allgor devotes much of *Parlor Politics* (2000) to discussing the role and phrasing of public wives. Allgor writes that in the nineteenth century, a public woman was widely accepted to be a prostitute.⁹⁵ In order to analyse the impact of these women, Allgor asserts, we must redefine public women. In her article on this subject, Joanna Gillespie contradicts Allgor’s timeline, maintaining that it was not until after the American Civil War that it became acceptable for wives of prominent men to act as hostesses at public events.⁹⁶ This argument is also made by Edith Mayo who focused primarily on the importance of entertaining for diplomatic and political purposes.⁹⁷ Yet unlike Gillespie, Allgor and Mayo do not connect the myth of the perfect family or marriage to how politicians projected themselves and their power. This is similar to how the US State Department used the image of an American wife and children to project a positive image of the US to the world.

⁹⁴ Coontz, *Marriage: A History*, 147.

⁹⁵ Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000) 119.

⁹⁶ Gillespie, “The Phenomenon of the Public Wife,” 113.

⁹⁷ Edith P. Mayo, “Party Politics: The Political Impact of the First Ladies’ Social Role,” *The Social Science Journal* 37, no.4 (2000): 586-588.

Public wives often supported their husband's careers more than the wives of men with less community standing. In 1973, Hannah Papanek coined the term "two-person single career" to explain how women who were highly involved in their husband's career considered themselves partners.⁹⁸ Sociologists Glen Elder Jr. and Eliza Pavalko investigated these women in their article, *Women Behind the Men* (1993) and found that women who were unable to have a career of their own instead found their identity through a husband's career while still being seen as a good wife and mother.⁹⁹ Elder, Pavalko, Wood and McCarthy all vaguely mention how diplomatic wives organised much of their time around the demands of their husbands' jobs, demonstrating that further research is needed to discover what these activities were.¹⁰⁰ All of these scholars acknowledge the contextual background of these decisions; how it became not only socially acceptable for women to dedicate their lives to their husbands' careers, but required. Indeed, many diplomatic wives found their identity through their husbands' career and standing.

Until the late nineteenth century, women's primary identity was through family, either their parents or their husband. As teachers, nurses, and suffragettes entered the public realm, women of all marital statuses were able to have a place in society. By the 1920s, when working became standard, Cott argues that women were able to choose between a career or a family, yet they were unable to have both.¹⁰¹ Coontz notes that while previously fifty percent of female college graduates joined the workforce, between 1913 and 1924, between eighty and ninety percent married instead.¹⁰² Women's colleges became places for "Mrs. Degrees" where women

⁹⁸ Papanek, "Men, Women, and Work," 853. See also: Yalom, *History of the Wife*, 380; Woods, "Domesticity," 147; McCarthy, "Work and marriage," 854.

⁹⁹ Glen Elder and Eliza Pavalko, "Women behind the Men: Variations in Wives' Support of Husbands' Careers," *Gender and Society* 7, no.4 (December 1993): 553.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 548.

¹⁰¹ Cott, *Public Vows*, 168.

¹⁰² Coontz, *Marriage: a History*, 167-168.

could meet a husband of the same socio-economic status. As the *New York Times* reported in 1955, college girls' future identity "is largely encompassed by the projected role of wife and mother."¹⁰³ In another article, Elder, along with Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson and Kristie Long Foley, assert that during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, many upper and middle class housewives, like public wives generations before them, found meaning and assumed leadership positions in community service roles.¹⁰⁴ Elder, Johnson and Foley also mention that many of this generation were active volunteers during World War II, integrating volunteerism into their identity. While there is some evidence to this for diplomatic wives,¹⁰⁵ this dissertation is interested to explore the changes in identity between the three generations of diplomatic wives featured; the first who grew up in the 1920s and 1930s expecting primarily marriage and no career, the second who may have worked in the Foreign Service or elsewhere during World War II, and the third of wives attending college in the 1950s and 1960s who may have had dreams of their own career.

Traditionally, historians researching marriage tended to focus primarily on the impact of economics on marriages. Coontz, Cott, and Yalom focus primarily on the relationship between marriage and women's employment outside the home during the twentieth century. For example, Yalom directly relates the resentment many housewives felt towards the isolation and monotony of their daily lives in the 1950s to women's increasing desire to work outside the home in the 1960s.¹⁰⁶ Cott concurs, arguing that the primary public function of marriage would be predominantly economic.¹⁰⁷ Women's work and society's views on marriage are intrinsically linked, while marital status is equally important to community status.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Nancy Woloch, *Women, and the American Experience* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 498.

¹⁰⁴ Glen Elder, Kristie Long Foley, and Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson, "Women's Community Service, 1940-1960," *The Sociological Quarterly* 45, no.1 (Winter, 2004): 46. See also Yalom, *History of the Wife*, 365.

¹⁰⁵ See Julia Child and Evangeline Bruce.

¹⁰⁶ Yalom, *History of the Wife*, 369-381.

¹⁰⁷ Cott, *Public Vows*, 157.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

Economics is also centric to many diplomatic wives' experiences. The majority of diplomatic wives came from upper-middle class or upper-class socio-economic backgrounds, and as such, their experiences of family, upbringing, education, work, and marriage were different than working class women. In the US, upper class and upper-middle class girls were kept in the home throughout the Progressive Era, sheltered in the private sphere. Comparatively, their working-class counterparts attended school outside the home, or worked in factories or as domestic servants.¹⁰⁹ Some of the early diplomatic wives featured in this dissertation, including Beatrice Berle, exemplify this. Though no comprehensive scholarly work has looked American girlhood in the Progressive era, Linda Kerber sought to better understand this the historiography in her literature review article, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History" (1988). Authors Kristen Richardson, Karal Ann Marling, and Lawrence Otis Graham have detailed the role of debutantes in society- proclaiming young women of good families ready for marriage.¹¹⁰ While Elizabeth Abbot had argued debutantes were "launched into adult society", it would also be accurate to say they were launched from a private to a public sphere.¹¹¹ No longer cloistered in their homes, they were ready for marriage and to take up their position in society. This was a socially acceptable form of a public role for women. As Kerber has argued, there were fervent opposition to women when they sought public influence throughout the era, which continued throughout much of the early twentieth century.¹¹² While the current historical works on debutantes, marriage, and education have dealt with class

¹⁰⁹ Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no.1 (June 1988), 11.

¹¹⁰ Lawrence Otis Graham, *Our Kind of People: Inside America's Black Upper Class* (New York: Harper Collins, 1999); Karal Ann Marling, *Debutante: Rites and Regalia of American Debdom* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); Kristen Richardson, *The Season: A Social History of the Debutante* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2020).

¹¹¹ Abbott, *A History of Marriage*, 43.

¹¹² Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place", 27.

structures in the US, more work could be done to better understand the role of American women in the US class system and its changes from the early to late twentieth century.

A greater number of scholars have traced the history of women's education in the United States, particularly those of upper- class and middle class Americans.¹¹³ Barbara Solomon's *In the Company of Educated Women* (1985) is a particularly good survey of women's education before 1944, with Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz taking up the mantle in her women's experiences on college campuses in the twentieth century in her book, *Campus Life* (1987).¹¹⁴ While these books do a particularly good job of bringing out the conversation around race, class, and women's education, the literature could benefit from more recent scholarly work, particularly a survey from the Progressive Era through the end of second-wave feminism. Interest should be paid to what college prepared women for and the workforce they found themselves in afterwards. Solomon demonstrates this for women between 1870 and 1920s, but her work misses most of the dialogue around women's place in the workforce that dominates much of the feminist literature on the mid-twentieth century.¹¹⁵

The relationship between women in the workforce and identity during the 1970s, the last decade under scrutiny in this dissertation, has been explored by scholars such as Coontz and Claudia Goldin in their article "The Quiet Revolution that Transformed Women's Employment, Education, and Family" (2006). Goldin argues that the decade saw a change from women who were employed because they "needed" the money to women who began to define having a job as

¹¹³ See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Lynn Peril, *College Girls: Bluestockings, Sex Kittens, and Coeds, Then and Now* (New York: Norton, 2006); Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson (ed), *Challenged by Coeducation: Women's Colleges Since the 1960s* (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2006).

¹¹⁴ Horowitz, *Campus Life*; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*.

¹¹⁵ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 115.

part of their identity.¹¹⁶ McCarthy has directly linked this change to British Foreign Service wives who suffered an “identity crisis” produced by the demands of their role within diplomatic missions and their need for personal autonomy.¹¹⁷ She asserts that for younger wives, the right to independent paid work became central to their identity and sense of self-worth.¹¹⁸ Enloe makes the same argument for American wives.¹¹⁹ While Enloe and McCarthy’s research details women’s fight for the right to paid labour and careers, neither fully review careers that wives chose after the State Department declared diplomatic wives private citizens. Based on the research for this dissertation, there is anecdotal evidence that wives chose careers that used skills they gained during their time in two-person single careers, with some even joining the Foreign Service or working for USAID. Yalom asserts that by 1969, the term dual career family had become popular to describe families where the husband and wife’s careers were equally important.¹²⁰

As Coontz has noted, during the Middle Ages in Europe, housekeeping and women’s labour was recognised as a vital contribution to a family’s economic survival and wives were referred to as helpmates.¹²¹ It was not just wives who referred to themselves as helpmates. Ambassador William Phillips dedicated his memoir “To my wife, my partner, companion and helpmate in life’s ventures,” showing how much he valued his wife, not only as a companion but also as an added helpmate in his career. Yet Woods argues that diplomatic wives in the early twentieth century did not refer to themselves as “helpmates” but preferred the term “partners”

¹¹⁶ Claudia Goldin, “The Quiet Revolution that Transformed Women’s Employment, Education, and Family,” *The American Economic Review* 96, no.1 (May 2006), 1. See also Coontz, *Marriage, a History* 259.

¹¹⁷ Helen McCarthy, “Women, Marriage and Paid Work,” *Women’s History Review* 26, no.1 (2017), 854.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 862.

¹¹⁹ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 188-201.

¹²⁰ Yalom, *History of the Wife*, 380.

¹²¹ Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 155.

who joined the Foreign Service instead of marrying into it.¹²² This argument can be problematic since many wives may have used the term “helpmates” positively instead of associating it with drudgery as Wood does.

By understanding the context of the society that diplomatic wives lived in, scholars can appreciate why they undertook the actions they did as well as provide information on how they felt about their work and identity. Because of the drastic changes to both marriage and women’s employment in the twentieth century, it is vital to keep those changes in mind when reviewing the difference in attitudes towards employment between the different generations.

Histories of the US Foreign Service

Traditionally, historians researching the Foreign Service tended to focus primarily on an overview of its structure, including the inner workings and reforms of the Foreign Service. A number of these non-scholarly works have been written by former Foreign Service Officers in their retirement such as Henry Mattox’s *The Twilight of Amateur Diplomacy*, Harry W. Kopp’s and Charles A. Gillespie’s *Career Diplomacy*, and Andrew Steigman’s *The Foreign Service of the US*.¹²³ As Plischke argues in *US Department of State: A Reference History* (1999), a full history of the US Foreign Service would require several volumes.¹²⁴ Both Plischke, and Moskin’s 2013 book, *American Statecraft: A Story of the US Foreign Service*, lack a central thesis and instead focus on explaining the structure of the Foreign Service and foreign relations for non-practitioners.

¹²² Wood, “Domesticity”, 146.

¹²³ Henry Mattox, *The Twilight of Amateur Diplomacy* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989). Henry Kopp and Charles Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the US Foreign Service* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011). Andrew Steigman, *The Foreign Service of the US: First Line of Defense* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985).

¹²⁴ Elmer Plischke, *US Department of State: A Reference History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 2.

Kopp's and Gillespie's *Career Diplomacy* focus on seven events and decisions that have played a role in creating the Foreign Service, from the nineteenth century split between diplomats and consuls to change in entry exams during the 1980s.¹²⁵ Yet the authors omit very important changes such as the inclusion of women, African Americans, and other diverse groups. They also fail to connect the attacks on loyalty and communism with the "Lavender Scare", a witch-hunt against homosexuals within the Foreign Service after World War II, nor do they connect this change with the end of elitism in the Service, an argument Theodore Reed made clear in his article, "Organizational Change."¹²⁶ Reed blames the admission process and the lack of retirement by older officers as reasons for the lack of innovation by the Service, but like Kopp and Gillespie, fails to include women's contributions and does not even mention the impact of the 1960s women's movement on the Foreign Service.¹²⁷

While Kopp, Gillespie, and Reed do not discuss the impact of women joining the Foreign Service, Moskin examines women in contemporary diplomacy. While well-researched, the section he devotes to women in the Service amounts to only four pages and does not mention the impact of diplomatic wives.¹²⁸ Steigman, on the other hand, dedicates the book to his wife who helped him write a section on spouses and wives. He argues that wives should be taken more seriously as a conduit of diplomacy as well as discusses the impact the 1970s had on wives and their careers.¹²⁹ This rather vague statement demonstrates that more scholarly research is necessary not only on the changes in the 1970s but also on the impact wives had on foreign policy and their husband's careers across a longer period.

¹²⁵ Kopp and Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy*, 6.

¹²⁶ Theodore L. Reed, "Organizational Change in the American Foreign Service, 1925-1965," *American Sociological Review* 43, no.3 (1978): 414.

¹²⁸ J. Robert Moskin, *American Statecraft: The Story of the US Foreign Service* (New York: Thomas Dune Books), 512-517.

¹²⁹ Steigman, *First Line*, 202.

The most relevant theme to this dissertation in the historiography is elitism and class within the US Foreign Service by scholars like Thomas Etzold, Mattox, Greg Herken, Robert Dean, Martin B. Hickman, and Neil Hollander. In particular, by integrating classism and elitism in the Service, this research allows historians to understand the culture of elite masculinity but also assess the impact this had on US foreign policy decision makers.¹³⁰

Class and diplomacy are completely intertwined. As Etzold explains, elitism became endemic in the Foreign Service during the Gilded Age and through World War II because of the low pay, close circle of the upper classes, and disinterest of Americans and Congress in foreign affairs.¹³¹ In 1924, Congressman John Jacob Rogers unsuccessfully sought to expel elites from the Service. Etzold, Hickman, and Hollander blame such elitism on the dominance of Ivy League colleges and universities in education until the 1940s, and on the nature of the entrance exam, where “old school” diplomats could quiz applicants.¹³² Their case studies found Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) who graduated from Harvard, Princeton, or Yale became more successful diplomats, while graduates of those three schools had an easy time being admitted.¹³³

Moskin, like Mattox, focuses admiringly on Whitelaw Reid, Elihu Root and John Hay. Besides their background as self-made, small town Gilded Age success stories, he writes “all three married wealthy women who helped their husbands gain access to the salons of wealth and power”, completely ignoring the women as influential on their husbands’ work.¹³⁴ Yet reading a

¹³⁰ Thomas Etzold, *Conduct of American Foreign Relations* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1977). Mattox, *The Twilight of Amateur Diplomacy*. Gregg Herken, *The Georgetown Set: Friends and Rivals in Cold War Washington* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2014), 7. Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy, Culture, Politics, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001). Martin B. Hickman and Neil Hollander, “Undergraduate Origin as a Factor in Elite Recruitment and Mobility: The Foreign Service,” *The Western Political Quarterly* 19, no.2 (June 1978): 337.

¹³¹ Etzold, *Conduct of American Foreign Relations*, 23.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 45. Hickman and Hollander, “Undergraduate Origin as a Factor in Elite Recruitment and Mobility: The Foreign Service,” 337. See also David Garnham, “Foreign Service Elitism and US Foreign Affairs,” *Public Administration Review* 35, no.1 (Jan-Feb 1975), 44-51.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 352-353.

¹³⁴ Moskin, *American Statecraft*, 207.

contemporary view, William Phillips writes that Reid was a successful ambassador due to Mrs. Reid.¹³⁵ Neither Moskin or Mattox focus on the role women played as diplomatic wives, even when their money bankrolled their husbands' roles as diplomats or gave the men connections and facilitated their entrance into elite society. As upper-class women of the era, they were expert diplomatic hostesses because they came from families where their mother had played this role in society, and they had learned from her. Woods concludes that before the 1924 Rogers Act, which drastically modernised the Foreign Service, when salaries did not cover entertaining, only young men and women of independent means could be successful diplomats.¹³⁶ In another article on female Foreign Service Officers and public relations, Grunig investigated the subculture of male dominance that can best be described as "Eastern Establishment, a clubby adjunct of the Ivy League" that was inhospitable to women.¹³⁷ What Grunig does not allude to is that the wives were accepted members of this set but marriage was the only accepted point of entry.

The relationship between these elite diplomats and policy makers is another theme that dominates the historiography of the Foreign Service in the Cold War. Greg Herken looks at a group of diplomats, CIA officials, journalists and politicians who dominated the Washington social scene during the Cold War, also known as the Georgetown Set. As Herken explains, these men and their wives "inspired, promoted, and in some cases, personally executed America's winning Cold War strategy" but were not average middle-class citizens, instead a group of "affluent, well-educated, and well-connected civilians," or a "natural aristocracy."¹³⁸ Historians John Young and Martin Foley also looked at the impact members of this set had by tracing the

¹³⁵ William Phillips, *Ventures in Diplomacy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), 243.

¹³⁶ Wood, "Social Game", 148.

¹³⁷ Eagleburger in Larissa A. Grunig, "The Consequences of Culture for Public Relations: The Case of Women in the Foreign Service." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 7, no.2 (1995): 148.

¹³⁸ Herken, *The Georgetown Set*, 7.

careers of David Bruce, W. Averell Harriman, and George Kennan. Young argues that besides his skill and personality, it was also Bruce's deep connections in Washington at every level that helped his career.¹³⁹ While the men's careers are entwined deeply, Harken only alludes to the relationship between or with their wives. While not a scholarly work, journalist C. David Heyman focused on the women of the Georgetown Set in his 2002 book, *The Georgetown Ladies' Social Club*. Yet Hayman focuses so much on the relationship between the women that he seldom focuses on the impact the women had on foreign policy. He spares few lines on the impact on their husbands' career, indicating that in-depth research still needs to be done.

Recent literature has explored the experience of upper class and upper-middle class Black Americans, including those in the Foreign Service. Two case studies in this dissertation are Black Americans, one from the upper class and one from the upper-middle class. Two works detail the experience of Black Americans in the Foreign Service and are especially worth mentioning: Michael L. Krenn's *Black Diplomacy: African Americans and the State Department, 1945-1969* and Naakoshie Mills' master's dissertation "Par for the Corps: Black Diplomats and Race in US Foreign Policy."¹⁴⁰ Krenn's book, which details the same era as this dissertation, is especially useful background reading for understanding the context of Black diplomats' experiences. Similarly, in her book, *The Original Black Elite: Daniel Murray and the Story of a Forgotten Era*, Elizabeth Taylor Dowling details the relationship between public service, class, and race, albeit in a different time period.¹⁴¹ While all of these works are important to the

¹³⁹John Young, "David K. E. Bruce, 1961-69." In *The Embassy in Grosvenor Square*, edited by Alison R. Holmes and J. Simon Rofe, 154. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. John Harper makes a similar argument in "Friends, Not Allies: George F. Kennan and Charles E. Bohlen," *World Policy Journal* 12, no.2 (1995): 78.

¹⁴⁰Michael L. Krenn, *Black Diplomacy: African Americans and the State Department, 1945-1969* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) and Naakoshie Awurama Mills, "Par for the Corps: Black Diplomats and Race in US Foreign Policy". ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2021.

¹⁴¹Elizabeth Taylor Dowling, *The Original Black Elite: Daniel Murray and the Story of a Forgotten Era* (New York: Amistad, 2018). See also: Jill Watts, *The Black Cabinet: The Untold Story of African Americans and Politics During the Age of Roosevelt* (New York: Grove Press, 2021). For further reading on Black upper class and upper middle class Black Americans, see: Lawrence Otis

histography, they could benefit from a more integrated approach of gender studies, as women's experiences are glossed over by Krenn and wives are mentioned only in passing.

The US Department of State benefited from gender norms that required diplomatic wives to work for no pay, but they also created a hypermasculine culture. As Robert Dean argues in his 2001 book, *Imperial Brotherhood*, elite masculinity played a central role in foreign policy decisions during the Cold War.¹⁴² His research overlaps with that of Herken's *Georgetown Set*, as they construct the world of wealthy, elite, and well-educated men, who controlled America's foreign relations. Educated, brought up, and matured in hypermasculine, male only environments such as boarding schools, fraternities, university secret societies, elite military units, and metropolitan men's clubs, they closed the door on women joining their inner circles, except as their wives. Dean concludes that to understand America's foreign policy, you must understand the social construction of masculinity that drove decision makers and how they understood threats. Gender ideologies must be regarded as cultural mechanisms since the idea of "manliness" compelled men to defend themselves and their society.¹⁴³ As Kristin Hoganson writes, we cannot fully understand policymaking without considering the context of adjacent society and culture.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, historical research into the diplomatic wives and their background can shed more information about the culture of the Foreign Service and what impact that had on both the wives and their husbands' decision making.

Graham, *Our Kind of People*; Karyn R. Lacy, *Blue-Chip Black Race, Class, and Status in the New Black Middle Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); and Elizabeth Mullins and Paul Sites, "The Contribution of Black Women to Black Upper Class Maintenance and Achievement," *Sociological spectrum* 10, no.2 (1990): 187–208.

¹⁴² Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 18.

¹⁴³ Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 241. See also Hoganson, "What's Gender Got to Do with It?" 311.

¹⁴⁴ Hoganson, "What's Gender," 316.

Histories of Public Diplomacy

The history of public diplomacy is still in its infancy, but serious work has been done on the subject. Primarily scholars have explored definitions of public diplomacy, written definitive histories of USIA/S and researched subsets of activities such as cultural and educational exchanges. While an entire literature review would be needed to review public diplomacy works, this dissertation will focus primarily on the definition and terminology of public diplomacy as well as give a brief overview of the assessments surrounding educational and cultural exchanges.

A strong debate among scholars has emerged as to what constitutes public diplomacy. In *Empire of Ideas*, Justin Hart argues that cultural diplomats, propagandists, and psychological strategists are the same, yet excludes the CIA's work as black propaganda.¹⁴⁵ Joseph Nye, who famously coined the term soft power in 1990, completely disagrees with Hart in his article, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power" (2008). He argues that sceptics who use the term public diplomacy interchangeably with propaganda miss the point, that good public diplomacy has to go beyond just propaganda.¹⁴⁶ Comparatively, Osgood asks if public diplomacy is distinct from psychological warfare.¹⁴⁷ As Cull explains, the term public diplomacy was a product of its era, the Cold War;¹⁴⁸ a way of reframing positive propaganda, which was a tool of psychological warfare. He also compares America's work to the Russians, "Americans would do public diplomacy and the communists were left peddling propaganda."¹⁴⁹ This narrative becomes problematic when historians assign sinister motives behind historical public diplomacy,

¹⁴⁵ Hart, *Empire of Ideas*, 6.

¹⁴⁶ Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," 101.

¹⁴⁷ Kenneth Osgood and Brian Etheridge, *The US and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History*, (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2010), 14.

¹⁴⁸ Nicholas Cull, *The Cold War and the US Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 498.

¹⁴⁹ Nicholas Cull, "Public Diplomacy and The International History of Mass Media: The USIA, The Kennedy Assassination, and The World," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 30, no.3 (2010): 421.

separating it from the more mainstream purposes today, such as mutual understanding or peace. It will be interesting to analyse whether wives of officials who worked on propaganda programs such as USIA/S had different instructions or experiences than wives who worked in other branches of the Foreign Service.

Only one scholar attempts to integrate the history of the Foreign Service with the history of public diplomacy. Moskin's chapter on "New Challenges for Modern Diplomacy" focuses on how diplomacy today changed from the nineteenth century, provides a good explanation of changes, yet never mentions public diplomacy, instead using "popular diplomacy."¹⁵⁰ It becomes clear that the only sources on the subject he consulted focused on USIA/S and propaganda, and he only dedicates a paragraph to what he calls "low-tech diplomacy" which is supposed to address cultural and educational exchange programs. Instead, he only discusses the International Visitors Leadership Program (IVLP) and only in the context of post 9/11 communities even though the IVLP program has been around for over 75 years.¹⁵¹ He does not include cultural and educational exchanges which number in the hundreds.

Historians and practitioners have interchangeably used the terms public, cultural, total, popular, grass roots, and open diplomacy, as well as propaganda and psychological warfare. There has also been debate over whether cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy are different. In *Culture and Propaganda* (2015), Sarah Graham states that culture and information influence are a subset of public diplomacy, but all are an important component of US foreign policy.¹⁵² Charlotte Faucher disagreed in "Twentieth Century Europe" (2016), arguing that scholars have used the term cultural diplomacy since the 1990s to describe public diplomacy, propaganda and

¹⁵⁰ Moskin, *American Statecraft*, 722-757.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 531.

¹⁵² Sarah Ellen Graham, *Culture and Propaganda: The Progressive Origins of American Public Diplomacy, 1936-1953* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 1.

cultural relations.¹⁵³ Exchange diplomacy, as Giles Scott-Smith writes in “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy”(2008), generally falls into the cultural diplomacy category.¹⁵⁴ For the purpose of this PhD dissertation , public diplomacy will be the umbrella term under which cultural diplomacy, exchange programs, and propaganda fall.

While scholars disagree over the terminology, they also do not agree on the definition of public diplomacy as Culbert, Osgood, and Roberts (“What is Public Diplomacy?”, 2007) all point out.¹⁵⁵ Ten authors gave ten different definitions, but all generally assume that public diplomacy is the work of a government entity using soft power to influence foreign citizens to achieve a state’s foreign policy goals. This will be the definition used for this dissertation.

Three historians, Mark Leonard, Nicholas Cull, and Joseph Nye have focused significantly on the theory of public diplomacy. Leonard writes in 2002’s *Public Diplomacy* that it concerns building relationships, understanding the needs of countries, communicating your point of view, correcting misperceptions, and looking for areas of mutual understanding.¹⁵⁶ He argues that public diplomacy is based on the premise of image and that it has three goals: to transmit information, to sell a positive image, and to build long term relationships.

Nye agrees with much of which Leonard says, writing that there are three dimensions to public diplomacy: strategic communication, daily communication, and the development of lasting relationships.¹⁵⁷ He asserts that public diplomacy cannot be effective unless it is a two-

¹⁵³ Charlotte Faucher, “Cultural Diplomacy and International Cultural Relations in Twentieth-Century Europe,” 25, no.2 (2016): 374.

¹⁵⁴ Giles Scott-Smith, “Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy,” in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, ed. Nancy Snow (New York: Routledge, 2009), 51.

¹⁵⁵ Walter R. Roberts, “What Is Public Diplomacy? Past Practices, Present Conduct, Possible Future,” *Mediterranean Quarterly* 18, no.4 (2007): 37. See also Culbert, “Mass Media,” 422. Osgood and Etheridge, “New Directions,” 12.

¹⁵⁶ Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2002); 8.

¹⁵⁷ Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” 102.

way street, and involves listening as much as talking.¹⁵⁸ Diplomats must understand how other cultures think, which is why exchanges can be more effective than just broadcasting.

Like Nye, Cull believes strongly in the idea of listening. For Cull, there are five types of public diplomacy activity: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international broadcasting.¹⁵⁹ This dissertation argues that a sixth category should be added: foreign aid and global health diplomacy. According to David Fidler in his 2001 article, “The Globalization of Public Health”, international health diplomacy has existed since the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Originally it involved international cooperation on infectious diseases which led to conferences, treaties, and governance. It directly relates back to Nye’s theory on soft power. He argues that the US, as one of the richest countries in the world, could afford an effective foreign aid and information program abroad.¹⁶¹ Whenever a package of grain or medicine is delivered from USAID, it has the words “from the American people” labelled on it clearly as a way of garnering goodwill. If public diplomacy is governmental programs seeking to reach a foreign public, foreign aid, as proved by the Marshall Plan, is one of the most effective mediums – yet it has never been considered as traditional public diplomacy by historians.

Although there has been a plethora of scholarly works on public diplomacy, especially in the Cold War, it has often been viewed through propaganda machines such as USIA/S. A few articles look at specific types of public diplomacy such as sports diplomacy or culinary diplomacy, but none have done an overview of what today’s State Department considers the core of public diplomacy – educational and cultural exchanges. This can be attributed to a changing

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 103.

¹⁵⁹ Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for Its Future from Its Past,” *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 6, no.1 (2010): 12.

¹⁶⁰ David Fidler, “The Globalization of Public Health: The First 100 Years of International Health Diplomacy,” *World Health Organization. Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 79, no.9 (2001): 842.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Nye in Nancy Snow, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 3.

definition of public diplomacy as well as the end of the Cold War and 9/11 which changed how the US interacted with the rest of the world. But this does not mean that the work was not being done in earlier periods, as this dissertation hopes to demonstrate.

Furthermore, Scott-Smith argues that exchange diplomacy has often been overlooked in studies because of the difficulty in assessing their impact.¹⁶² As Snow concludes, the State Department often touts exchanges such as the Fulbright Program and IVLP as its most successful program as well as the most cost-effective.¹⁶³ When American Fulbright grantees embark, they are expected to act as ambassadors, engaging with foreign publics and representing the US.¹⁶⁴ This is no different than American diplomatic wives, who are expected to go into their host communities and unofficially represent the US, giving off a favourable impression. Molly Bettie notes that Fulbrighters, like diplomatic wives, are not given foreign policy briefings, intercultural communication training, or other preparation, which official diplomats receive.¹⁶⁵ Both exchange program participants and diplomatic wives become informal ambassadors who are officially encouraged by the State Department to mingle with host communities.

Lima, citing Cull, makes it clear that exchange programs involve both listening and advocacy, and that Americans abroad advocate for the US while learning more about other cultures.¹⁶⁶ This is also true in the reverse as when foreigners visit, they learn about the US and teach Americans about their culture. This creates a multiplying effect because when they return home, they share their impressions with their friends and family, impacting not just one person

¹⁶² Scott-Smith, "New Directions," 45.

¹⁶³ Snow, *Handbook*, 5.

¹⁶⁴ Molly Bettie, "Ambassadors Unaware: The Fulbright Program and American Public Diplomacy," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 13, no.4 (November 2015): 358.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 359.

¹⁶⁶ Antonio deLima, "The Role of International Education Exchanges in Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 3, no.3 (July 2007): 244-245.

but a whole network.¹⁶⁷ The same argument can be made for diplomatic wives, as this dissertation hopes to demonstrate. The State Department sent out wives into the community not only to learn about it, but to have the women promote the US.

The current literature on the history of public diplomacy has demonstrated that more research is needed into early unofficial public diplomacy efforts. This study attempts to assess these efforts by looking at diplomatic wives to see if they were directed by the State Department to execute this diplomatic work and see how their work changed as the nature of public diplomacy changed throughout the twentieth century.

Conclusion

There are a number of gaps in the literature scoped above that this dissertation seeks to fill. The first is to offer a reframing of diplomatic wives as active participants in diplomacy and explaining how their roles shifted between “outsiders” and “insiders”. It also seeks to answer Molly Wood’s questions raised on what exactly wives did as volunteer work and how this related to overall US diplomacy in the early Cold War. No literature so far has demonstrated how the State Department directed and encouraged wives’ work and this is a particularly large gap that this dissertation will address. Finally, but most importantly, this dissertation will argue that diplomatic wives’ activities can be considered early versions of public diplomacy, which was able to flourish due to the soft power nature of the Cold War. Women, due to gender roles in the mid-twentieth century, were able successfully to operate in public diplomacy and had been doing so ‘under the radar’ for many years.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

To better understand diplomatic wives' experience in gender and diplomacy, it is also important to understand the role of marriage, gender, and public wives in American society. This dissertation seeks to explore wives' relationship with their role as public wives, and to determine how their roles revolved their husband's jobs, as well as showing how they were able to carve out independent roles for themselves. It also seeks to illustrate the differences in identity and experience of three different generations of women in marriage, work, education, and diplomacy. In doing so, it will detail how wives felt about work and their connection to the wider women's movement. Where possible, this dissertation will also explore the role of class and race in diplomatic wives' experiences, subjects which have previously only received passing attention.

While the literature on the US Foreign Service is large, Kopp, Gillespie, and other scholars fail to include gender and women's experience within the Foreign Service in large detail. This is especially true for women of colour and women non-directly related, such as Foreign Service wives or daughters. More importantly, they fail to accurately portray how the women's movement impacted the Foreign Service in the 1960s and 1970s. This dissertation hopes to explain this link.

The historiographies of gender and diplomacy have greatly expanded over the past few decades, but the literature on public diplomacy still has quite a few gaps. This dissertation especially wants to fill the gap of public diplomacy activities outside of USIA/S and how State Department was engaged in public diplomacy programming. Within the field of public diplomacy, this dissertation seeks to grow the literature on teaching English, global health diplomacy, and the connection between public diplomacy and humanitarian aid. To do so, it must establish a working definition of public diplomacy that future scholars can use to examine other examples. This dissertation aims to review multiple types of public diplomacy, including

both cultural diplomacy and exchange and education diplomacy, broadening the literature. This work also seeks to examine the relationship between cultural exchange and listening, which has not been done sufficiently by scholars. By using an expanded definition of public diplomacy to be more inclusive, including by examining tasks previously assumed to be “women’s work”, this dissertation will detail how wives performed public diplomacy activities before the term was widely used. Finally, this dissertation seeks to detail how women were widely involved in public diplomacy programs in the Cold War.

While this dissertation fills a number of gaps in the literature, that is not its sole purpose. Women’s role as informal diplomats should be considered as important as pioneering women in American diplomacy. This is best argued by detailing the work they did in public diplomacy, which was one of the only forms available to them given restrictions on women at the time. Diplomatic wives found a number of ways to have fulfilling careers within the acceptable gender roles of the time. American diplomatic wives were able to actively participate in public diplomacy during the Cold War because of the soft power nature of the Cold War and changing gender roles in the post-war period which gave women and everyday citizens opportunities to engage in diplomacy. As this dissertation will demonstrate in the following chapters, their engagement in public diplomacy took the form of representational entertaining and advocacy; listening and information gathering; cultural diplomacy; educational exchange; and health diplomacy and humanitarian aid.

Chapter 1: Two for the Price of One: Identity and Changing Roles of Diplomatic Wives in the Mid-Twentieth Century

In 1957, Phyllis Elliott Oakley started her A-100 class, the standard introductory training class for incoming Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute (FSI). Oakley came from a typical Foreign Service background: middle- to upper-middle-class, highly educated, and white. What set her apart was her gender. In a similar way to her reception in her master's program at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Diplomacy, Oakley faced dozens of small slights as a woman. "There was always that undercurrent and a knowing smile would often be followed by the phrase 'two for the price of one'...I began to hate that expression. It was insulting".¹⁶⁸ The implications were that she might be a FSO for a few years, but ultimately would marry and leave the direct diplomatic career path, settling for an indirect one. Many male superiors assumed female officers would marry diplomats, and when they did, they would remain part of the Foreign Service as unpaid diplomats. Oakley did meet her husband in her first few months as an FSO. They married a year later, forcing Oakley to give up her commission as an officer. She joined the ranks of other diplomatic wives as a partner in diplomacy, acknowledged, though not remunerated, by the State Department in training and hierarchies.

This chapter argues that diplomatic wives played an essential role in American diplomacy before World War II. Over the next three decades, this role grew and shifted. In the early to mid-Cold War era, they took on an increasing significance as diplomacy shifted to courting public

¹⁶⁸ "Phyllis Oakley", ADST, interview transcript, 12.

opinion and the Foreign Service sought to standardise their role as critical to the cultural Cold War.

To examine this shift, the chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines diplomatic wives' education and socio-economic backgrounds, inclusive of wives who were in the Foreign Service in the 1940s-1970s. Parallel to those of FSOs, there was a marked shift in this after the war, with more wives coming from middle-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds than before, as well as women with more college degrees and work experience. Previously, wives came from traditionally upper-class backgrounds, some with college degrees but primarily debutantes. After the war, the US implemented the GI Bill, which helped propel many Americans into the middle class. Many of these college-educated men joined the Foreign Service, bringing wives they met either at college or in their early working years. These women presented a specific image of the US as home to highly educated and dedicated housewives. This was critical amid the Cold War.

The second section reviews the changing Foreign Service and the State Department's policies, and efforts to "standardise" the role of diplomatic wives to ensure they were part of the diplomatic machinery, and their efforts supported US foreign policy goals. As diplomacy changed in the Cold War with a greater focus on "people-to-people" or public diplomacy, wives' roles and responsibilities changed. To cope with this, the State Department tried to standardise the work of diplomatic wives through training and print materials detailing the proper protocol methods and suggested volunteer activities that could contribute to soft power objectives. While many wives believed they were performing these activities of their own volition, they were unaware of the State Department's conversations about their role.

Finally, it is crucial to understand the hierarchies and gender roles within the US Embassy community. The third section considers wives' positions in a complex embassy hierarchy and how their roles changed based on their seniority, husband's status or role, and their posting. This, therefore, changed their public diplomacy activities and opportunities, with many wives adapting their volunteer activities based on their posting with the embassy's support. At the same time, it is helpful to understand their shifting roles through a gender lens and how wives' identities altered during their time in the Foreign Service.

The “Right” Kind of Wife: Diplomatic Wives’ Education and Socio-Economic Background in the Mid-20th Century

There was a marked shift in the socio-economic and educational background of diplomatic couples during the Cold War. Pre-war and early Cold War wives tended to come from the upper class and were educated at select, elite institutions, if at all. A healthy majority had international experience, such as living abroad with their parents or studying abroad, a trend that would continue after the war. Many wives who joined the Foreign Service as spouses in the 1940s had often worked abroad during or before the war in various roles such as journalists, US government employees, or volunteers. After the GI Bill, the Foreign Service began to diversify, somewhat by race and religion, but primarily by FSO's socio-economic backgrounds. It became marginally more representative of the US population. This was important considering the US objective to portray the image of a diverse country and democratic society where merit and talent, rather than birthright, led to career advancement. Many men of the era thought that educated women would make particularly good helpmates to ambitious professional husbands,

which was true for the Foreign Service.¹⁶⁹ Women, for their part, found marriage to an FSO particularly attractive due to the nature of the more active role of wives and the chance to live abroad.

There are four main generations of women detailed in this dissertation.¹⁷⁰ The first, which include nineteen of the forty-five case studies of diplomatic wives featured, joined the Foreign Service or were political appointees during or before World War II, serving as higher-ranking senior wives and ambassadors during the Cold War period. Their socio-economic and educational background was rooted in a different context than wives who joined later, as they tended to come from wealthier backgrounds. The second generation joined the Service after the war, often working during the war and having married men who had fought in it. The third generation joined in the 1950s and early 1960s (many after the Foreign Service expanded again after Wristonization, which converted civil servants to the Foreign Service in 1954). These women had grown up during the war and attended college afterwards, with some married to men who fought in World War II or Korea, but many who did not and who joined the Foreign Service following their college graduation or a few years of work experience. The fourth generation of women highlighted in this dissertation joined the Foreign Service in the 1960s and attended college in the late 1950s and 1960s. These women tended to be the most interested in second-wave feminism and began questioning their role in the Foreign Service. While the first generation primarily came from upper-class backgrounds and attended elite schools, most of the second, third, and fourth generations came from the middle or upper-middle classes but were still heavily educated. The second and third generations were the women who produced the Baby Boom, while the third came of age during second-wave feminism. The following section will

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Phyllis Oakley, 18 November 2020.

¹⁷⁰ See appendix

describe the different generations' backgrounds and explore their differences in relation to the development of US society.

This first generation of wives, denoted here as Early Cold War diplomatic wives, had similar socio-economic backgrounds and training to their pre-war counterparts who joined between 1910 and 1940. The majority of officers in the 1930s were white, male, from old wealthy families, and had attended East Coast institutions, such as Groton School, St. Paul's, Harvard, Yale, and other Ivy League universities. It was jokingly referred to as "Pale, Male, Yale," or as Joseph Alsop later termed it, "the WASP Ascendancy."¹⁷¹ The same could be said for the wives of the male diplomats. They also came from old, white wealthy families, and having attended their husbands' sister schools, Miss Porter's, Chapin, Vassar, Radcliffe, and the rest of the Seven Sisters colleges. Until the Foreign Service expanded in the late 1940s, most wives who made it to the rank of Ambassador, including those highlighted in this dissertation, were products of the upper classes. Out of the eleven case studies who joined before 1941, eight were from the American upper class, one was upper-class and foreign-born from Poland, while one's socio-economic background was unknown. Only one was from the middle class.

There is one crucial difference between husbands and wives: there is a pattern of diplomatic wives in the mid-twentieth century with extensive international experience. Whereas many male children of wealthy families attended boarding school at a young age, daughters were often kept nearer to their parents and put in a finishing school abroad, as is the case for Lydia Chapin Kirk and Evangeline Bruce. This international experience at a young age was hugely important to their adjustment to living abroad with the Foreign Service. This is markedly different from their male peers, who were often sent to boarding schools in the US. If their

¹⁷¹ Joseph Alsop, "The Wasp Ascendancy", *The New York Review*, 9 November 1989.

parents resided abroad, young women and girls often went with them and were enrolled in European schools, some as the only American and some in schools that catered to wealthy Americans. Significantly, it ensured that their daughters were interested in cross-cultural communication, at ease abroad with non-Americans, ‘cultured’, and international in world politics. This international experience came in many different ways: parents were often diplomats, tourists, businessmen, expats, or missionaries.

Many upper-class women, such as Lydia Kirk, Lorraine Cooper, and Beatrice Berle, had part of their education abroad. Kirk, the daughter of the Naval Attaché to Paris, attended French primary schools before Miss Porter's School and Potomac School and then finally a finishing school, Miss Harris', in France, primarily with American students. Cooper went on to attend a girls' school in Florence, Italy, after her mother married an Italian prince. Berle was also sent to a finishing school in France before World War I.¹⁷² This education gave them lifelong connections to Europeans and other international students, broadened their world perspective, and made them familiar with the trials of travelling and culture shock. This adaptability would be crucial as ambassadors' wives.

International experience often made for a more successful diplomatic wife, but there was a catch: they could not lose their Americanness. For the first fourteen years of her life, Lispenard (Lisa) Green, the daughter of diplomats, grew up abroad, attending foreign schools. She convinced her parents to send her to boarding school in the US because she felt “a sudden and deep need to know America better.”¹⁷³ As a woman who grew up primarily abroad, she felt she needed time in the US to reconnect with her Americanness. This would later become standard in the Foreign Service after World War II with the implementation of longer home leaves every few

¹⁷² Beatrice Bishop Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds* (New York: Walker and Company, 1983), 25.

¹⁷³ “Lisa Green”, ADST, interview transcript, 39.

years so that diplomats and their families did not lose touch with their Americanness. Wives, like their husbands, had to balance being American and comfortable living abroad.

Women like Green and Evangeline Bruce came from particularly ideal international backgrounds because it also gave them useful skills such as speaking multiple languages, understanding cross-cultural communication, and a basis of formal diplomatic protocol. Before her marriage to David K.E. Bruce, the only man named Ambassador to France, West Germany, the United Kingdom, China, and NATO, Evangeline Bruce grew up primarily abroad. The daughter of an American diplomat and an English heiress, Evangeline—or Vangie as friends and family called her—grew up in London, China, and Japan before her father's death and her mother's remarriage to a British diplomat.¹⁷⁴ Afterwards, they lived in Italy, Sweden, France, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Switzerland, where her education was entirely in French. She recalled her childhood, "struggling to learn new languages, always the foreigner."¹⁷⁵ At college age, she moved to the US, living with her father's relatives in Boston and studied at Radcliffe.¹⁷⁶ By the time she finished, she spoke Italian, German, French, Japanese, and Chinese. Many diplomatic wives were fluent in multiple languages. Lorraine Cooper was fluent in five languages, and Avis Bohlen spoke perfect French and proficient Russian. Bruce's early experiences abroad made her more sensitive to these environments, which would aid her later. Her family background, languages, education, and ability to settle into a new place, make new friends, and converse with diplomats and other luminaries, prepared her for her future career as an Ambassadors and political hostess.

¹⁷⁴ Nelson D. Lankford, *The Last American Aristocrat: The Biography of David K. E. Bruce* (New York: Little Brown, 1996), 169.

¹⁷⁵ Undated *Harold Tribune* article in Lankford, *The Last American Aristocrat*, 170.

¹⁷⁶ C. David Heymann, *The Georgetown Ladies' Social Club: Power, Passion, and Politics in the Nation's Capital* (New York: Atria Books, 2003), 76.

The early twentieth century saw changes in the education system for women in the US, particularly at colleges and universities. Until the 1920s, predominantly upper-middle-class women, the daughters of merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and lawyers, attended college.¹⁷⁷ By the 1930s and 1940s, young women of wealthy and upper-class backgrounds often attended all-female colleges—particularly the Seven Sisters, the female counterpart of the Ivy Leagues—which funnelled well-off and well-educated women into marriage with men of similar backgrounds. At least one case study in this dissertation studied at each of the seven sisters, with four attending Vassar College in the 1920s. Vassar was particularly homogenous. Most were from New England and Protestant families, primarily upper-middle or upper class, and Vassar did not admit students of colour until 1940. By 1905, Vassar became a social custom in some circles, and regional and religious similarities joined students together.¹⁷⁸ These institutions were closer to finishing schools in the early twentieth century than later universities. Students were getting not only a bachelor's or master's degree but also "Mrs Degrees", a slang term based on women's desire to attend college to find a spouse instead of earning an academic degree.¹⁷⁹ While they did not learn how to plan a dinner party in the classroom, they received a classical education, preparing them to be seated beside government officials and make relevant conversations. A knowledge of history, literature, art, music, economics, and politics was preferred. Some of their education was also international, such as Marlen Neumann's study abroad in Switzerland at a special summer program in international relations in the mid-1930s, which primed them for a life in the US Foreign Service.

¹⁷⁷ Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁷⁹ Harowitz, *Campus Life*.

While it would be easy to standardise many diplomatic wives in this early period as society women or hostesses, many wives' education and work history were extremely rare for women of their era. Jane Byington received her law degree from the Washington College of Law in 1924. Shirley Woodward taught in China in the late 1920s. Beatrice Berle received her BA in 1923, an MA in history from Columbia University in 1924, an MA in Social Work in 1927 and finally graduated from medical school at New York University in 1938. Steb Bowles attended Vassar and Smith, where she received her MA in Social Work, before working as a social worker for ten years before meeting her husband and marrying in her mid-thirties. Berle later became a respected doctor, served in the US Public Health Service during the war and ran a neighbourhood health clinic in East Harland in the 1950s and 1960s. After graduating from Vassar and the New School for Social Research, Mary Marvin Breckenridge Patterson was one of the first women to receive her pilot's license, worked for the Frontier Nursing Service (of which she filmed an early documentary), travelled across Africa with a friend, and then became a photojournalist for most of the 1930s. There is a further trend of diplomatic wives studying social work, which might be because it was a common degree for women at the time or because women interested in social work often tended to be more interested in their communities and politics.

This education and upbringing prepared them for their role as diplomatic wives and hostesses. Through marriage, early-twentieth-century upper-class wives of businessmen, politicians, diplomats, and clergymen gained status and became hostesses to aid their husbands' careers and increase their social standing. Patterson noted that her upbringing and education in the 1910s and 1920s meant she "spoke the same language" as political and social elites in the countries she and her husband were posted in, giving them an advantage in their jobs.¹⁸⁰ For her,

¹⁸⁰ "Elizabeth White", ADST, interview transcript, 6.

class transcended national boundaries in the first half of the twentieth century, which allowed for more congenial diplomatic relations between countries. No matter their posting, upper-class and well-trained wives could fall back on their hostess-ing and social skills instilled in them by their gendered upbringing and education. They were able to use these skills to make diplomats feel at ease, creating a comfortable atmosphere for diplomatic business, as will be detailed in the next chapter.

Many wives viewed their time in the Foreign Service as an opportunity for a fulfilling career that used their education. In her book, *In the Company of Educated Women*, Barbara Solomon explores what educated women did after college in the 1920s. She makes the vital point that many new female graduates did not know what they wanted to do or what they were permitted to do.¹⁸¹ Diplomatic wives were no different, especially those that married into the Foreign Service directly after school in this first generation. Byington had planned to practice law, she had even accepted a position at a law firm, but instead married her husband in 1932. Byington later recalled that she "didn't have the slightest feeling that my life was about to become limited" by her marriage, instead thinking of the Foreign Service as a new career.¹⁸² Women who viewed the Foreign Service this way, as a chance to use their education and skills, had a higher chance of finding fulfilment in their marriages and role. Patterson thought that wives should primarily focus on their husband, his career, and diplomacy, saying, "When a woman accepts marriage with a Foreign Service Officer, she accepts his domicile, his career, and his interests. Certainly, there must be room for some wives—the highly talented working artists or the individualists—to be excused from their roles as Foreign Service wives, but the majority would find their lives much more interesting and more fulfilling if they did their share in

¹⁸¹ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 117.

¹⁸² "Jane Byington", ADST, interview transcript, 7.

promoting their country's objectives."¹⁸³ It could be argued Patterson herself was once highly talented and individualistic. However, like many diplomatic wives with unorthodox careers and interests, they still devoted themselves to their husbands' careers and traditional activities expected of them by their husbands, the Foreign Service, and society. Patterson immensely enjoyed her role in diplomacy and the career she had in the Foreign Service, so for her and many other wives, they were not just dedicating themselves to their husbands' careers but their own.¹⁸⁴

While the first generation of diplomatic wives hailed primarily from the white upper classes, the second and subsequent generation of wives who joined in the late 1940s or 1950s came from the white upper middle class. Similarly, they all attended college, some still prestigious like Julia Child at Smith or Jane Hart at Cornell, but many attended public universities. Certain private universities, including the Ivy Leagues and Seven Sisters, were select institutions available to the privileged few. At the same time, public state-funded schools were open to a broader swatch of students from more diverse socio-economic backgrounds. There was a significant shift in women's education in the 1930s. The number of women attending college increased significantly as the American national discourse periodicals encouraged women to attend college. The financial difficulties during the Great Depression propelled more women to earn practical degrees that could lead to an income. This transcended race and geographic location, as more women from across the country began attending public colleges that had started admitting small numbers of women in the Progressive Era. Frances McStay Adams and June Hamilton both went to the University of Minnesota, while Martha Caldwell and Margaret Ann Brown attended the University of Missouri. Most diplomatic wives in the 1950s were the daughters of a professional upper middle class; their fathers were largely

¹⁸³ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, xvii.

¹⁸⁴ "Lucy Briggs", ADST, interview transcript, 4.

doctors, businessmen, and lawyers, different from the 1930s wives who came almost primarily from the upper class.

While Foreign Service wives were drastically whiter than the American population then, there were a few Black diplomatic wives with similar backgrounds to their white counterparts. Two of the wives, Ruth Clement Bond and Muriel Hanson, married into the Service in the 1940s, and their backgrounds were similar to previous wives mentioned. Hanson's father had attended Cornell University and was a successful realtor. She attended New York University before becoming a social worker for the Children's Placement Bureau in the City of New York in the 1950s. Bond came from a well-known Black family; her father was a high-ranking bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church and her mother was the first black woman named "Mother of America". Bond and all six of her siblings graduated from college; she received her BA and MA in English Literature from Northwestern University, before starting her PhD at the University of Southern California with her husband in the late 1930s. While Hanson belonged to the second generation, Bond straddled the first and second generations and her background encapsulates a problem that became central to wives' experiences in this period: childcare.

Each generation struggled over what to do after college, with many trying to balance family and career. Bond had to make the choice that many women of her generation and generations to come had to make. She started her PhD program soon after her first child was born but had to leave the program because she could not find affordable, safe childcare: "So I began to think: which is more important to me, the health of my child or getting a PhD."¹⁸⁵ She later noted that, while she loved her children, it was unfortunate timing because she enjoyed her studies so much. Bond was not alone. While many diplomatic wives continued working after

¹⁸⁵ "Ruth Bond", ADST, interview transcript, 4.

marriage, most quit once their children were born, especially in the first and second generations. Adams was one of the few who continued working, as did Betty Atherton, who had been widowed during the war and left to raise her daughter on her own until she met her second husband, when he was enrolled at Harvard University.¹⁸⁶

Of the second generation of wives who joined the Foreign Service in the 1940s, the majority had worked during the war, with many abroad. Patterson and other wives chose to gain valuable work and life experience, as well as an opportunity to meet their husbands. During the war, Bruce, Child, Hart, and Martha Caldwell all worked for the OSS, the precursor to the CIA. Caldwell and Hart were stationed in Cairo, while Bruce served in London, and Child in China. General Bill Donovan, who started the OSS, called these women the "invisible apron strings" that kept the Service running, with their primary duty as filing, record keeping, and encoding and decoding messages.¹⁸⁷

Many American women gave up their work after the war, and these women became pivotal to Americans' post-war readjustment, as Linda Eisenmann has shown.¹⁸⁸ The general feeling that American women working outside the home took the jobs of men returning from the war reinforced this cult of domesticity. By the 1950s, women were inundated by a culture that told them to go back or stay at home, fortified by a new "expert" culture of psychologists and sociologists advising young and middle-aged women that their place was in the home. This greatly impacted the third generation of diplomatic wives detailed here. Backed by political, legal, and cultural policies, empowered employers refused to hire women and paid the women they did hire less. For a generation of women who had lived through the Great Depression and

¹⁸⁶ Betty Atherton, ADST, interview transcript.

¹⁸⁷ Elizabeth P. McIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies: The Women of the OSS* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998), 11.

¹⁸⁸ Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 12.

World War II, being a homemaker seemed like their only choice, but not a terrible one given its increasing importance as the social and political discourse made it out to be their patriotic duty.¹⁸⁹

While there had been attempts in 1924 to reform the Foreign Service and make it more egalitarian with the Rogers Act, this was only fully realised at the end of World War II. The G.I. Bill ushered in a new generation of men passing through US universities and gaining language and travel experience abroad, meaning that the Foreign Service had more applicants and officers than ever before. The number of jobs also expanded. As US interest in foreign affairs increased due to the country's new status as a Superpower with a self-assumed responsibility to help settle disputes around the globe, the federal government expanded.¹⁹⁰ Simultaneously, newly independent states emerging due to decolonisation increased the need for FSOs at home and abroad. While the previous generation of well-off, East Coast elites remained at the forefront of US foreign relations through the Vietnam War, the junior and mid-level ranks were filled with men from middle-class and upper-middle class backgrounds. These men tended to marry women from the same background.

Similar to their husbands, diplomatic wives in this third and fourth generations who joined the Foreign Service during the 1950s and 1960s came from middle class or upper-middle class backgrounds, and almost all of them were highly educated. They attended a wide range of public and private universities, with less than half going on to do graduate work. Many women, like Margaret Sullivan and Judith Heimann, married during college or soon after graduation. These women had been inundated with barbed comments and propaganda reminding them their

¹⁸⁹ May, *Homeward Bound*, 10-11. See also Helen Laville, *Cold War Women: the International Activities of American Women's Organisations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 2-5.

¹⁹⁰ Moskin, *American Statecraft*, 454.

patriotic duty was to stay at home and focus on their families for the good of the country. However, due to their education, many felt a pull towards a meaningful career to utilise their intellect. Many wives in the fourth generation did not marry out of patriotic duty but worked for a year or two before marriage. Sullivan, Oakley, Constable, Heimann, and other wives faced the common question that middle-class women who graduated in the two decades after the war: how to balance education, career, a home, and a family. Each of them would find a degree of this balance in the Foreign Service.

One way in which many diplomatic wives found this balance was making the decision to look at their role as diplomatic wives as a career. Many felt that they could not have had a career and a family in the United States, given society's view on upper middle class working women. In the Foreign Service, wives could afford domestic help at home and their husband's career actually required them to participate. Wives embraced the opportunity to use their intellect, with one unknown wife exclaiming that wives were "always interested in shop talk at home" with their husbands.¹⁹¹ As will be discussed next, the State Department encouraged this mentality in an effort to increase wives' participation in missions abroad.

The Changing Foreign Service: US Department of State's Policies and Efforts to "Standardise" the Role of Diplomatic Wives

With the change in types of diplomacy during the Cold War, it became vital to prepare diplomats' wives for their increased role. In a November 1963 speech, Ambassador James Moose explained that as long as the ambassador confined his contacts to "official circles", his

¹⁹¹ "Wives Organizations within the US Mission" Typescript, OWN, Box 3.

wife's responsibilities entailed primarily hosting duties or accompanying him to similar social obligations. However, with the invention of "new diplomacy", the roles of both the ambassador and his wife changed dramatically.¹⁹² Moose's version of new diplomacy came about as the US found itself a major world player after World War II, at the same time, new technology and the press made the world more interconnected than before. New diplomacy called for public relations activities designed to promote US views, interests, and way of life. Diplomatic couples no longer spent all their time in the nation's capital, surrounded only by other diplomats and national leaders. Governments now expected diplomats to get to know people of all social classes and political views, while also portraying the US as a benevolent nation with upstanding values. Diplomats were expected to continually be a beacon of Americanness (and American values) in the escalating Cold War.

Moose reluctantly admitted that, with the advent of new "popular" diplomacy, an early form of the public diplomacy states practice today, diplomatic wives acquired a new role and a new significance.¹⁹³ Boyce, writing almost a decade earlier, said similarly that it "was more important than ever before" that wives be fully prepared for their profession.¹⁹⁴ With the changing of diplomacy, the wives' role transformed, as did the amount of influence they could have. No longer was their sphere of influence solely domestic, based only on whispers in her husband's ears or an argument won at a dinner table. Now a wife could make her country's foreign policy clear by choosing which charity to volunteer with, what clubs she attended, and what she said to the press. It was now more critical than ever before to win goodwill and soft power through people's hearts and minds, and women were expertly placed for this task. It was

¹⁹² "Speech given by James S. Moose Jr at the Center for Continuing Liberal Education, Pennsylvania State College, 7 November 1963", JMP, Box 8, Folder 2.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, xvii.

no longer heads of state that diplomats had to convince to side with the US, but in young democracies, entire populations. This gave women more power as they stepped further into the public domain.

The State Department wanted to control that power. A long-time slogan in the Foreign Service was "two for the price of one", which remained an important theme in many diplomatic wives' oral histories. When labour expert Esther Peterson arrived in Sweden as a diplomatic wife in 1950, she was greeted by the ambassador, who exclaimed loudly, "Two for the price of one!" – much to her chagrin.¹⁹⁵ A consul greeting another wife arriving in Algiers in 1948 commented that he received a good bargain on her and her husband.¹⁹⁶ This was not just a catchphrase; it was an explicit policy by the State Department and appeared in official documents and testimonies to Congress. According to one FSO, it was explicitly stated that diplomatic wives were employees of the US government with a rank derived from her husband and that they should directly report to the wives of the husbands' superiors.¹⁹⁷ While wives did not sign a formal contract, through their husbands' signatures, the State Department made them employees and they had an important, and official, role to play. As their husbands progressed up the Foreign Service ranks, the wives' roles formalised, as will be detailed in the next section.

“Two for the price of one” is one example of how the State Department tried to shape wives' participation and role in the Foreign Service. The role of the Foreign Service wife grew in importance after World War II when the US became a major power and the Foreign Service expanded rapidly. As diplomacy changed in the Cold War, wives' roles and responsibilities grew with the rise of informal people-to-people diplomacy. To cope with this, the State Department

¹⁹⁵ “Esther Peterson”, ADST, interview transcript, 4.

¹⁹⁶ “Ann Morin Miller”, ADST, interview transcript, 4-5.

¹⁹⁷ “David McGaffrey”, ADST, interview transcript, 14.

tried to standardise diplomatic wives through training and print materials, but also informal policies and encouragement that expanded throughout the 1960s.

The "Two for the Price of One" policy also impacted female FSOs. The mandatory regulation that female FSOs leave the Service upon marriage was not uncommon at the time given other occupations' marriage bars, but it turned more than a few female FSOs into diplomatic wives. As Enloe has analysed, the State Department was only as supportive of marriage if it followed their requirements, that of a hetero-normative marriage where the man was the breadwinner and officer, and the female was the helpmate and spouse.¹⁹⁸

In the late 1940s and 1950s, wives simply accepted this policy as fact and thought little of it at the time. It was only looking back that they realised the inequality in doing work without pay. Overall, the reactions to the "two for the price of one" policy varied. Some husbands saw their wives as equal partners who deserved recognition, while others believed they were just carrying out "traditional family values" that existed then.¹⁹⁹ Even amongst the wives, there was no agreement. Some wives were bitter and felt insulted by their treatment. In contrast, others felt that they were being compensated for their labour because they had a house with domestic staff and the opportunity to meet interesting people.²⁰⁰ "Two for the price of one" is just one of many ways the State Department informally and formally encouraged wives' participation in foreign relations.

One of the key ways that the State Department encouraged wives' work was through print materials and booklets like *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, written in the 1950s, and the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, written in the early 1960s. Both give us a glimpse of the role of

¹⁹⁸ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 184-185.

¹⁹⁹ "Miller", ADST, interview transcript, 17; "Ernest V. Siracusa", ADST, interview transcript, 83.

²⁰⁰ "Marlen Neumann", ADST, interview transcript, 9; "Prudence Bushnell", ADST, interview transcript, 17.

diplomatic wives according to State Department. *Social Usage*, written first in 1957, particularly became a guidebook for diplomatic wives, detailing proper instructions for protocol, entertaining, and guidance on the role of wives in diplomacy.²⁰¹ *The Overseas Wife's Notebook* instead focused more on encouraging volunteering activities. Comparing these with other print materials provides opportunities to understand better the larger cultural shifts of women's roles within the Foreign Service and US society. The official booklet from 1958, *The Foreign Service of the US*, highlighted three primary responsibilities for a wife: efficient housekeeping, involvement in local social welfare community activities, and entertaining, and warned wives that husbands without wives who excelled at this would be a "serious handicap".²⁰² However, the wives had many more roles, as outlined in the 1956 flyer for the Wives' Course at FSI. It listed key "duties" as: keeping husbands healthy and happy, being friendly and knowing all kinds of people, travelling widely, learning the language, social service work, and entertaining.²⁰³ Unsurprisingly, many diplomatic wives complained of exhaustion, overwork, and stress. Not only did they do a significant amount of work, but they also did it without any recognition or remuneration and were expected to perform this labour without complaint.

Many husbands in post-war America hoped their educated wives, most of whom they met at university as equals, would help them in their work. Yet, some resisted equal partnerships and recoiled when their wives pursued activities outside the home and their careers.²⁰⁴ This was not a common problem for diplomatic couples. For diplomatic couples, the women's outside interests, such as women's groups, socialisation, and volunteering in the community, directly supported

²⁰¹ DOS, *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, 1957.

²⁰² DOS, *The Foreign Service of the US*, 34-35.

²⁰³ Foreign Service Orientation for Wives Flyer, Box 114, Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson Papers (MMBP), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

²⁰⁴ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound*, 88.

their husbands' careers which are detailed in chapters 3-6. By analysing the correspondence within the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, it is relevant to realise that the State Department expected diplomacy to be wives' primary role, secondary to that of homemaker. In an outline for the introduction, William Byrd listed what a Foreign Service wife is in order of importance, with the first being homemaker, the second being a representative of the US government, and the third being an individual in her own right.²⁰⁵ The Service indoctrinated this into both men and women. Wives believed that through the Foreign Service, they might have a "real" career that they would not have in the American suburbs, while husbands supposed that this would strengthen their marriage and benefit their careers.²⁰⁶ The State Department intelligently understood that putting this refrain in materials sent to all husbands and wives, like the *Foreign Service of the US* booklet, was one way to remind couples that wives' participation was vital to diplomacy.

Another technique used to train wives was the FSI Course. Instituted for the first time in the mid-1950s, it was cancelled a few years later due to Congressional disapproval of the expense. Restarted in the 1960s, this time under the direction of a female Foreign Service Officer, the two-week course prepared women for their new lives abroad, though course attendance was not mandatory. With new congressional funding, the State Department reassigned a female FSO, Mary Vance Trent, to create a new course for the wives. At the same time, the Department assigned another officer to work on creating an *Overseas Wife's Notebook* and one for secretarial staff. There was a growing appreciation for the wives' work, which directly correlated to the growing importance of soft power and public diplomacy as wives were used to display American ideals and culture, especially family values. As the US government

²⁰⁵ "Introduction" Typescript written by William Byrd, 21 September 1964, OWN, Box 2.

²⁰⁶ "Penelope Laingen," ADST, interview transcript, 23.

spent more funds on foreign aid and propaganda activities, it logically follows that they would also begin to assess how best to train the unsalaried labour they already had.

The State Department recognised this and, with the institution of the new FSI course, began to prepare a new generation of diplomatic wives for the tasks ahead of them. Trent saw this as the Department's recognition of the value of wives, not only within traditional diplomacy but also within this new diplomacy that placed enormous importance on learning about different cultures and societies. In the changing diplomacy of the Cold War, which relied on more interaction with the general public, the diplomatic wife was, according to Trent, a "valuable asset" and a "real partner" in the Foreign Service.²⁰⁷ Wives were now trained in area studies, combating communism, answering critics, and language learning as well as American culture, history and politics so they could further represent the US.²⁰⁸ Lectures were titled things like "Education: A Key to Culture", "East and West of Suez", "Answering the Critic", and "How to Teach English as a Foreign Language". In order to have successful diplomatic teamwork between husbands and wives, wives needed to undertake some of the same training their husbands received, attend country plan meetings, and receive further guidance through official channels and briefings. Through training programs and strict hierarchies, they could mould wives into the perfect, feminised ideal of a partner in diplomacy.

As expected for the era, the language wives regularly encountered in the class and booklets spoke not of helpmates in glowing terms of women's empowerment and diplomatic necessity but in terms of a direct relationship with their husbands. A 1956 flyer for the FSI class advised women to keep their husbands happy and healthy, as in doing so, he would succeed at work, wives would have a finer life, and both would find "great contentment" in their traditional

²⁰⁷ "Mary Vance Trent", ADST, interview transcript, 3.

²⁰⁸ Selection of FSI Course schedules from 1964, FADST, Unmarked Box.

roles.²⁰⁹ This flyer was written not by a bureaucratic male superior but by a veteran Foreign Service wife who created and led the course.

Abroad and at home, childcare was a constant problem for diplomatic wives. The number one reason why wives were unable to attend the FSI wives' course was childcare. To increase attendance, they found a nursery that could watch children. Overseas, there was no allowance for childcare when wives were required to appear at social functions, volunteer, or attend embassy wives' group meetings. Wives at posts had to have a full-time caretaker on staff because they never knew when a superior's wife might call and ask for help without notice. While the Department claimed that most chiefs "try to be understanding" about officers and their wives with small children, they still expected parents to make "provisions for their children in order to free themselves for the steady round of calls, teas, cocktail parties and dinner by which they are introduced to the community."²¹⁰ William Byrd, a colleague of Wieland, working on the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, particularly wanted to highlight a passage from a book that said even on the first night in a new post, when invited to dinner by an officer's superiors, "a refusal, even because of small children is not considered polite. Far from being commended for their parental devotion, the couple is much more likely to be accused of an inability to manage their personal affairs."²¹¹ As far as the men who ran the State Department were concerned, even in a society where women bear children and are primarily responsible for their upbringing, women's "natural" inclination towards children could not interfere with their responsibilities towards the diplomatic mission. The State Department felt that the wives' course was so important that it was

²⁰⁹ Foreign Service Orientation for Wives Flyer, MBPP, Box 114.

²¹⁰ "The Foreign Service Wife Introduction" Typescript, OWN, Box 1.

²¹¹ Ibid.

worth paying extra for childcare to bolster attendance, but they viewed childcare abroad as a simple problem wives could fix themselves, like finding housing.

Diplomatic wives had to cultivate two sets of skills. One was a knowledge of protocol and the mechanisms of entertaining, including appropriate seating arrangements by rank and title, planning menus, and directing servants. The second was a background in the history and culture of their guests' home countries, as well as the current political and economic situation, especially as it related to the US. The first they had learned from their mothers, through the FSI course, or would learn from mentors, but the second had to be obtained through newspapers, books, cultural exhibits, classes, lectures, formal trainings, excursions, and their husbands. Many of these officers realised the importance of their wives' dinner conversations and briefed them accordingly. One ambassador later commented, "Too often we ignore the fact that it is the wife who sits next to the Prime Minister at the table. I act on the basis that well-informed Foreign Service wives can be one our greatest representational assets."²¹² The benefits could be great if friendships were forged, and it was up to the ambassador to ensure his wife knew the relevant information needed to carefully advocate for US positions or to avoid making a risky misstep. One of the best ways to prevent these missteps was ensuring wives had the knowledge they needed.

A debate through much of the 1960s orbited around the decision on whether or not to brief Foreign Service wives. For some, it was a matter of giving diplomatic wives the best information to do their job. Ambassador Chester Bowles stated that "the wife who is sensitive to local problems, aware of our national purpose and anxious to help carry them out is invaluable addition to any embassy."²¹³ Many State Department officials and principal officers

²¹² "This Worked for Me", OWN, Box 1.

²¹³ "Talk on the Foreign Service and a Wife's Place in It by Mrs. Tyler Thompson", January 1961, FADST, Unmarked Box.

(COMs/DCMs) believed that if wives had background knowledge of local issues and mission objectives, it would aid the mission overall, and they thus set up official briefings. Others believed it should be left to the husband to brief the wife on pertinent details.

The State Department was also very aware of the differences in roles and the job based on geographic location, host country's culture, local politics, and the post itself. In a memorandum to Beale regarding an orientation for ambassadors' wives, Verne Lewis explained that the wives would need an orientation by the Executive Director of their regional bureau because they did not have the information wives needed on specific subjects including types of entertaining most effective due to local circumstances and the availability of foods, flowers, and other things hostesses' needed to know, such as invitations.²¹⁴ While this oversimplifies the role of a diplomatic wife as a hostess, it does demonstrate the specificity of each post and the local environment.

Throughout the 1960s, there was no specific policy or direction for briefing wives. Some Chiefs of Missions preferred to brief their wives and then had their wives brief the rest of the women at the missions, while others set up an official briefing for wives by senior officers directly. Politically appointed wives, who had never served abroad before, were a constant source of worry for the State Department, and the Department sought to prepare them as best as possible. It later created a standard policy, setting up individual briefings with several offices within the Department including regional affairs, protocol, public affairs, fiscal and budget, security, and building operations.²¹⁵ Career ambassadors were later invited to these same briefings, but junior or senior wives did not receive briefings in Washington before beginning a posting. To rectify this, many missions started orientation programs and briefings covering

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ "Memorandum draft from Wilson T. M. Beale", 6 November 1964, OWN, Box 3.

everything from language to economics. Most importantly, they covered US objectives and foreign policy priorities.²¹⁶ The ambassador who noted that wives sat next to the Prime Minister at dinner further explained that in his embassy, either he or one of his senior officers gave all the wives short weekly briefings on US foreign policy, country objections, and policy guidance "within the bounds of discretion."²¹⁷ While wives were reviewed on their husbands' security clearances, a few select ambassadresses gained their own clearances.²¹⁸ This underlines the recognition by State Department of the importance and potential for wives' conversations with political leaders.

Simultaneously, many women who saw themselves as partners in diplomacy did not feel the State Department accepted them as full partners and wanted more briefings and training.²¹⁹ Policies toward wives' involvement were entirely ad hoc by mission and changed from ambassador to ambassador and officer to officer. The State Department left it to the missions to decide whether wives received briefings on the political situation at the post. The State Department had training for diplomatic wives at the FSI through the wives' course but would not often pay for language training there.

Without the required training, the State Department needed to find ways to monitor activities during the 1960s. One way was through the Country Team models. In some posts, a senior wife would appear before the Country Team, which was a panel of representatives from each of the different US agencies in a given country or mission (such as State, USIA/S, USAID, Labor Attaches, Defense attaches) to gain their blessing for specific volunteer projects, before they told her how each agency (i.e., USIA/S or USAID) could assist wives with different

²¹⁶ "Strengthening Family Spirit" Typescript, OWN, Box 2

²¹⁷ "This Worked for Me", OWN, Box 1.

²¹⁸ Dorothy Irving, *This Too is Diplomacy* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2007), xiii.

²¹⁹ "Betty Atherton", ADST, Interview transcript, 3.

community-focused projects, which will be detailed in more depth in chapters five and six.²²⁰ Country teams and other embassies found ways to keep track of wives' skills. In one embassy, wives wrote down a brief sketch of interests, hobbies, talents, and experiences, which was kept on a Rolodex and consulted by the ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, and Chief of Sections whenever they needed a particular skill or talent.²²¹

If the US government was going to support wives' activities, they also wanted to promote them, both in the country and in the US. In the host country, it fell to the press officer. After Senator McCarthy attacked the Foreign Service in front of the American public, the State Department wanted to showcase the excellent work diplomatic families did abroad to earn more public support. In the 1960s, the State Department created the Office of Women's Affairs, which included a team of staffers in Washington in assisting Foreign Service wives in funding their welfare and educational projects and providing public relations for the American press. This office would become the strongest tie between diplomatic wives and State Department and was started by Katie Louchheim. Louchheim advocated for creating Women's Affairs Attachés at major posts, which would have directly paid Foreign Service wives for their outreach to local women's organisations. The State Department believed that "the wife should work as hard as her husband" and wanted to ensure she was an effective diplomat even though it was unwilling to officially support wives' work.²²²

Superiors habitually reminded wives that they were not FSOs themselves. Ambassador Charles "Chip" Bohlen preached great danger in the overemphasis of independent roles for wives.²²³ Older wives were quick to delineate between themselves, their husbands, and their

²²⁰ "Organising to Get Help from Home" Typescript, OWN, Box 2.

²²¹ Untitled Typescript, OWN, Box 1.

²²² "Outline" Typescript, OWN, Box 2.

²²³ "Letter from Avis Bohlen to William Crocket", 15 February 1965, OWN, Box 3.

work. Rosamunde Thro believed that no matter how talented, wives were neither trained, qualified nor paid to participate directly in diplomacy.²²⁴ Other senior wives wrote in the 1960s that, since wives had not undergone long years of specialised education and training, they were therefore unqualified to be diplomats, but instead forced into diplomacy.²²⁵ While there were undoubtedly a sizeable number of wives who had previously been FSOs or secretaries and others who had advanced degrees in international relations or modern languages, this was generally true.²²⁶ Nevertheless, they were still diplomats and were trained, both formally by the Department and informally by other wives, since they were in the public eye and represented the US. The differences lay not only within their status but within the different types of diplomacy, including traditional diplomacy versus public diplomacy.

With this new diplomacy, and bolstered by the State Department, wives took on an increasingly important role in foreign relations during the Cold War. By analysing the correspondence within the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, it is relevant to realise that the State Department expected diplomacy to be wives' primary role, secondary to that of homemaker. The Service indoctrinated this into both men and women. Wives believed that through the Foreign Service, they might have a "real" career that they would not have in the American suburbs, while husbands supposed that this would strengthen their marriage and benefit their careers. Wives had to balance this new role with typical gender roles of the era, especially that of homemakers.

²²⁴ "Letter from Rosamunde Thro to Colonel Lee Wallace", OWN, Box 3.

²²⁵ "Unedited Samples of Ideas Contributed to Project by Some Senior Wives", OWN, Box 2.

²²⁶ Of the forty-five case studies in this dissertation, 13 have a degree in international relations or worked in foreign affairs, though it should be noted that 21 wives' undergrad degrees are unknown.

The Embassy Hierarchy: Identity, Gender Roles, and Shifting Roles Within the American Embassy Community

The specific role that all diplomatic wives played, regardless of seniority, was extensive.

Robert Boyce wrote in his 1956 guidebook, *The Diplomat's Wife*:

Your main job, besides making a home, rearing a family, and strengthening your husband's morale, is to help him make friendly contacts with the people of the country stationed. You must also take a friendly and helpful interest in the other embassy or consulate wives and, as you become more senior in the Foreign Service, try to be especially helpful to the new wives.²²⁷

Wives, unlike their husbands, were assumed to balance home, family, and social obligations, along with a full career as a de facto diplomat. Simultaneously, wives were part of a complex embassy hierarchy, and their roles changed based on their seniority, their husband's status or role, and their postings. This, therefore, changed their public diplomacy activities and opportunities, but it could also change how they viewed the Foreign Service and their identity. The role of diplomatic wives in diplomacy also shifted between 1940 and 1972 in several ways, which will be detailed below.

Technically, their primary role was that of a homemaker. In the booklet, *Diplomatic Social Usage*, the State Department officially said that, upon arrival, husbands reported to their superiors while wives are “free to get themselves and their families settled.”²²⁸ This was hardly

²²⁷ Ibid., 1-2.

²²⁸ US Department of State (DOS), *Diplomatic Social Usage* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, May 1971), 3.

the case for many wives in actuality. Polly Jones's husband expected her to prepare and host a 12- to 18-person dinner on their first night in a new post as a more senior wife. She frequently had to put her children to work as butlers and housemaids, especially when they would be besieged by "a couple of hundred callers with the first thirty-six hours".²²⁹ This anecdote encompasses a wife's different roles within hours of arrival, that of homemaker, mother, hostess, and contact manager.

Diplomatic wives did not have to, and could not, choose between being a homemaker and being a partner in diplomacy. In a 1964 *New York Times* article, Margaret Durdin, a US foreign correspondent close to the diplomatic community, published an article titled, "The Ambassador's Wife is an Ambassador, Too." She wrote that "the success of her husband's assignment and consequently the government's affairs can depend on how efficiently she keeps house in a strange and difficult environment".²³⁰ She continued that, overseas, the wife "established the congenial social setting that can lead to diplomatic rapport and international agreement." The wives created the environment husbands needed to engage in the political or economic exchanges required of their roles. Written decades before Enloe argued the same point, diplomatic wives worldwide, and the bureaucrats in the State Department's administration, could read these words. Durdin was writing what she and other wives knew to be true. Homemakers set the scene for the husband's business, providing the necessary environment, while at the same time representing the stereotype of American women and families. By creating a slice of an American home, straight out of US suburbia, diplomats were sending a message about America and US ideals to people around the world, that of friendly, welcoming people.

²²⁹ "Memorandum of Conversation with Polly Jones", OWN, Box 1.

²³⁰ Margaret Durdin, "Ambassador's Wife is an Ambassador Too", *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, 4 October 1964.

Women who might have worked during the war or graduated college during this time found themselves working solely within the home as the domestic manifestation of anti-war anxieties took hold. Returning male soldiers returned to their jobs while women who had worked in the war effort were suddenly jobless. Society wanted a return to normal and for women, this meant the home. Simultaneously, the growing Cold War focused on promoting American values and the American family dream was central to this. The "Kitchen Debate" showcases how Nixon and the US government believed that US superiority lay in the idyllic American housewife, with 2.5 kids, a dog named Spot, a station wagon, and a single-family detached house in the suburbs, complete with modern conveniences designed to make a wife's chores easier, including vacuum cleaners, washing machines and can openers. For men like Nixon, the model home was only complete with a male breadwinner and a full-time female homemaker. This allows scholars to understand the sentiments voiced by men like Nixon, many of whom ran the State Department during this period. Rosie the Riveter had won the war but was then replaced in US propaganda by the cultural icon of the perfect housewife in June Cleaver.²³¹

The older generation of women in the Foreign Service, those who joined in the 1930s, preached that the first job of any woman was in the home and that the government should not forget that women were primarily homemakers.²³² When asked about community engagement, a wife interviewed for the *Overseas Wife's Notebook* even said that while she liked to see women participate in charitable activity, wives could "sometimes be too militant", thus creating an image of American women neglecting their children.²³³ This generation, who helped draft policies on wives until 1972, had different attitudes from incoming younger wives, who, while upset about

²³¹ Joanne Meyerowitz, "Introduction Women and Gender in Postwar America", in *Not June Cleaver*, 383.

²³² "Memoranda of Conversations with Blancke, Wilson and Aschanase", OWN, Box 1. See all "Unedited Samples", OWN, Box 2.

²³³ "Memorandum of Conversation with Mrs Wilson", OWN, Box 1.

the amount of time spent away from their children, appreciated having an intellectual output outside the home. As the women's movement dawned, younger wives were just as upset at the senior wives as the US government.²³⁴ Some older wives, many of whom became ambassadors, like Polly Jones and Patterson, viewed their role in the home as almost business-like. While this is not causation, there is a correlation; wives who viewed their responsibilities first and foremost as diplomacy and their husbands' career were more likely to reach the upper echelons of the Foreign Service than wives who focussed on housekeeping or personal hobbies.

Jones ruminated that it did not matter if the house was elegant during the first week, as long as it was functional.²³⁵ For veteran wives like Jones, she knew that being a homemaker might be one of her core identities and roles, but it was not her primary one. She had to be a helpmate to her husband, and in that instance, what her husband needed was a home he could conduct business within and a wife to support those activities, making the two roles were not mutually exclusive. Other wives steadfastly believed that their primary role was that of a homemaker, even though the actual labour of keeping house ranked fairly low on their duties. Depending on post and status, many wives had domestic staff to cook, clean, and watch the children, which allowed them time for other activities required by the embassy.

The State Department had to walk a careful line in reminding women that while their roles as homemakers were important, it did not mean they could disregard critical mission activities which required female participation. The 1964 exhibit at the State Department on diplomatic wives' volunteer activities abroad emphasised that even if a wife's primary responsibility was that of a homemaker, that was a common bond shared with women around the world. They worried that "too many wives feel they are just a homemaker" and had nothing to

²³⁴ Interview with Marjorie Ransom, Washington, DC on 6 September 2019.

²³⁵ Memorandum of Conversation with Polly Jones, OWN, Box 1.

contribute to the mission.²³⁶ The State Department not only wanted wives volunteering in the community and representing the US, but they also wanted them to deepen contacts with local women in an effort to create mutual understanding.

There was no one primary identity wives felt in the period. While scholars have concentrated on the generation shift among wives from the 1940s to the 1970s, they have assumed that early wives were content to live vicariously through their husbands' careers while later generations wanted their own careers.²³⁷ While this is true to an extent, it does not incorporate the views of wives in the early post-war period who disliked social activities and chose not to identify as a helpmate or partake in volunteer work. An example is Julia Child, who might be the most successful diplomatic wife in terms of public diplomacy but was a very unsuccessful diplomatic wife when viewed through the lens of the Foreign Service. Child, with the support of her husband, chose not to partake in any official embassy activity and while in early postings in Paris, refused to do anything more than the introductory calls.²³⁸ Years later, when her husband's career floundered, the couple assumed it was the fault of his superiors, who did not appreciate him. It did not occur to either of them that Julia's independence from the Foreign Service put her husband behind his peers who had wives contributing to their career, completing double the amount of work.

In an interview for the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, veteran Foreign Service wife Jane Hart said that it was normal for wives to want to help advance their husbands' careers. She continued that although wives were not salaried employees, "each wife must analyse what role they desire to play as a helpmate to their husband".²³⁹ For diplomatic wives, the role of helpmate, diplomat,

²³⁶ "Showcase of American Women Around the World", OWN, Box 3.

²³⁷ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 201.

²³⁸ Julia Child with Alex Prud'homme, *My Life in France* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 23.

²³⁹ "Memorandum of Conversation with Judith Hart", OWN, Box 1.

and homemaker were all intertwined, and all three were a part of their identity. The word "helpmate" itself had different connotations for each generation. Hart, who joined the Foreign Service as a young bride in 1949, witnessed the change in identity within herself first-hand. For the first six years in the Service, she threw herself into paying calls, volunteering at local hospitals, and assisting her husband with all tasks expected of her. She felt especially valued working in Saudi Arabia where she was the only chance for access for her husband to learn about women and home life within the country, something needed for his job as Consul General.²⁴⁰ After she was evacuated from Cairo during the Suez Crisis in 1956 as part of "unessential personnel", a decision she believed set American-Egyptian relations back twenty years, her perspective changed. She no longer felt a "partner in diplomacy" and is why she said she "never accepted thereafter those platitudinous speeches by the State Department officials about the importance of diplomatic wives".²⁴¹ Hart wrote that while wives did not expect to be doing something "we believed in for someone we loved", it was challenging to accept the State Department's arbitrary judgement of the value of their work. This concept of "labour of love" applies to all wives' work, whether it is housekeeping or preparing dinner for their husband's superiors, both in US suburbia and in diplomatic missions abroad. These efforts, therefore, channelled through and for their husband, erasing the wives' success. A wife could only succeed when her husband advanced in the ranks. If a talented woman happened to be married to a dreadful officer, it was unlikely that her career would advance, no matter how hard she worked or how much she excelled at her gendered work. In this, wives had the opportunity to choose the type of role they played at posts, either that of an engaged diplomatic wife or completely

²⁴⁰ Jane Hart in *Diplomacy: The Role of Wife: A Symposium*, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Edmund A Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Archives of Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide (formerly American Association of Foreign Service Women) (hereafter AAFSW), Arlington, VA, 48-52.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

avoiding all non-required activities. No matter which they choose, many parts of the role of diplomatic wives were required by the nature of diplomacy and the State Department itself.

Diplomatic wives' roles and responsibilities are directly correlated to those of their husbands, FSOs or attachés. FSOs were meant to protect and promote the welfare and interests of the US and the American people.²⁴² In order to do so, FSOs had four main functions as defined by an unnamed executive order issued in 1957.²⁴³ First, they were meant to establish and maintain friendly relationships between the government and people of the US and people of the country to which they were accredited; second, to keep the US government informed regarding political and economic developments; third, to protect American citizens; and lastly, to promote American interests abroad and represent the viewpoint of the American government.²⁴⁴

Diplomatic wives had the same roles, rank, and responsibilities as their husbands, yet not as commissioned officers of the US government and without pay.

The role of ambassadors and their diplomatic wives changed based on their assigned posts. An ambassador's wife wrote in a report to the State Department in 1965 that her concept of the wife's role formed in three very different posts: one behind the Iron Curtain, another at a large Southeast Asia embassy, and the third in a major European capital. In an Iron Curtain country, where she could not leave the embassy grounds, she focussed primarily on morale and the embassy family. In Southeast Asia, she was "required to be helpful and keep up the reputation of the USA as a friendly ally without letting herself be drawn into too many purely local activities", of which she meant charity and social work. Finally, in the European capital, her time was consumed by "social and cultural" activities.²⁴⁵ However, at the same time, the roles

²⁴² DOS, *The Foreign Service of the US*, 2.

²⁴³ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, xvi-xvii.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* See also DOS, *The Foreign Service of the US*, 2.

²⁴⁵ "Mission Wives' Role" Typescript, OWN, Box 2.

were also very similar. The wife continued, adding that "in all of them her role is coordinated with and subordinate to her husband's position".²⁴⁶ Larger posts gave lower-ranking women more leeway to lead private lives as they were less visible, such as how Child could escape more embassy undertakings to take cooking classes in Paris. Smaller posts always meant more responsibility, as she learned when the Department transferred her husband to a consulate in Marseille and her official duties curtailed her personal activities.

In smaller posts, wives were more likely to perform clerical and other "officer" work at the embassy. In Kigali, Rwanda, the wife of the *charge d'affairs* wrote in response to a State Department survey on wives' community activities that she had nothing to report because she was the only American woman there and was working full-time as a secretary in the chancery so that a single female secretary would not have to "be sent to an isolated central African post".²⁴⁷ This was not uncommon; in another medium post with sixteen wives, five worked in the embassy as secretaries, one ran the small American school, and one was the staff nurse.²⁴⁸ Other wives often helped their husbands draft reports or took on small contracts with USAID or USIA/S. Because of diplomatic laws, they were often unpaid for their work, or in some cases were paid local wages for pennies. Wives who had served in the Foreign Service as officers, clerks, secretaries, or in the Foreign Service auxiliary during the war accepted these tasks as something they had the expertise to do. In more dangerous posts or those considered unsafe for women (which, in the 1950s and 1960s, comprised a large part of Africa and Muslim countries), wives took on the gendered roles of secretarial work so that men "would not have to bother with it". They took on these jobs on top of raising children and running a home and entered a similar

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ "Showcase of American Women Around the World", OWN, Box 3.

²⁴⁸ "Letter from Barbara Crawford to William Crockett", 24 February 1965, OWN, Box 3.

labour workforce that awaited them in the US. This was easier in small posts, which did not have as strict of a hierarchy as a much larger post.

The Foreign Service was strictly hierarchical. One of the challenges in writing about the role of diplomatic wives is the different experiences wives had based not only on the specific post assigned to but also on the rank and seniority of their husbands. Ruth Thompson, the wife of the former ambassador to Finland and Iceland, told junior wives to accept the hierarchy as "a tool of the trade".²⁴⁹ The friction between senior and junior wives often frustrated younger wives in the Service. Many told stories about "Dragon Ladies", senior wives who treated their juniors as not only inferiors but also as one step removed from servitude. In Foreign Service culture, if a junior wife disobeyed a request from a senior wife, it was akin to a demerit on her husband's performance record. In the early 1970s, as a debate over the role of diplomatic wives waged in the *Foreign Service Journal*, one wife publicly asked: "Why should there be in the Foreign Service a system in which a wife has power over another because of her husband's rank?"²⁵⁰ While wives had asked this question for decades, until second-wave feminism, they rarely spoke about it publicly.

The wives of section chiefs (i.e., heads of administrative, political, economic, consular teams) were responsible for guiding the wives of new officers in their husbands' sections. This included welcoming, introducing, and assisting them to adjust to their new role and responsibilities. In some cases, this meant providing a list of mission women's activities, such as a list of charities, and giving them "as much leeway as possible in carefully" choosing what activities she would like to participate in.²⁵¹ Senior wives encouraged junior wives to not only

²⁴⁹ "Talk on the Foreign Service and a Wife's Place in It by Mrs. Tyler Thompson, January 1961", FADST, Unmarked Box.

²⁵⁰ Carol Pardon, "The Foreign Service Wife and Diplomacy in the 70s", *Foreign Service Journal*, September 1971, 35.

²⁵¹ "Develop Leaders" Typescript, OWN, Box 2.

choose which particular activities might interest them or suit their skills but also encouraged them to participate generally. They were tasked with spotting medium- and junior-ranking wives who might be "shy" or "reticent" and to work with them to find suitable activities. One DCM's wife, upon arriving at a new post and finding the majority of the wives not working towards the mission's goals, which was unacceptable to her and her husband, quickly gave out a quick survey to figure out why they did not take part. She found that the wives were not participating because they were either shy, did not care for organised group activities, had previously volunteered and been "hurt" and withdrawn, or were simply younger wives going through culture shock.²⁵² Her "cure" was to select a group of senior wives to meet with each of the younger wives in a relaxed atmosphere for a casual conversation to discuss any problem she may be facing, her interest, and talents, in an effort to encourage the wives "to blossom out".

While writing the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, the State Department was very concerned with how the mission organised wives' work and how closely it coordinated with the mission's Country Plan, the overarching strategy document outlining the mission's priorities. By keeping wives' work organised, it gave the State Department greater control over wives' activities, ensuring that, through the direct oversight of higher-ranking wives, who best understood US priorities, junior wives both accomplished work in line with the government, but also learned what was important, why, and how to do the valuable work needed.

As described earlier, most of the wives' activities were organised through a strict hierarchy, which manifested in mandatory, or often mandatory, wives' meetings. Some women disliked meetings and formal activities, calling them "over-organised", but the consensus was that they provided both direction and support.²⁵³ Embassies that tried to cease wives' meetings

²⁵² "Linda Bell", ADST, Interview transcript, 7.

²⁵³ "Interview with Mrs. Clinton Olson, 5 October 1964" Typescript, OWN, Box 1.

and clubs soon found the need for an organised structure too great and reimplemented them based on the overwhelming number of responsibilities they took on. This was left to the direction of the ambassador's wife, who was chief of women at the mission.

Both ambassadors Margaret Morgan and Patterson wrote extensively on the role of ambassadors' wives, arguing that this role was time-intensive but of great importance. Morgan penned that:

The ambassador's wife has a full-time, many-sided fascinating job. She is on duty seven days a week for as long as the ambassador and his wife are in the country of assignment. Working hours are unlimited. Her opportunities for Service are great; her responsibility is to see that all women whose husbands are assigned to the post are of maximum Service to the US.²⁵⁴

Her activities were not unlike that of lower-ranking wives, except that while she gained responsibility and authority, she also lost any leisure time she might have had. Patterson estimated that she spent 70 hours a week on chiefess duties, 40-50 hours on administration tasks and then 20-30 hours on representation, and another 7 hours reading newspapers and magazines for the information she needed to know about the US and her country of assignment.²⁵⁵ In a week, she spent only 14 hours with her children and 4-5 hours for herself for things like visiting the hairdresser (a weekly activity) or shopping for the family. With so much to manage, she also employed a full-time secretary who worked 38-42 hours weekly. With an entire residence of staff to help, Patterson did not have to take care of almost any homemaking tasks; even her secretary oversaw the domestic workers in the residence. Instead, she filled her day with telephone calls, record keeping, event planning, social welfare visits, benefits, local cultural

²⁵⁴ Margaret Morgan, "The Role of the Ambassador's Wife", AAFSW, 26.

²⁵⁵ "Notes for Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson Talk to Wives of Senior Officers, 11 May 1959", FADST, Unmarked Box.

excursions, managing the residence's government funds, working with the chancery on activities, hosting dinners and attending social obligations.

As First Lady of the mission, this wife was not only the "head of women" but was also responsible for morale and served as a leader in the American community. She had to be careful to include wives in embassy activities from all parts of the mission and not just the Foreign Service, USIA/S and USAID, but the larger number of attaches' spouses. Without this, Hart explained, the embassy would lose its "team organisation and spirit", which enemies could exploit to the detriment of the US government.²⁵⁶ As part of this, ambassadors had to stay aware of activities in the missions, such as who might be sick or about to have a child, keep up with gossip and information in case more serious problems, like an affair or alcoholism, which she then had to relay to her husband. She also needed to carefully allocate her time between different groups, careful not to play favourites or create cliques.

Parallel to the official embassy structure, the second in command to the ambassador's wife was the Deputy Chief of Mission's wife, colloquially referred to as the DCM's wife. The DCM's wife was an intermediary between the ambassador and the other women in the mission. Her primary function involved being second in command to the ambassador, acting as a fulcrum for all women's activities, and both encouraging and mentoring junior wives. Official State Department documents describe her role as keeping the ambassador and his wife informed of all activities and problems of mission staff and their families, helping to discharge duties as needed, and taking their place at meetings and receptions when unavailable. Poetically, one DCM's wife called herself the ambassador's "alter ego", a particularly apt description. Since ambassadors' wives were so heavily involved in public relations of the embassy, it often fell to

²⁵⁶ "Memorandum of Conversation with Jane Hart", OWN, Box 1.

the DCM's wife to run the embassy wives' groups, assign tasks, and manage wives' program activities. She also acted as a buffer, handling more minuscule problems, and only involving the ambassador's wife when seriously needed, all while giving general updates on accomplishments and undertakings. Concurrently, she relayed pertinent information to the senior and junior wives, keeping them informed and lending a supportive ear. An efficient DCM's wife kept the embassy focused on the goals of the ambassador's wife and the mission as a whole, while sharing her heavy burden of representational responsibilities.

Senior wives' duties increased as their husbands' careers advanced. Their leadership and participation in women's activities increased, and so did their representational responsibilities. The higher a husband rose, the more he relied on his wife's participation. As Emerson remarked, "it goes without saying that along with the advantages of [being a senior wife] greater responsibilities also accrue and have to be met".²⁵⁷ With every privilege came another duty. At a 1970s Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) panel, the senior wives advocated for more funding for domestic staff so that senior wives would not have to ask other mission wives for help catering official functions, and they also asked for the creation of a course for senior wives aimed at teaching public relations, leadership techniques, and hospitality management.²⁵⁸ These requests speak to the exact role of senior wives, not just in entertaining guests, but in publicly representing the embassy, leading junior wives, and managing visits for prominent Americans.

On the other hand, junior wives had three primary duties: assisting the senior wives, managing their family, and participating in "women's groups". Referred to often as "American Women's Group" or "Embassy Wives' Group", these groups required weekly meetings where

²⁵⁷ "Memorandum of Conversation with Dorothy Emerson", OWN, Box 1.

²⁵⁸ "Remarks at AAFSW Panel on Wives", FADST.

attendance was mandatory for all wives. This amounted to a general weekly staff meeting, allowing senior wives to assign responsibilities (if no one volunteered) and brief women on the going-ons of the mission.

In her talk to junior wives, Bohlen listed some of the things senior wives might ask junior wives to do, ranging from going on visits to local hospitals and giving a speech or helping with a children's party for her children.²⁵⁹ While Bohlen mentioned that a wife might not help because of family responsibilities, such as a sick child or recently arrived in-laws. However, many younger wives felt like they had to cater to the wives of senior officers, even to the degree of losing their independence. When the 1972 directive came out, it particularly called out senior wives who took advantage of junior wives, including asking them to clean the embassy and do laundry. While the State Department was quick to state that this did not happen very frequently, there were individual cases of senior wives abusing their authority, which was one of the reasons the directive was issued. Senior wives viewed these activities as "training", while they might more accurately be described as hazing, as in a modern-day college sorority.

While assisting the senior wives, junior wives also had to raise their children in a new place, including finding adequate help, enrolling them in school, and ensuring they were healthy and well cared for in a foreign land. Senior wives who were more understanding, as they had been in their place, made allowances, but not all senior wives were so understanding, leading to resentment. Junior wives were also required to participate in organised activities in the mission. Many senior wives viewed these groups as opportunities for the younger wives to pick up leadership skills they would undoubtedly need as their husbands rose through the ranks. In the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, one senior wife wrote that while younger wives did not have to fear

²⁵⁹ "Avis Bohlen Speech", FADST.

leading activities, if they did not learn the skills, they would become "one of those wives we all worry about because they have responsibilities that they simply have not trained themselves either to recognise or accept".²⁶⁰ In medium-sized or small posts, there was no escaping these activities, so the majority of wives did learn the needed skills. Interestingly enough, while there are cases of senior wives abusing their authority, there is little anecdotal evidence of senior wives not doing their jobs well from either junior wives or State Department officials. While insulting and demeaning, their informal training methods were still reasonably successful. Most complaints regarding senior wives' skills were reserved for the wives of political appointees. Overall, these methods prepared scores of junior wives for their futures as senior wives, or as the wives of ambassadors or DCMs. Simultaneously, they kept the embassy, and diplomacy, functioning.

Conclusion

The early Cold War period saw significant changes in the Foreign Service, American society, and international politics. Diplomatic wives represented a number of these changes, shifting from upper-class diplomats to a more inclusive picture of the US. However, there would still be a long way to go before they were truly representative of the diversity of the US. By the 1970s, wives, like their husbands, came from a broader range of socio-economic statuses, races, ethnicities, religions, and geographic regions.

It would be easy to assume that younger wives, who came of age in the 1960s, were highly educated and more likely to resist the strict requirements of the role of diplomatic wives.

²⁶⁰ "Develop Leaders" Typescript, OWN, Box 2.

However, that is a misnomer. Many wives who joined the Service in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were more highly educated, some with PhDs and law degrees, than the average women of their time and disliked the expectation that they were required to perform unpaid labour of the embassies. Some wives who entered the Service in the early 1970s not only enjoyed their work but were perfectly happy to continue it without financial compensation. Simultaneously, there were a number of highly educated wives, such as Leila Wilson, who joined in the 1930s, the era of women in the workforce, who preached that the first job of any woman was in the home and that the government should not forget that women were primarily homemakers.²⁶¹ They in turn became senior wives throughout the 1960s and early 1970s as the women's movement took hold in the Foreign Service. Background, education, and generation did not guarantee how a wife viewed her time in the Foreign Service or her role as a diplomatic wife.

During the post-war period, diplomatic wives played many roles. They were homemakers, wives, mothers, helpmates, and most importantly, public diplomats. The State Department benefited not only from gender norms at the time but extensive unpaid labour; they indeed were "two for the price of one". It was not lost on many of the wives that they were representing and advocating for US ideals in the Cold War, which included the freedom of women and the right to choose their destinies. However, the freedom of women meant different things to different Americans. For many male American decision-makers, their notions of gender and women's place dictated the role they viewed diplomatic wives should play. It was imperative that wives represent the "right" kind of wife, that fit the idealised version of America the US government wanted to project to the world.

²⁶¹ "Memoranda of Conversations with Blancke, Wilson and Aschanase", OWN, Box 1. See all "Unedited Samples", OWN, Box 2.

Creating the "right" kind of wife could be challenging, as the Foreign Service had thousands of diplomatic wives stationed abroad at any given time. In order to create consistency and have some form of control over what wives said and did, they ensured training courses at the Foreign Service Institute and created a number of print materials distributed worldwide. Some, like the *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, became almost a religious text for diplomatic wives. It was beneficial for representational entertaining, one of the core responsibilities for diplomatic wives, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Diplomatic Hostesses: Representational Entertaining and Advocacy

As the US' global status grew during the post-war era and US ambassadors received increased press coverage, the role of the diplomatic wife professionalised. With this new role, the State Department needed to provide guidance and create, if not uniformity, then consistency among diplomatic wives' behaviours. When they married their husbands and joined the Foreign Service, these wives gave up any right to privacy or autonomy over their own lives. Publicly and privately, they became "Mrs Foreign Service", a label that became attached above all to Avis Howard Thayer Bohlen, who was often seen as the epitome of the perfect diplomat's wife.²⁶²

In 1935, while visiting her FSO brother at the US embassy in Moscow, Bohlen had met and then married Charles Bohlen, who in a distinguished career later served as ambassador to the Soviet Union, the Philippines and France. In March 1982, the American Foreign Service Association established the annual Avis Bohlen Award to honour hardworking spouses of career FSOs. At the dedication, she was described as "the right kind of American abroad, representing the best that America has to offer."²⁶³ What made her perfect was not that she could speak Russian and French fluently, but instead that she represented the US in the "right" way, considerably more important during the Cold War.²⁶⁴ Wives, like Bohlen, had to be warm, welcoming, and friendly, the personification of ideal American hospitality.

For these diplomatic women, the opportunity to advocate for and represent their country came often in the most traditional of wifely activities: representational entertaining. At its very

²⁶² Phyllis Feldkamp, "America's Hostess to France", unknown magazine, 17 January 1965. Found in Avis Bohlen Papers, Carton 3, Folder 82, Schlesinger Library (hereafter Schlesinger), Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, MA.

²⁶³ Albin Krebs and Robert Thomas Jr., "New Award to Honor Envoys' Wives", *The New York Times*, 5 March 1982.

²⁶⁴ "Lorraine Cooper Newsletter, 23 August 1961", Lorraine Cooper Papers (LCP), Schlesinger, Cambridge, MA, Box 2, Folder 15.

heart, representational entertaining is advocacy. Advocacy in public diplomacy is defined as an international communication activity that promotes particular ideas, policies, or the nation's general interests.²⁶⁵ In the hands of Bohlen, a dinner party was both a communications style and an art form. Diplomatic couples entertained people they needed to meet or befriend, not only for personal pleasure but also for professional gain, most likely related to either US economic or political interests. Who diplomats interacted with, how often and what they discussed became much more meaningful in the post-war period, and formal record-keeping began for some embassies. Wives attended receptions, dinners, ceremonies, and other parties to demonstrate the host's status or importance to the US. Wives were not just a second diplomat, they represented American values and ideals and provided proof of a male diplomat's morality and humanity. After World War II, the US government became deeply concerned with how it was characterised abroad, especially as the Cold War conflict with the Soviet Union increasingly became a struggle where the societal qualities of ideological rivals were compared in a battle for "hearts and minds".

Representational entertaining had immense value to male diplomats, especially when they reached the upper echelons. For diplomats and their spouses, the higher they climbed on the Foreign Service career ladder, the greater their social obligations became. Ambassadors and other chiefs of mission, as well as their deputies, devoted large swaths of their time and income to social duties and relied heavily on the participation of their wives.²⁶⁶ Wives not only planned the dinners, parties, and other social activities to make connections and build relations, but also framed male diplomats as committed, caring, loyal husbands and fathers- central to the ideology of a wholesome American family. They became an extension of the diplomat himself in feminine

²⁶⁵ Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories", 33.

²⁶⁶ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 185.

spheres, such as in women's groups or organisations. Wives could then advocate for the US in these spheres, working to achieve foreign policy objectives. Diplomats' wives constructed and maintained relationships with people in the host countries' cultural, business, and political communities, which was made easier in relaxed social environments. As a US government handbook explained, "entertaining is an indispensable tool for establishing such relationships".²⁶⁷ These relationships were conduits of soft power, where the US could project a positive image of Americans as friendly, welcoming, and approachable people who could be trusted. This indirectly supported their political and economic interests, but it also built mutual understanding between countries through people-to-people interactions, one of the primary goals of public diplomacy.

The first section of this chapter focuses on three wives' efforts to professionalise representational entertaining and advocacy in the early post-war period. The second portion illustrates how the State Department sought to sell the "American Dream" and ideology of the American family abroad, even during the early 1950s in the face of McCarthyism. The third section then looks at how changing diplomacy and geopolitics in the 1960s led to wives shifting their focus to meeting everyday foreign citizens and answering critics. Finally, the chapter reviews what their techniques reveal about gender, race, and soft power in diplomacy during this era as the women became "total" representatives of the US in their actions.

²⁶⁷ DOS, *Diplomatic Social Usage*, 3.

The Charm Offensive: Case Studies in Representational Entertaining, 1945-1950

After World War II, a group of veteran and new Foreign Service wives professionalised the representational entertaining and advocacy work they performed. While the State Department sought to standardise wives' roles so that they consistently presented the right image of the US and made more effective diplomats, these wives professionalised the role from amateurs to government-supported pseudo-employees. Their work greatly aided US foreign policy objectives in the initial post-war period. The US needed to cement friendships politically and economically to aid its drive for global hegemony of capitalist democracies. As the war ended, Franklin Delano Roosevelt assumed that the US and the Soviet Union would continue to collaborate, but instead, relations deteriorated rapidly. A new Foreign Service was needed to respond to the challenging post-war environment where Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union were quickly to emerge. In this early post-war era, three diplomatic wives demonstrated how veteran and new Foreign Service wives professionalized the representational entertaining and advocacy work they performed. The first was Lydia Chapin Kirk, who, as the wife and daughter of naval attachés and admirals, was eminently prepared for her husband Alan Kirk's postings in Belgium and the Soviet Union. The second was Evangeline Bruce, who, even as one of the most well-prepared ambassadors, still had to overcome her shyness to become the sort of representative American her political appointee husband needed. The third, Katherine "Kitty" Allen, was the wife of a career FSO who later became Ambassador to Iran, Yugoslavia, and India. All three women fine-tuned their "charm" to support their husbands' objectives within their assigned countries, setting up representative entertaining systems within embassies that would later be replicated elsewhere.

When Lydia Kirk's husband was appointed Ambassador to Belgium, she immediately ordered new inscribed calling cards and a collection of invitations, placeholders and a leather

table seating plan to assist her with the extensive entertaining duties that awaited her.²⁶⁸ At the time, Belgium occupied a seat on the United Nations Security Council, governed the largest source of uranium in the world in the Congo, remained a vital ally in the growing Cold War against the Soviet Union, and was still struggling with tensions between Flemish-speaking Flanders and the French-speaking Wallonia regions. According to Kirk, the linguistic and physical split of the country paled in importance in comparison with the "royal question" on whether or not to invite the King back to Belgium now that the war had ended. Politically, the Socialist and Liberal parties opposed his return, while the Christian Democrats (whom Kirk referred to as the Catholic Party) favoured it. Ambassador Kirk's job was to keep Belgium united, persuade the government to vote with the US at the UN, and ensure that raw materials (including uranium and copper) continued flowing from the Congo.²⁶⁹ At the same time, he had to help ensure the country recovered economically and reduce the influence of the local communist party. Briefed by her husband, Kirk kept this in the back of her mind frequently when choosing what social functions to attend or who to host at which gatherings.²⁷⁰

Lydia Kirk had a keen understanding of the role of an ambassador's wife, particularly as an envoy and advocate of the US. She later wrote:

Alan had considerable influence as the representative of the US, but good personal relations would make him much more effective, and he needed to develop an extensive circle of friends among leaders in the government, business, and intellectual circles. This is where I thought I could help. A hospitable house, a good table, and a hostess who

²⁶⁸ Lydia Kirk, *Distinguished Service, Partner in Diplomacy, 1896–1984* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 126.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 133.

could converse freely in the local languages would make his task much more manageable. I also fancied that I myself could show that American women could be interesting, interested and even intelligent, and I was determined to try.²⁷¹

This quote reveals Kirk's desire to help her husband with his representational activities, and also her role in them. She immediately began paying calls on dignitaries and hosting and attending dinners and lunches with key members of Belgian society. She felt it was important to epitomise the American woman as someone who was intelligent and informed and, in particular, to combat the stereotype that Americans had no interest in other nations or languages. She understood that she represented not just American womanhood but also all Americans. As she described it, her role was to charm her dinner companions, dispel stereotypes while doing so, and become friendly with people who could aid her husband.

Kirk accompanied her husband to a large number of official ceremonies, particularly military ceremonies honouring Americans and Belgians who had died in the war. She found this work tedious, especially in the rainy weather, but believed it was a service to her country. She much more enjoyed the outreach to different business communities outside of Brussels with "Sunday lunches at chateaus in the country".²⁷² This work was excessively important to the State Department. For every business tie built between the two countries, it gained more support for the US presence in Europe. Lydia Kirk understood the superficiality of this, counting that in one day she spent seven hours at the elaborate table of a prominent engineering firm executive interested in contracts with the US.²⁷³ With the elevated role the US played in the world, along

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 136.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 140.

with an increased globalised economy, diplomatic wives had to have a greater understanding of economic ties between countries than ever before. This background knowledge later become culturally required by the 1950s for ambassadors.

In 1949, Alan Kirk became Ambassador to the Soviet Union, which proved to be a very different posting from Belgium. In Moscow, Lydia Kirk's interactions with Soviet citizens were extremely limited. For the annual Fourth of July party, they invited fifty Russians, but only twelve attended, and none brought their wives.²⁷⁴ Her conversations outside the US embassy were often recorded, and there were few diplomatic wives in Moscow. After just two weeks, she complained that she had "talked with no Russians except the servants" and the Foreign Office men who came to the Fourth of July.²⁷⁵ For Kirk, this was challenging, writing, "I don't ask to convert anyone, I don't expect to be converted, but, being a friendly soul, I would like to talk with these people."²⁷⁶ Just a week later, Kirk was invited to call on Madame Vishinky, the wife of the Russian Foreign Minister, making her the first Western Ambassador to be received, which her husband considered a great "gesture of significance".²⁷⁷

In Moscow, representational entertaining had more to do with projecting "power and prestige", which Kirk described as the two things that Russians respected and expected. They had to proclaim that the US was a superpower greater than the Soviet Union, and the way the US could do that in diplomatic circles was through entertaining the diplomatic corps and the select Russians allowed to attend these functions, as most were restricted or banned from interactions with Americans. Public diplomacy in Moscow in the late 1940s was predominantly pomp and circumstance, except in rare cases. Kirk did mention the unusual situation of Dorothy Emmerson,

²⁷⁴ Lydia Kirk, *Postmarked Moscow* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), 15-16.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

a wife who lived in the Moscow suburbs and whose children attended Russian schools. While the Russian parents in their neighbourhood never visited the Emmersons, Russian children often came over for ice cream, chocolate, and playdates until that was later restricted in their posting.²⁷⁸ Emmerson, along with her husband and children, were great examples of representative Americans to Russians who might not have a chance to meet Americans otherwise, and this was not lost on Kirk, who found her own interactions more restrictive. She understood there were limitations to what she could achieve solely because of the lack of access she had to Russian people.

While Kirk dealt with the Russians, David Bruce needed to charm the French, and his wife Evangeline Bruce was integral to his success; he called her "his secret weapon".²⁷⁹ In post-war Paris, David Bruce served first as an administrator for the Marshall Plan with the Economic Cooperation Administration and then, starting in 1949, as Ambassador to France. Bruce's primary responsibility was obtaining agreement from the unstable French government to accept US aid, and he constantly feared the electoral strength of the French Communist Party. A significant struggle was that the Americans' eagerness to give out cash so freely offended French politicians, many of whom were wary of what the US expected in return.²⁸⁰ As Ambassador Bruce's official biographer explained, Parisian magazines such as *Vogue* could not "believe their luck" in the "material served up" by the suave Mr. Bruce and elegant Mrs. Bruce.²⁸¹ Their photos frequently appeared in French and American magazines, and they entertained lavishly, mingling with everyone from intellectual academics, businessmen, and government officials to aristocrats, socialites, and fashion designers. Both had a keen interest in French history and culture and were

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 26.

²⁷⁹ Heyman, *The Georgetown Ladies' Social Club*, 84.

²⁸⁰ Lankford, *The Last American Aristocrat*, 206.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 217.

able to use this to create the Parisian salons for which Evangeline Bruce would become famous. Upon her arrival in France, she started salons to bring together like-minded people, and people US diplomats needed to meet, to converse on literature, art, history, and politics. She later described these salons as “light, humorous, and witty”, and noted that salons should be run by women because “women are considered able to conquer egotism better than men- they take the time to be sure that everyone shines, they are more likely to keep their own talents in the background.”²⁸²

In her salons and all her social events, Evangeline Bruce’s special skill was in creating the right balance of people. The couple’s constant socialising and publicity held the young transatlantic network together, and Evangeline Bruce's salons made a significant contribution to this.²⁸³ She later related in an interview that the most crucial thing in entertaining, whether representational or not, was the cast of characters. “You must mix and match your guests”, she explained, “mix ages, mix professionals, mix nationalities, invite several beautiful young women, some wealthy older men”.²⁸⁴ As the wife of an Economic Cooperation Administration Administrator in their first year in Paris, she had the opportunity for more creativity in her guest lists, which became more formal and protocol-heavy once her husband became Ambassador. With his appointments, David Bruce had the chance to get to know journalists and work with crucial bankers such as Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the European Union, and Evangeline Bruce sharpened her entertaining skills, created precedence for future ambassadors, and made friends in all sectors of French society.

²⁸² Unknown author, “Mrs. Bruce on the Washington Salon,” *The New York Times*, 11 May 1984.

²⁸³ Kenneth Weisbrode, *The Atlantic Century* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2009), 104.

²⁸⁴ Interview within Heyman, *The Georgetown Ladies’ Social Club*, 72.

Diplomacy requires a congenial environment that can build trust and confidence. According to Enloe, men found this necessary space outside of their offices, and often in their homes.²⁸⁵ As the purview of their wives, this requirement made women integral to diplomacy, abolishing the separate spheres so ingrained in the US before the 1920s. State Department officials and Boyce agreed on one reason why they stressed the importance of wives keeping not only an American home, but a welcoming one.²⁸⁶ In this environment, men could build a rapport and get to know one another, not just professionally but also personally, and this could aid ties between the two nations. The theory was that by moving to a more private space, more authentic and potentially politically fraught agreements could be found, and personal relationships could bridge wider gaps. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations in 1961 declared the embassy residence as part of the official embassy since social functions, considered a core element of diplomats' work, took place there.²⁸⁷ It then became the job of the wife to create an environment where journalists, government officials, businessmen, and civic and cultural leaders could gather and exchange information. Wives observed strict gender roles but were able to demonstrate their political power through their entertaining. How they decorated their home, who they invited, how they greeted guests, what food and drink they served, and what conversations they started were all soft power tools diplomatic wives used to represent the US and to advocate for its interests.

Evangeline Bruce was adept at managing representational entertaining and protocol. While she was considered one of the best diplomatic hostesses in US history, she hated the

²⁸⁵ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 184-185.

²⁸⁶ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 17.

²⁸⁷ Nevra Biltekin, "The Performance of Diplomacy: The Residence, Gender, and Diplomatic Wives in Late Twentieth-Century Sweden", in *Women, Diplomacy, and International Politics Since 1500*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (New York: Routledge, 2015), 256.

phrase. "Hostess – that one I really resent," she told a reporter. "Presumably, the word means you have people in for food and drink. By that measure, I suppose most people have been hostesses at one time or another".²⁸⁸ Evangeline Bruce considered herself, like Lydia Kirk, a partner in diplomacy. "I am the Ambassador's wife. What I do is run the social wing of the embassy. I entertain. I organise. That doesn't make me a hostess".²⁸⁹ This description also underlines the professionalism of Bruce and her role, and her husband sincerely appreciated her work. When they hired Letitia Baldrige as their new social secretary after arriving in Paris, she expressed anxiety at learning all of the parts of protocol. Ambassador Bruce told her to ask Evangeline Bruce for help, noting that "there isn't anything in this business that my wife doesn't know".²⁹⁰ Baldrige soon learned from Evangeline Bruce everything she would later use as social secretary for Ambassador Clare Luce Booth, where she stepped into the role of Ambassador's "wife" for the female ambassador, and Jackie Kennedy as First Lady.²⁹¹

In Paris, as would later happen in Washington, DC, everyone went to Evangeline Bruce for guidance on protocol, including the *chef du protocol* for the French government.²⁹² Evangeline Bruce was never considered "just a wife" but David's partner and assistant: "I know it's a tired old cliché, but we were partners in every sense of the word. For instance, from day one in Paris, David expected me to be solely responsible for all the diplomatic entertaining, which forced me to get over my shyness".²⁹³ Ambassador Bruce's expectation of Bruce's ability to

²⁸⁸ Heyman, *The Georgetown Ladies' Social Club*, 72.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ Letitia Baldrige, *A Lady First* (New York: Viking, 2001), 47.

²⁹¹ Booth added "[Harry] was not a 'wife', in that he paid no attention to the embassy. My embassy 'wife' was Tish Baldrige." See Clare Booth Luce Oral History in Ann Miller Morin, *Her Excellency: An Oral History of American Women Ambassadors* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 43.

²⁹² Baldrige, *A Lady First*, 48.

²⁹³ Mitchell Owens, "At Home with Evangeline Bruce", *The New York Times*, 16 March 1995.

manage the social side of diplomacy independently would later become standard for the majority of diplomatic couples.

While rebuilding Europe was critical to the US, it also had to reach out to the broader world, and Iran was critically located geopolitically. In 1946, when Kitty Allen arrived, Soviet troops still occupied Iran and refused to leave unless given oil concessions.²⁹⁴ Kitty Allen's husband, George V. Allen, spent the majority of his time befriending the young Iranian Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. In 1946, Iran had just appealed to the UN Security Council for assistance in removing Russian troops, and George Allen was dispatched in June of that year to cultivate a close personal friendship with the Shah in the hopes of deepening ties between Washington and Tehran. Before Kitty Allen joined her husband in Iran, the men primarily met socially for tennis, but the dinners she helped organised after her arrival provided opportunities for them to work closer together in more personal, private settings, significantly extending US influence with the National Bank and the Cabinet.²⁹⁵ Ambassador Allen was instrumental in arms deals and advocated for close military ties between the two nations. Kitty Allen also had a close personal relationship with the Shah's twin sister, Ashraf Pahlavi, with whom she continued her advocacy for closer US-Iran ties. In Iran, soft power directly led to hard power, and the Allens needed to work closely as a team to accomplish the US government's objectives.

Kitty Allen's experience also shows the dedication and sacrifices that many wives made. Every year that she and her husband served in Iran, she hosted a party in honour of the Shah's sisters, Princesses Ashraf and Shams. One year, after planning the party for weeks, her young son fell off a chicken coop on the day of the event and grabbed electric wires, which lightly

²⁹⁴ See Louise Fawcett, "Revisiting the Iranian Crisis of 1946: How Much More Do We Know?" *Iranian Studies* 47, no.3 (2014), 379-99.

²⁹⁵ Katharine M. Allen, *Foreign Service Diary*, (Washington: Potomac Books, 1967), 67.

electrocuted him. She spent most of her day tending to him and thus felt fatigued, but, due to the important dinner, she swallowed two aspirin-caffeine pills to make it through the evening. The next morning, she discovered that she also had measles, and it became a joke that "the American Ambassador's wife had caught such a childish disease".²⁹⁶ Not only did Allen, like many wives, need to leave her children even when they needed motherly attention, but she also attended events herself while ill. Allen never even considered missing the party, aware of its great importance and committed after so many hours planning the event. In this, Allen was a professional. Her role as Ambassadors came before her role as a mother. This was not the norm necessarily before the war, which the role was more informal, and wives had the opportunity to set their own schedules. After the war, with the increase of press coverage, the expanded role of the US, and the increased effort on diplomacy that came with it, wives had even less control of their time. Closer and closer they were become pseudo employees of the Foreign Service.

Taken together, these case studies highlight the importance of representative entertaining in the post-war period. The US needed to cement friendships after World War II to build a coalition against the Soviet Union. One of the best ways to do this was through social events between the ambassadors, their wives and the host governments and business, social and cultural leaders. Wives such as Evangeline Bruce, Lydia Kirk, and Kitty Allen, professionalised the representational entertaining work of diplomatic wives, particularly ambassador's wives, which would make future representational entertaining able to focus on American advocacy in the coming decade.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

Domesticity and the Soft Pitch of Selling the American Way of Life

During the 1950s, diplomatic wives representing the US articulated a particularly feminine persona, which was exceptionally important during the Lavender Scare and McCarthyism when many diplomats were accused of homosexuality. They also had to balance their roles as homemakers and as representative Americans to reinforce their symbolism as American women before the world. As McCarthyism waned, the Foreign Service needed to find a way to ensure wives represented the US correctly abroad. They did this through courses for FSOs' wives at FSI, which also led to the creation of a guidebook on representational entertaining, *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*. Taken together, these demonstrate the importance of representational entertaining in the 1950s and how the Foreign Service used wives to export the US way of life worldwide.

While their role as homemakers was necessary, most wives spent more of their time as representatives of the US. In the Foreign Service booklet, all officers and their families read the following phrase:

Wherever he goes, whatever he does, he retains his character as a representative of the US. This is particularly true in areas of the world where there are very few Americans.

Wives and children, just as much as the employees themselves, are representatives of the US, and their conduct required in establishing goodwill for our country.²⁹⁷

In the 1950s, the State Department was clear: wives were representatives of the US, and their conduct and actions were of interest to the US government. As long as wives remained in the

²⁹⁷ DOS, *The Foreign Service of the US*, 30.

public eye, they were not private citizens. Wives were responsible for selling a specific picture of the American way of life.

In the post-war era, the image of happy domestic wives had multiple objectives. First, it symbolised the vitality of the US, the young, wealthy superpower that had just won the war. Second, it represented the return to pre-war social norms. Rosie the Riveter was now gone, and she was being replaced by the perfect domestic ultra-feminine wife, as epitomised in Christian Dior's *New Look*.²⁹⁸ Bohlen even modelled her feminine fashions in a 1955 magazine shoot for the *Ladies' Home Journal*.²⁹⁹ Finally, they reinforced the perception of the diplomat husband as a "good man" worthy of trust, the bedrock of all diplomacy. This is no different than what American politicians have used their wives for since the nineteenth century.³⁰⁰

The increase in press coverage also contributed to the increase of diplomatic wives in the public eye. By the 1930s, every time a new ambassador and his wife arrived in their host country, they were greeted by local, foreign, and American press. By the 1950s, Boyce offered strict instructions for Ambassadors on what to wear upon their arrival: "plain in color" and comfortable for "demure sitting", before adding that this was excellent advice for all public occasions.³⁰¹ Finally, he advised that wives "should have a brief statement ready in case it is asked for, but obviously it is her husband who is the center of attention".³⁰² Boyce used gendered language. Wives were meant to be plain, decorous, and like children, "seen but not heard". The wife was not supposed to have opinions, interests, be her own person, or upstage her husband. At the same time, she had to project the image that there was nowhere else she would rather be, in

²⁹⁸ Multiple American diplomatic wives, including Evangeline Bruce and Susan Mary Alsop, were given free wardrobes by Christian Dior to model his new fashion line around Paris in the late 1940s.

²⁹⁹ Magazine clippings, "There's Something About Her", *Ladies Home Journal*, undated, Avis Bohlen papers, Carton 3, Folder 82.

³⁰⁰ Gillespie, "The Phenomenon of the Public Wife," 113. See also Maya Gutin, *The President's Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

³⁰¹ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 10.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

order to appear genuinely interested instead of a consummate actor. Boyce wrote that wives had to "adapt" themselves to this unique public life. In practice, many wives struggled. One wife asked: "How can you be a private person in a public life? There's no way".³⁰³ Diplomatic wives could not exist as individuals; the public viewed their every action through the lens of a socially constructed public role of wife.

During McCarthyism and the Lavender Scare, the imagery of wives was used to combat rumours of homosexuality. While the Red Scare focussed on identifying communists within government and the media, the Lavender Scare was a parallel movement to remove homosexual government employees from service. To McCarthy, homosexuality was synonymous with communism because both homosexuality and communism were "deviant" from American norms and therefore both risked "disloyalty" to the nation. The Foreign Service was a particular target, due to the nature of its work abroad, and diplomatic wives played an important role countering McCarthy's narrative. When President Eisenhower nominated Charles "Chip" Bohlen to be Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles did not want to support the nomination because of a false accusation that Chip was gay and had entertained Left-wing houseguests, and due to his involvement in the Yalta Conference.³⁰⁴ After the hearing, Dulles confronted him, saying, "There were some rumors in some of your files about immoral behavior", adding, "it would look better if your wife was with you" when arriving in Moscow.³⁰⁵ The implication was that his wife would act as a moral compass for him in the public eye and counteract rumors about Chip Bohlen's sexuality. Dulles thought it would be wiser for Bohlen to

³⁰³ "Penelope Laingen", ADST, Interview transcript, 4.

³⁰⁴ It should be noted that he was close friends with columnist Joseph Alsop, who was gay and even the victim of a KGB sting while in Russia, and he was linked to his brother-in-law's sexual history. Avis Bohlen's brother Charles Thayer was also caught having an affair with a Russian woman, which was deemed immoral in the era, and this was the end of his Foreign Service career.

³⁰⁵ Charles Bohlen, *Witness to History* (New York: Norton and Company, 1973), 335. Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), 569.

accompany her husband to benefit him, as Secretary of State, the President, and the image of the US public. However, while Bohlen plays a central role in this incident, there is no record of it in her papers. In fact, the only reference to her husband's appointment to Russia is a 16-page case study on her husband's nomination, which could be due to the sensitivity of the nomination and the mission itself.³⁰⁶

Bohlen was the stereotype of a diplomat's wife. She was polished, feminine, and well educated, and the State Department viewed her as the perfect antidote to allegations about her husband. Dean correctly argued that Chip Bohlen epitomised a cosmopolitan style of masculine privilege due to his reputation as a "ladies' men" before his marriage.³⁰⁷ Yet Dean barely mentioned Avis Bohlen, focusing instead on how other officials mentioned Bohlen's "normal family life" as an argument against his suspected homosexuality and in support of his appointment to Moscow.³⁰⁸ Similarly, Dean noted that national newspapers and magazines prominently displayed images of Bohlen and her husband, along with their three children, after his confirmation. Bohlen had the ability to save her husband's career. For Chip, his feminine wife, combined with his own sexual history pre-marriage, depicted him as masculine and therefore worthy of representing the US against its most formidable adversary.

In the wake of McCarthyism, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles commissioned the Wriston Report to evaluate the Department's personnel practices in 1954. The report suggested the integration of civil service employees into the Foreign Service, which doubled the size of the Foreign Service in less than two years. With the addition of new officers and their dependents, as well as sister agencies USIA/S and AID personnel, a much larger service could no longer rely on

³⁰⁶ The Nomination of "Chip" Bohlen, Case Studies in Practical Politics, Henry Holt and Company, Avis Bohlen papers (ABP), Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, MA, Carton 3, Folder 82.

³⁰⁷ Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 121.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

workplace culture and informal practices to encourage and regulate representational activities.

The Service needed to create more straightforward practices, including pamphlets, booklets, and training opportunities.

With the increased need for representational entertaining and wives now considered representative Americans, the State Department needed to ensure wives had a strong understanding of protocol and how to best represent the US. While the State Department had created the Foreign Service Institute in 1947, a training course for wives did not materialise until 1955. There had been informal training on protocol for wives previously, but the newly designed course led by Regina Blake, a Foreign Service widow, demonstrated the role of diplomatic wives as representative Americans more wholly. It also allowed the Department to have more control over the training of their unofficial envoys. The courses took place daily over two weeks and covered expected topics, including the history of the Foreign Service, official responsibilities, social responsibilities, and protocol. Other classes covered language learning, area briefings, and USIA/S films. More experienced wives, including Lisa Green, Marvin Patterson, and Dottie Kidder, who had served multiple tours, answered questions, and talked about their experience. It also offered classes on communist strategy and tactics, American values, and culture.³⁰⁹ These were the same classes their husbands received, underlining the importance the State Department began putting on wives' training. The State Department also had Blake, the course director, speak with American women's groups and conduct American and foreign press interviews on the importance of the course.³¹⁰ By this time, the State Department had considerably expanded its press offices and knew how to use wives as good publicity both at home and abroad.

³⁰⁹ "Daily Class Schedule, Foreign Service Institute", February 1956, FADST, Unmarked Box.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

In 1961, Congress suspended the course after a hearing deemed it an illegal use of appropriated funds. Congressman John Rooney notably argued for the discontinuation of the wives' course, as well as language training, considering it as a waste of taxpayer money.³¹¹ Rooney's lack of understanding the mechanisms of modern diplomacy in the Cold War made it harder for diplomatic wives to be effective abroad. Without language training, wives could not fulfil their representative responsibilities since English was not spoken worldwide. With language training suspended, wives were left to learn languages on their own or pay for a tutor once they arrived at post, delaying their ability to start working. The course itself also helped bridge the culture shock that awaited diplomatic wives when they arrived at a new post. Instead, wives had to rely on peer-to-peer lessons and training manuals.

One of the most important documents to come out of this era was a booklet called *Social Usage in the Foreign Service* (1957), which became the bible of protocol and representational entertaining for officers and their wives.³¹² Regina Blake worked with Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson to draft the guide before undergoing a large printing and shipment to all American posts. Like many women of her generation, Patterson took advantage of opportunities outside the home awarded to women during World War II, where she worked as a journalist and radio broadcaster as one of "Murrow's Boys". Then, like many of her contemporaries, she ceased work and became a housewife.

In 1941, when many women were just beginning to leave their homes, Patterson left her career behind to marry FSO Jefferson Patterson. After her marriage, she was forced to give up her journalism due to State Department regulations and devoted herself to becoming a diligent

³¹¹ "Copy of Transcript of 86th Congress US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Appropriations", ADST.

³¹² DOS, *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, 1957.

and impeccable diplomat's wife.³¹³ As she put it, "The Undersecretary of State said, 'the less we hear from Foreign Service Officers and their wives, the better we like it.' So, they shut me up".³¹⁴ Through the next decade, she accompanied her husband to Peru, Egypt, Belgium, and the Balkans. Patterson strongly advocated for an increased role for diplomatic wives and believed that those who did not contribute to their husbands' careers and objectives were damaging to the mission. "When a woman accepts marriage with a Foreign Service Officer, she accepts his domicile, his career, and his interests," she later said. "Certainly, there must be room for some wives—the highly talented working artists or the individualists—to be excused from their roles as Foreign Service wives, but the majority would find their lives much more interesting and more fulfilling if they did their share in promoting their country's objectives".³¹⁵ For Patterson, this meant creating a robust entertaining calendar for her husband. By the 1950s, she had become such an expert on protocol and representational activities that the FSI asked her to audit the wives' course and provide feedback on how to improve it. That feedback and her notes later became the *Social Usage*, and, through this work, she instructed thousands of diplomatic couples. The *New York Times* called her a "peripatetic diplomatic spouse".³¹⁶ Patterson's expertise on social usage and protocol was useful in her husband's career and for the junior wives she helped educate throughout the 1950s.

Protocol and diplomacy are closely intertwined but can seem daunting, especially to new diplomats and their wives. Bohlen acknowledged this in a speech to wives, telling them not to be afraid of the terms "calling", "protocol", or "social usage". She described "calling" as an easy way to get to know people, similar to how neighbours drop by for coffee with each other, but

³¹³ "Mary Marvin Patterson", 1986, ADST, Interview Transcript, 10.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ *Vassar Encyclopedia*, "Marvin Breckinridge".

³¹⁶ Wolfgang Saxon, "Mary Patterson, Photojournalist and Philanthropist, 97, Dies", *The New York Times*, 22 December 2002.

much more effective.³¹⁷ While many of the State Department materials on protocol emphasised the importance of such actions, they often did not explain *why* they were important. In her speech, Bohlen clarified that “protocol” represented and clarified the rules of the game of diplomacy.³¹⁸ Finally, she explained that “social usage is just what the people of a certain country consider good manners”.³¹⁹ Since first impressions are lasting impressions, the diplomats and their wives had to learn how to interact with people from different cultures. That first impression is vital when a person represents their country and government. Since diplomacy relies heavily on how diplomats build successful personal relationships, they have to play by the rules of the game in order to make a favourable impression. Calling, protocol and social usage were simply communications styles, vital for advocacy.

Career diplomatic couples clearly understood the importance of representational entertaining and social obligations, even when outsiders did not. Diplomatic life revolved around social obligations such as luncheons, teas, coffees and, of course, the infamous cocktail party. FSO John Emmerson wrote in his memoir that the embassy had two shifts: the day shift and the night shift, the second of which his wife always joined.³²⁰ His favourite anecdote underscored the power of representational entertaining:

Ambassador Horace Hildreth, a political appointee to the embassy in Karachi, had come to me one morning saying: "John, I got more business done last night at that reception than I could have managed in a week of appointments. I solved a problem with the Prime

³¹⁷ Bohlen speech, ADST.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ John K. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1978), 387.

Minister, talked over an important issue with the Foreign Minister, spoke to the... etc, etc."³²¹

Emmerson also noted that during Hildreth's Senate confirmation hearings, he had announced that he would not go abroad to spend taxpayer money on cocktail parties.³²² The experience of representational entertainment on the ground taught him otherwise. This highlights the differing views of representational entertaining held by those inside the Service and those outside of it. Outsiders viewed it as pleasurable, relatively easy, and useless, while Foreign Service professionals understood how crucial it was to diplomacy. An example of its importance comes from Caroline Service, the wife of John Service, who Senator McCarthy publicly accused of being a communist sympathiser, declaring that Service had "lost China" in the 1949 Chinese Communist Revolution. This accusation came in 1950, while Service and his wife were on a ship to India to start their next posting. The State Department ordered John Service home to Washington, DC while Caroline continued to India to enrol their children in school. While her husband was in the US, Caroline lived in New Delhi for almost a year on her own. At the time, the Ambassador to India was Loy Henderson, but his wife often lived elsewhere, so Henderson used a rotation of diplomatic wives at the post as hostesses. Even while her husband was under investigation, Caroline Service remained on the diplomatic list, attending parties, and acting as hostess for Henderson when requested.³²³ Service is one of the only cases of a wife performing diplomatic duties without the guidance or involvement of her husband and signifies the importance of representational entertaining.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ "Caroline Service", ADST, Interview transcript, 22.

The sheer number of representational entertaining events that wives were required to participate in speak to the magnitude of this responsibility and its importance. Patterson catalogued every social occasion she attended as Ambassadress in Uruguay between 1956–1958 and counted entertaining over 4,000 guests at the embassy in just the first year. With official visits and ceremonies, she attended everything from the Uruguayan Supreme Court to the baptism of a hydroplane.³²⁴ Without her husband, she often opened schools and community centres. She instructed wives to take a class in public speaking due to the large volume of speeches she undertook as Ambassadress. Patterson highlighted the need to wear American clothes and to "be a good ad for American fashions and grooming" because wives would "be closely observed always and the US judged" by their comportment.³²⁵ In these activities, she was the official envoy of the US government, not just an extension of her husband.

Receptions provided a large-scale space for different groups of people to mix. Patterson often planned receptions for visiting US delegations, such as the New York Stock Exchange or the Kansas City Association for International Relations and Trade.³²⁶ Uruguay, which has a large ranching industry, was interested in US businessmen and private cattle breeding organisations. Patterson's role as Ambassadress was to create an environment where visiting Americans could meet Uruguayans and develop business and political or economic ties. Like other women in her position, Patterson often kept notecards in her pocket to remember important people, details or to take important notes to pass on to the chancery after the party. At receptions, diplomatic wives "worked the room" looking for lonely guests and introducing them to other people who might

³²⁴ "Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson notes", FADST, Unmarked Box.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

interest them. Wives' central role in all representational entertaining was both that of facilitator and an icon.

Luncheons were often organised for visiting Americans to meet with embassy staff, while dinners allowed diplomats to bring smaller groups together for more intimate conversation and discussion. When her husband was away on a business trip, Katherine Allen planned and hosted a luncheon for visiting US dignitaries to meet a specific group of Indian nationals.³²⁷ She did this without any input from her husband, who trusted her to discharge his duties without him. Allen worked with the First Secretary to select the guests who would be most beneficial to invite and spent hours practising their challenging names to ensure she pronounced them correctly in order to make a favourable impression.

For Katherine Allen, the ceremonies caused great anxiety since she hated public speaking, but her husband encouraged her to accept opportunities, working with her to get the speech just right. One event while her husband was Ambassador to India almost caused a minor diplomatic incident. At her husband's insistence, she agreed to speak and bestow prizes upon students at a Delhi college. The night before, Katherine received a call that the event had been cancelled, but this was not true. When she called the college to confirm, this greatly alarmed the organisers, as her name was prominently displayed in the programme. Allen and her husband both immediately became concerned that someone had not wanted her to appear in order to create a negative impression of the US. Since this occurred at the same time as the announcement of military aid to Pakistan and the college was primarily made up of Hindus who had fled Pakistan after the partition, the Ambassador worried that the events were related. In the

³²⁷ Allen, *Foreign Service Diary*, 230.

end, it turned out to be a disgruntled student, but for Allen and her husband, the concern of damaging the reputation of the US was always with them.³²⁸

Ambassadors often held coffee and tea gatherings, which, due to segregated gender roles at the time, were almost the exclusive purview of women. In Muslim countries that observed *purdah*, it became crucial to have diplomatic wives' involvement, as male officers could not attend. In parts of Africa and Asia, decolonisation in the late 1950s and early 1960s coincided with an increased role for women in politics. Diplomatic wives had a direct social connection to women in the host countries' governments. For example, as Ambassador to the Philippines, Bohlen hosted teas that included the wife of the Vice President, the only female senator who also served on the Foreign Affairs Committee and who was a delegate to the United Nations, the President of the National Federation of Filipino Women, an officer in the Foreign Ministry, leading newspaperwomen, congresswomen, leading businesswomen, attorneys, and civil leaders—all women.³²⁹

One diplomat learned just how vital it was to have a wife in diplomacy to attend these events when he was encouraged to marry before being nominated for an ambassadorship. In 1955, President Eisenhower wanted to nominate former Senator John Sherman Cooper as Ambassador to India. At the time, Sherman was unmarried, though he had been dating a woman named Lorraine Rowen Shelvin. Secretary Dulles met with John Cooper and explained that the role of ambassador came with a heavy load of social obligations, and is quoted as having said, "You'll need a helpmate, someone who can organise the embassy's multivarious social functions. Which brings me to Lorraine Shevlin. I understand the two of you are practically engaged. I

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 257.

³²⁹ "Guest List for Tea given by Mrs Bohlen", 24 April 1959", ABP, Carton 3, Folder 77.

know Lorraine. She'd be ideal for this endeavor".³³⁰ In this era, the US President and Secretary of State did not want to appoint a man to be ambassador without a wife due to the representational entertaining required of the post and the importance of a wife in demonstrating a stable, domestic nuclear family.

Lorraine Cooper had a very positive impact on her husband's short ambassadorship due to her network, language skills and political knowledge. On their way to India, they stopped in London, and she called upon Lady Mountbatten, an old friend, who had accompanied her husband as the last British Governor of India and who had had a long affair with Prime Minister Nehru. Mountbatten told Cooper that the single best thing she could do to help her husband in his mission was to become friends with Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, noting that it would not be easy due to Nehru's past experiences with Americans.³³¹ She also gave Cooper a letter of introduction to Nehru, which eased their entry into his circle. As Cooper later explained, in India at the time, if Nehru liked you, everyone liked you.³³² According to John Sherman Cooper, Nehru took a strong liking to him, and it helped slightly improve ties between India and the US, even though India still preferred to remain neutral in the growing Cold War. John Kenneth Galbraith, who became Ambassador to India in 1961, later remarked that Cooper was the only American Ambassador that Nehru really remembered.³³³ Without his wife as a social support system, this might never have occurred. When Cooper died, her obituary highlighted her direct impact on the relationship with Nehru, noting that he typically maintained his distance from Americans.³³⁴ Cooper understood how important it was to continually make a positive

³³⁰ Heyman, *The Georgetown Ladies' Social Club*, 108.

³³¹ "Interview with Lorraine Cooper by William Cooper, April 28, 1980", John Sherman Cooper Oral History Project (JSCOHP), Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ "Interview with John Kenneth Galbraith by William Cooper, June 9, 1987", JSCOHP.

³³⁴ J.Y. Smith, "Lorraine Cooper, 79, Leader in Washington Society, Dies", *The Washington Post*, 6 February 1985. It also added that "Mrs Cooper, who spoke French, Italian, Spanish and Russian, was equally effective as a hostess abroad, where

impression, that little actions and meetings added up to create stronger relationships, so she paid careful attention to calling. Her unique background also helped; she spoke five languages and had grown up partly in the Vatican after her mother married a papal prince. When Nikita Khrushchev visited India, Cooper greeted him in Russian, earning the respect of the Indians in attendance.³³⁵

As expected by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Cooper took an active interest in the post's social activities. At first, she did not understand why so many school children wanted to visit the residence and meet her instead of visiting the chancery to see the Ambassador, "[b]ut then I realized that what they wanted to see was an American woman and how an American house looked and what a brownie tasted like".³³⁶ With the exportation of US culture globally, many people around the world had a great curiosity about American life. When the Coopers left India, the *Times of India*, the largest English language newspaper in the country, wrote that "Mrs. Cooper possesses unusual beauty and intellect, and rare perception of political events".³³⁷ This positive fragment would have reached readers people around India, accompanying photos of the couple.

Total Representation: Changing Diplomacy and Changing Techniques

In the 1960s, wives began to shift from social obligations and representational entertaining with decision makers in capitals to meeting everyday foreign citizens. Their

entertainment was part of the business of diplomacy". An aide later recounted, "What Nehru liked about Cooper was that he was completely sympathetic with the Indian problem, but he left the impression always that America was what he represented, and I think Lorraine Cooper, his wife, has been a marvellous help to him over the years. He's just what she needed, and she was just what he needed, and they're a great team". "Stuart Symington interview by William Cooper, June 9, 1980", JSCOHP.

³³⁵ "Katharine Graham interview by Vic Hellard, July 26, 1983", JSCOHP.

³³⁶ Interview with Lorraine Cooper by William Cooper, April 28, 1980," JSCOHP.

³³⁷ J.Y. Smith, "Lorraine Cooper, 79, Leader in Washington Society, Dies", *The Washington Post*, 6 February 1985.

techniques say much about the roles of gender, race, and soft power diplomacy throughout this era as the women became “total” representatives of the US. This meant that in all their actions, publicly and privately, they were representatives of all Americans. At the same time, women were gaining influence in Washington, DC in the US government. The 1960s and the Kennedy administration led to significant changes within the State Department, especially with regards to women. President Kennedy asked Katie Louchheim, a top Democratic operative, to become an advisor on women’s issues at the State Department. She was told that Kennedy was concerned about important foreign women abroad “whom no one pays attention to”.³³⁸ While women had been an afterthought throughout Eisenhower’s presidency, Kennedy sought to incorporate them in his foreign policy, and he did so through Louchheim and diplomatic wives. In a letter to all chief of missions shortly after he took office, Kennedy emphasised the Foreign Service family's responsibility to represent the US to the world.³³⁹ As President Kennedy made clear in his letter, for the majority of people around the world, American FSOs and their families might be the only Americans they would meet, so they could significantly shape their perception of the nation as a whole.

Throughout the 1960s, the State Department pivoted from interacting with primarily “high impact” contacts towards everyday citizens for two main reasons. With the rapid decolonisation of Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia in the 1950s and early 1960s, there were more countries with which the US needed to build bilateral relations, so more embassies and consulates were needed. These young countries came with challenges. They needed more economic support and became responsible for their own foreign relations. Concurrently, average

³³⁸ Katie Louchheim, *By the Political Sea* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 96.

³³⁹ “Memorandum from John F. Kennedy to Heads of Executive Departments, including copy of letter from Kennedy to American Ambassadors abroad, 29 May 1961”, Digitized General CIA Records, Central Intelligence Agency.

citizens increased their role in society and political matters, and it was in the US' interest to focus on public opinion. Thus, public diplomacy, which was well-funded due to USIA/S and the nature of the Cold War, centred on interactions with everyday people while promoting US interests.

This “new” diplomacy needed women to make it work. Foreign correspondent Margaret Durdin wrote an article in the mid-1960s profiling the wives of ambassadors and noted that it was not only the wife who created the congenial social setting needed for diplomatic rapport, but also the wife who, in her daily contacts with what she called “ordinary” people, represented the US more meaningfully than her husband, who was bound to his office.³⁴⁰ By the 1960s, FSOs and their wives no longer came solely from old money elites, private schools and wealthy backgrounds. Once abroad, they also widened their circles, entertaining and befriending people of all social classes in their host country. The *Social Usage Handbook* started encouraging this in the late 1950s, but under the Kennedy administration, this expanded dramatically. The handbook, which was not updated until 1971 and influenced representational activities throughout the following decade, instructed wives to entertain local people “particularly, but not exclusively, the people with whom your husband does business. Broaden your acquaintance to include people of other interests”.³⁴¹ While their husbands' roles stayed the same, this created more work for diplomatic wives who had to manage diplomatic circles, high-ranking government officials, civic leaders, and now everyday people as part of their work as “representative Americans”.

In a 1962 speech, Bohlen acknowledged this extra effort and the involvement of wives in modern diplomacy. She explained why the new roles for wives were important and argued that the government was just beginning to understand and recognise their importance and that of the

³⁴⁰ Durdin, “Ambassador's Wife is an Ambassador Too”.

³⁴¹ DOS, *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, 1957.

work itself.³⁴² The State Department, which had discontinued the wives' training courses due to a lack of funding in the 1950s, created a new FSI course in 1962, this time overseen by a female FSO, to instruct wives in this new diplomacy. FSI courses generally gave the best opportunity for the State Department to control what their officers and dependents said and did in the field. Instead of focusing primarily on protocol, the course focussed on helping women understand their role as “total” representatives of the US abroad.³⁴³ The course still covered protocol and social usage, but new classes included opportunities for teaching English, assisting in civic projects, and engaging constructively with their host communities.

FSI picked Mary Vance Trent, a female FSO, to oversee and create the programme. She had seen the success of diplomatic wives in the field on her prior assignments and was “keenly aware” of their skill and opportunities for impact.³⁴⁴ Trent also saw the creation of a new course as recognition by the State Department of the value of wives and their role in foreign relations, especially in a rapidly changing world. She added that, to meet these challenges, “the American Foreign Service wife was a valuable asset, a real partner in the Foreign Service”.³⁴⁵ With international relations and diplomacy changing, the Foreign Service had to change too, which led to the inclusion of diplomatic wives at higher levels.

Lisa Green understood the importance of total representation in the face of criticism. In Green's long career as a Foreign Service wife, she lived in New Zealand, Sweden, South Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia, France, and Australia. In Sweden, she and her husband, Marshall Green, faced trouble representing the US during McCarthyism, but it was nothing like the challenges they faced when her husband was appointed Ambassador to Indonesia in 1965 at the height of

³⁴² “Bohlen Speech”, OWN, Box 1.

³⁴³ “FSI Wives Course Notes”, ADST.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

the Vietnam War. Jakarta greeted the Greens with signs saying, "Go Home, Green" and effigies of Marshall Green burning in the streets.³⁴⁶ Green understood that the people did not personally dislike her and her husband but instead US foreign policy generally, including the withdrawal of foreign aid in 1964. She noted the contrast between the protests themselves and the general friendliness and respect they experienced when meeting with individual protestors.

In the 1960s, in recognition of the growing criticism abroad towards the US due to the Vietnam War and race relations, the State Department began training wives on "answering the critic". If wives were to be effective representatives abroad, they needed to know how to respond to inevitable criticism. The State Department also provided documents and guides that explaining that the reasons for anti-American attitudes and criticism varied, and then offered ideas for how to answer such critics. The State Department recognised the impact: "It may be unfair, but it is natural for people to assume that an American representing his country abroad should have the answer to any problem they may have about the US, its actions, its policies, its way of life and its culture".³⁴⁷ As many couples soon learned, there were right and wrong ways to go about handling criticism.

The first rule of advice from Charles Vetter, a long time USIA/S veteran whom FSI made responsible for this subject, was not to argue.³⁴⁸ Vetter made it clear that when emotions become involved, discussions become a matter of pride. It is unclear if he specifically lectured the women on emotions and not the men, or if he gave the same lecture to both officers and their wives. However, wives were instead encouraged to counter with a "yes, but...", allowing the

³⁴⁶ "Lisa Green", ADST, interview transcript, 33. See also "Daniel Sullivan", ADST, Interview transcript, 58 and "Marshall Green", ADST, Interview transcript, 3. They knew it wasn't all hard feelings because protestors would sometimes add "take me with you" after "Green Go Home".

³⁴⁷ Charles Vetter, "Suggestions on Methods of Answering the Critic of the US Abroad", FADST, Unmarked Box.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

man to retain his pride and make him think that the speaker agrees with him, while at the same time asking a direct question to help him consider broadening his horizons.³⁴⁹ This technique dismantled the critic from feeling attacked or wounded, which would have been unprofessional.

Other tips included finding the roots of the critic's assumptions, asking questions to understand the question and argument, and drawing on their experiences. Vetter argued that by making it a personal experience, wives could at least convince the critic that not all Americans were the same. This also meant more effective advocacy and representation of the US on a people-to-people basis. If none of these methods worked, diplomats and their wives were encouraged to take the discussions out of an “exclusively American context” and put them in perspective. For example, when discussing race relations in the US, wives were told to point out that Americans did not have a monopoly on racial prejudices or discrimination.³⁵⁰ Through these techniques, wives could shift the critics' attitude towards the US more positively, at least to a small degree, both at official representational social events and in informal discussions. Some wives later wrote to the Department to explain how they had used the techniques in the field, especially when asked questions about race, poverty, and the high divorce rate in America—subjects that, as women, they would have been asked about more frequently than the Vietnam War due to perceived gender roles.³⁵¹

These techniques say much about gender in diplomacy. Decades before women, peace, and security (WPS) became an area of focus in international relations, these women used soft power skills to become mediators.³⁵² Diplomatic wives navigated sensitive topics, including

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ “Transcript of Helen Zurhellen”, OWN, Box 3.

³⁵² Catherine Turner, “‘Soft Ways of Doing Hard Things’: Women Mediators and the Question of Gender in Mediation”, *Peacebuilding* 8, no.4 (2020): 383–401.

masculinity and pride, in order to get their point across while countering misinformation about the US. Vetter's closing point explained this more deeply: "Be reasonable, your manner will be remembered after your words or discussion points".³⁵³ For diplomatic wives, the goal was to create a more palatable agreement without offending the critic while both representing their country and advocating for it.

Diplomats, either public or traditional, did not have the luxury of aggression in relations for the exact reason Vetter underlined: it offends and isolates. Diplomacy itself has always been linked to "softer" and more feminine techniques when compared to the "harder" military approach. As Robert Dean described in *Imperial Brotherhood*, in the wake of McCarthyism and the lead-up to Vietnam, the State Department was considered effeminate while the Defense Department and National Security Council were considered more masculine.³⁵⁴ Dean argued that this manliness often got the US into trouble as it compelled male decision-makers to defend their society against threats, using the example of the US escalation of the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s.³⁵⁵ Diplomats and their wives were left to defend those policies abroad, while at the same time trying to build relations. The "quietness" of diplomatic wives when answering critics helped to rebuild or maintain respectful relations. Wives who succeeded in these encounters skilfully made effective representatives of the US, and even more effective diplomats. They answered critics at social obligations and when out on their own, such as shopping or picking up the children from school. In doing so, they epitomized total representatives- open at all times to a frank conversation about American values.

³⁵³ Vetter, "Answering the Critic," FADST, Unmarked Box.

³⁵⁴ Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, 65.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 241.

In the 1950s and 1960s, civil rights was a primary foreign policy concern for the US government due to the highly publicised nature of US race relations in the international media, which Laura Belmonte, Penny Von Eichsen, and Mary Dudzaik have all examined in their work.³⁵⁶ By the mid-1960s, the State Department was concerned about questions related to race relations and domestic politics that diplomatic wives would receive abroad, and created a survey to ask wives how they responded to such questions and criticism.³⁵⁷ They also asked that the subject be covered in the FSI wives' course. The updated 1964 course had speakers such as Patricia Robert Harris of the National Women's Committee on Civil Rights, Arthur Caldwell, Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General in the Civil Rights Division, and Robert Kevan, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.³⁵⁸ Their training sessions were titled "Moral Crisis for a Committed Nation" and "Social Problems in the US and their International Significance". They also brought in Dr David Colwell, a civil rights champion, to talk about the "Civil Rights National Crisis".³⁵⁹ Wives were shown films including "The Face of the South" about the Civil Rights Movement and another film on the freedom riders. Even in the field, embassy wives' groups hosted seminars on American life and culture, which included sessions on race, religion, education, art and music, using materials from the State Department.³⁶⁰ An undated article in the *New York Tribune* detailed the FSI course with a quote from Jeanne Shallow, a course administrator: "We can't hide under blankets about the Birmingham bombings".³⁶¹ Shallow referred to the 1963 bombing

³⁵⁶ Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: US Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011). Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

³⁵⁷ "Suggested Questions for Wives", OWN, Box 3.

³⁵⁸ "FSI Wives Course Notes", ADST.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ "Letter from Mrs. R.R. Rubottom to June Byrne, 12 September 1961", OWN, Box 2.

³⁶¹ Judith Stahl, "No Hiding Under Blankets", *New York Tribune*, Unknown Date, KLP, Box 25.

of a black church in Birmingham, Alabama, which killed four young girls and brought national and international attention to American racism and racist violence. The author of the piece noted that the lectures on civil rights drew strong reactions from the wives, including a “lively exchange on the pros and cons of the Mississippi Project” which aimed to register Black Americans to vote. Four years later, in 1968, *McCall's* magazine, a popular women's magazine at the time, ran an article on the course and mentioned that lectures ranged from "Race Relations and Americans Abroad" to "American Music: Traditional to Avant-Garde".³⁶² In this, wives had to have a strong knowledge of all components of American society- race relations, music, arts, values, education, and more in order to completely represent the US at all opportunities. This is what made them so effective as total representatives. The State Department’s decision to ensure the wives’ course included all of these components illustrates how they sought to prepare wives for these interactions.

Black diplomatic wives Ruth Clement Bond and Muriel Hanson recognized the importance of accurately portraying the Civil Rights Movement abroad and engaging in conversations about it in the US. Bond and her husband were survivors of the so-called “Negro Circuit”, the list of acceptable postings (Haiti, Liberia, Canary Islands, and Azores) for Black diplomats that existed in the 1930s and 1940s, until 1955 when they were posted to Afghanistan, six years after the circuit was dismantled. As Michael Krenn has described, the debate on where to send Black diplomats was a strong topic of conversation in the late 1940s and 1950s, including career FSO Christian Ravndal’s belief that “the appointment of an outstanding Negro as Ambassador to one of the Iron Curtain countries should serve to counteract the community

³⁶² Christine Sadler, “McCall's Magazine Praises FSI's Wives Seminar”, *State Department Newsletter No.82*, February 1968, KLP, Box 25.

propaganda that Americans are guilty of race discrimination”.³⁶³ Whether they were sent to newly independent nations as a symbol of progress or European nations as a symbol of progress, they were often symbols of what the US wanted to display to the world.

The backgrounds of these black diplomatic wives made them particularly suited as representatives of the US. Bond was born into a prominent Black family in Louisville, Kentucky. Her father, George Clement, was a bishop and important leader in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church, while her mother, Emma, was the first Black woman to be named “American Mother of the Year”.³⁶⁴ Education was highly important to the Clement family. All seven of their children, including Bond, attended college, and her brother, Rufus, became President of Atlanta University, a historically Black college and university (HBCU), and the first Black school board member for Atlanta since Reconstruction.³⁶⁵ Many of her siblings, including her younger sister, received their PhDs. Bond attended Northwestern University, where she received a Bachelor's and Master's degree in English before becoming head of the English Department at Kentucky State College, where she met her husband in 1931.³⁶⁶ Later, while her husband was working for the Tennessee Valley Authority, she became well known at a national level for a series of quilts she designed that shifted quilts from being "utilitarian bedcoverings into a work of avant-garde social commentary”, pieces of modern art depicting Black Power that earned comparisons to the Harlem Renaissance.³⁶⁷ Muriel Thomas Hanson also came from an educated and upper-middle-class Catholic Black family and was one of nine children. Her father had graduated from Cornell University in 1922 and had worked as a realtor. Hanson herself

³⁶³ Michael Krenn, “‘Outstanding Negroes’ and ‘Appropriate Countries’: Some Facts, Figures, and Thoughts on Black US Ambassadors, 1949–1988”, *Diplomatic History* 14, no.1 (1990): 131-41.

³⁶⁴ Margalit Fox, “Ruth Clement Bond, 101, Quilter and Civic Leader, Is Dead”, *The New York Times*, 13 November 2005.

³⁶⁵ “Jay Nelson Tuck interview with Dr. Rufus E. Clement”, 22 March 1959, New York Public Radio Archive, <https://www.wnyc.org/story/dr-rufus-e-clement/>.

³⁶⁶ “Ruth Bond”, ADST, Interview transcript, 4.

³⁶⁷ Fox, “Ruth Clement Bond, 101”.

graduated from New York University in 1950 with a degree in social work and a minor in psychology. She then became a social worker for the Children's Placement Bureau of the City of New York, working with foster and adopted children before she married her husband three years later.

For Muriel Hanson, being Black abroad was an asset in representing the US. Hanson strongly identified with her nationality and often demonstrated positive elements of American culture. When asked if it was easier for her husband and her to get involved in Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia compared to their white colleagues, she responded that most people she met, including her servants, did not view her as Black. She was not African but Western, and they viewed her as they would view any white European or Westerner. She also added that the reason why she thought they were so effective abroad was because they did not have any racial prejudice towards local people compared with her white co-workers who she believed had an implicit bias.³⁶⁸ Reflecting decades later, she said, "[w]e are Americans through and through. We have been brought up as Americans. We identify with the American dream, so when we go over, the difference will be that we don't have racial prejudices".³⁶⁹ Black diplomats in the Foreign Service may well have had more positive views of the US than the average Black American, and this would have come across on oral exams required to enter the service.

Bond, an educator, headed the Community Relations Committee for the Association of American Foreign Service Wives and helped organize numerous seminars on race relations at the State Department and around Washington, DC. She wrote that, "[t]he number one domestic problem now in the US is the tension between races. Unless we begin to understand the dimensions of this problem, we cannot possibly begin to discuss it properly abroad, nor can we

³⁶⁸ "Muriel Hanson", ADST, Interview transcript, 25.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

begin to contribute to a solution at home”.³⁷⁰ Her goal was to ensure that diplomatic wives heading back abroad had a proper background on race relations in the US. She organized a panel with Charlotte Moton Hubbard, then the highest-ranking Black woman in Washington and US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs from 1964-1970.³⁷¹ Hubbard called Bond's work on the panel "one of the finest things I have ever seen happen in the State Department”.³⁷² It is interesting that while Bond was organizing these well-regarded panels on racism and race relations, her husband Max Bond grappled with his own career being stalled in what he regarded as racial discrimination that led him to leave the service in 1971.

Neither Hanson nor Bond mentioned racism they might have faced in their years in the Foreign Service and seemed to be welcomed in the communities where they were posted abroad and in the diplomatic wives' community in the US. Bond held multiple leadership posts within the American Association of Foreign Service Wives in Washington and was well respected within these circles. Foreign Service families tended to be more liberal than the average American and more accepting of foreign culture. In fact, some chose to live in integrated parts of Washington, DC while on home leave as they felt uncomfortable with all-white enclaves after living abroad, particularly those who had served in the Global South.³⁷³

These women had the opportunity to represent American diversity abroad, which they relished. Mabel Murphey Smythe, whose husband was Ambassador to Syria from 1965-1967 and to Malta in 1967-1969, and who would later become an ambassador in her own right under President Carter, took the wives course in 1965 and found it extremely helpful and was glad that

³⁷⁰ "AAFSW- Annual Report 1968-1969- Community Relations Committee", BP, Box 24.

³⁷¹ Carolyn Lewis, "Dialogue Between Negroes and White is Urged", *The Washington Post*, February 1968, BP, Box 24.

³⁷² "AAFSW Newsletter June July 1968", AAFSW.

³⁷³ Interview by author with Jewell Fenzi, 3 November 2019, Washington, DC.

it focussed so much on representing the US.³⁷⁴ Smythe, like Hanson, was incredibly focussed on totally representing the US and American life and ideals. Black diplomats were also able to share their Americanness, US culture and the American way of life, while also demonstrating that actions were more important than words.

Conclusion

After the 1972 directive, the debate continued about who would manage representational entertaining. The State Department set aside funds for catering official events so that wives would not have to manage them, but dinner and cocktail parties continued as before, and wives still organized the events. Taken together, diplomacy required representational entertaining by a member of the household, and wives played a crucial role in this regard.

For decades, diplomats' wives had advocated for the US quietly through representational entertaining and advocacy. They charmed like-minded allies after World War II, professionalising the role of Ambassadors with techniques that would last decades. Through their work, they advocated for the US but also assessed how to best project power and prestige as befitting the US' new role as a global superpower. Wives like Evangeline Bruce and Marvin Patterson excelled at creating the congenial environment needed to build diplomatic ties, and their formula was later replicated through the FSI's new wives' course. There, wives learned what they needed to effectively sell the American way of life and become total representatives that was so important to diplomacy in the 1950s and 1960s. This course, and the creation of pamphlets detailing wives' social responsibilities and how to execute them, underscored the

³⁷⁴ "Mabel Murphy Smythe-Haith", ADST, Interview transcript, 65.

importance of representational entertaining in this era and how the Foreign Service used wives to advocate for US interests or viewpoints.

During the 1950s representing the US meant more than just hosting parties and adopting social obligations. It also meant cultivating a particularly feminine persona and representing the “normal” domesticity of American families. Part of this was in direct response to the Lavender and Red Scares that swept through the US, with those stepping outside their gender roles in government more likely to be falsely branded a communist. At the same time, US government officials wanted to portray American women as homemakers, creating the idealised version of American housewives that they thought showed democratic superiority.

In the 1960s, wives’ social obligations shifted from entertaining political and social leaders in private settings to meeting everyday foreign citizens. Wives became “total representatives” of the US in everything they did, losing the private persona they had held previously but that had steadily been decreasing since World War II. This people-to-people diplomacy became what is now called public diplomacy and was useful in counteracting situations where the US was heavily criticised, such as race relations or the Vietnam War. Their techniques in this period say much about the role of gender in diplomacy, and about how they used a “softer” approach to accomplish their goals. The Foreign Service understood this, and its course adjusted itself to address how wives could respond to criticism on racism, though the most effective tool became Black diplomats and their wives, who could speak more convincingly on the subject. Through this work, women like Muriel Hanson and Ruth Bond became effective public diplomats, sharing their views on the American way of life while also learning about local cultures, as discussed in the next chapter. Like other diplomatic wives, they had the ability to

create an opening for cross-cultural dialogue through personal interactions that could cover anything from race to religion.

Chapter 3: Eyes and Ears: The Link Between Listening and Information Gathering

When publishing a memoir of his 1951-1953 stint as US Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles dedicated it to his wife, Dorothy Stebbins Bowles, writing, “To Steb, Who Contributed the Most”.³⁷⁵ His dedication invites the question: how exactly did she contribute to her husband's success as ambassador? When Ambassador Bowles was nominated as ambassador, his wife was the only member of the family who had ever been to India. The trip, which involved three months of travelling throughout India after Steb graduated college, sparked her interest in the country, its culture, and people.³⁷⁶ This background later helped her assist her husband during his posting. While her husband represented the US at public events, she met with everyday citizens, gathered information, and learned about the country, its customs, and languages. While her husband was speaking, she was listening.

Listening is one of the five core tenets of public diplomacy and, according to Cull and Ambassador William Rugh, the highest priority for diplomats.³⁷⁷ Cull defines listening as engaging a foreign public by gathering and analysing information from that public and then using that information in the policymaking process and broader public diplomacy.³⁷⁸ In husband-wife teams, wives collected information that their husbands might not have access to, and then the husbands reported this information to Washington. As this chapter will demonstrate, some of the most successful diplomatic couples utilized this division of labour.

The scholarly theory on listening is less clear, but communications scholar Ali Fisher writes that listening is more than polling. It also includes demonstrating that the views of foreign

³⁷⁵ Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), v.

³⁷⁶ Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, 1.

³⁷⁷ Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories”, 32; William Rugh, Interview with author, 16 August 2019.

³⁷⁸ Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age* (Cambridge: Foundations Press, 2019), 21-22. See also Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories”, 32.

audiences are taken seriously, and consideration is given to their situations and perspectives.³⁷⁹

Communications scholar Luigi Di Martino has classified listening into five categories: apophatic, active, tactical, background/casual, and surreptitious.³⁸⁰ Diplomatic wives participated in all of these except surreptitious listening, which was typically the purview of intelligence officers, though some wives used it in minor cases. They did so through three main types of activities: gathering information, making contacts, and learning about the local environment of the country they were stationed in. Diplomatic couples recognized this could be best done by learning the language and travelling around the country.

Reflecting on her life later, Muriel Hanson described her time in the Foreign Service as “a most profound continuation of my education, because then I began learning in a first-hand position the cultures that I had perhaps learned about, read about, and found great, deep satisfaction”.³⁸¹ This learning about cultures is also tied into listening, but to understand how, we need to define and delineate culture. Edward Hall, an American anthropologist, came up with the cultural iceberg theory, which split culture into two main categories: surface culture and deep culture.³⁸² Within public diplomacy, surface culture, such as music and art, is primarily the jurisdiction of cultural diplomacy, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. Deep culture includes anything “hidden”, such as concepts of individuality or time, notions of friendship, communication styles, or attitudes towards elders or families, and it is the dominion of the listening activities detailed in this chapter.

³⁷⁹ Ali Fisher, “Four Seasons in One Day: The Crowded House of Public Diplomacy in the United Kingdom”, in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy, Second Edition*, eds. Nancy Snow and Nicholas J. Cull (New York: Routledge, 2020), 244.

³⁸⁰ Luigi Di Martino, “The Spectrum of Listening”, in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy, Second Edition*, ed. Nancy Snow and Nicholas J. Cull (New York: Routledge, 2020), 24.

³⁸¹ “Muriel Hanson”, ADST, Interview transcript, 1.

³⁸² Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), 57-69.

While this chapter will evaluate how wives participated in listening activities, and how the State Department encouraged or directed these projects, it will not address the impact of their activities on specific policymaking decisions. Instead, it will focus on the role and importance wives played in listening activities. In this chapter, I argue that wives' interactions with local communities were part of the critical role of information gathering and listening in public diplomacy that they achieved through informal networks, language learning, calling, and travelling outside of the capital. The first section looks at how wives' role in the 1940s and 1950s shifted from collecting gossip alongside their husbands at social events to actively seeking their own contacts independently. The second then evaluates how wives in the 1950s and 1960s utilized their knowledge of the local language, society, people, and other elements of deep culture to become a useful conduit of public diplomacy. The final section then looks at how wives created closer ties to local women through non-traditional contacts, allowing them to learn more about the host country and its peoples.

From Gossip to Information Gathering: Contacts, Calling and Listening

Before the creation of the US intelligence agencies during World War II, diplomats, journalists and, to a lesser extent, missionaries, were the primary information gatherers abroad. As Wood and Cull have demonstrated, the State Department and Foreign Service depended on informal networks to gather information and public opinion abroad and to relay it to US authorities for analysis, where it then informed foreign policy.³⁸³ After World War II, this was no longer solely the job of diplomats, but it remained one of their principal functions and, through

³⁸³ Wood, "Gossip", 140; Nicholas Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2019), 24.

them, a role for their wives. In 1964, Wieland wrote that curiosity was one of the "precious gifts good fairies could bestow" upon diplomatic wives, adding that the information she gathered could help the Foreign Service and her husband. Wieland joined the Foreign Service in 1941 and had seen the role of diplomatic wives shift simultaneously with diplomacy and the role of diplomats.

There is also evidence that the State Department wanted to determine how missions utilized the information diplomatic wives gathered after their role had been codified in the 1950s. In a 1963 survey, the State Department asked, "What means or method is employed to periodically collect and utilize the information which the wives have picked up at parties, teas, coffees, on the streets shopping, working on projects, etc. on these priorities?"³⁸⁴ The results included a number of anecdotes about how embassies collected memoranda from husbands relating wives' information, but no system seemed to be put in place to do so on a larger scale. Around the same time in the early 1960s, a document titled "Accomplishing the US Mission's Objectives through Help of Wives' Activities" was sent out to missions around the world which encouraged wives to meet together, gathering the information they had collected and compiling it in reports for the DCM, and it suggested that an outline be created for reports so "they know what to listen for, observe, etc."³⁸⁵

In the 1940s and 1950s, wives' role in information-gathering shifted from collecting gossip alongside their husbands at social events to actively seeking their own independent contacts. While calling, or the art of paying a call on another person, might have seemed outdated, it was a useful tool for making contacts and often led to friendships between women. Besides these formal contacts, the wives needed to make informal ones. All FSOs and their

³⁸⁴ "Suggested Questions for Wives by unknown author" Typescript, OWN, Box 3.

³⁸⁵ Accomplishing the US Mission's Objectives through Help of Wives' Activities" Typescript by unknown author, OWN, Box 2.

spouses were given the guide *Social Usage in the Foreign Service* after it was first published in 1956. When wives first arrived at posts, they were required to "call" on their husband's superior's wife as well as an embassy-prepared list of women, primarily the wives of other FSOs, foreign diplomats or government officials at their husband's level. *Social Usage* provided instructions on calling, ordering calling cards and the general protocol. At the same time, it tried to alleviate the anxiety young wives had, claiming that "calling" was simply an easy way of getting to know people more quickly since time was limited and "you must not waste time in establishing friendships".³⁸⁶ As Cull and Di Martino have shown, listening relies on human relationships, particularly when done with sincere openness and genuine interest.³⁸⁷ Calls are the epitome of openness: they take place in broad daylight for all to see and are successful when they occur in an environment full of curiosity and attentiveness.

Diplomatic news is a more apt term for the information diplomats gathered than gossip. As Wood has observed, FSOs could not be everywhere at once, so they often relied on their wives to read and interpret conversation and behaviour and relay the information to them later on; wives thus became extensions of their husbands.³⁸⁸ Wives also had a different relationship with foreign audiences, as they were often seen as less threatening, and their unofficial status gave them a degree of trustworthiness. Many wives also found that servants were fountains of information about local society and culture.

Elizabeth Lewis Cabot spent over 30 years in the Foreign Service as a spouse and witnessed this shift in important contacts from pre-war elites to post-war everyday people. Reflecting on the pre-war period, she commented that husbands had more leisure time to "help"

³⁸⁶ DOS, *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, 1957.

³⁸⁷ Di Martino, "Spectrum of Listening", 21; Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for Its Future from Its past", 15.

³⁸⁸ Wood, "Politics of Domesticity", 151.

wives because embassies had shorter hours. The couple went to the embassy early in the morning, and then, around noon, they moved to the beaches where "we met people and got the diplomatic news. We got all the gossip of the city and the gossip of politics".³⁸⁹

Both public and smaller, more intimate gatherings provided a setting for listening activities. Wives were their husband's "eyes and ears" at all public and private functions.³⁹⁰ They could either gather information from guests through direct conversation or by intentionally or unintentionally "overhearing" guests speaking with one another, a form of surreptitious listening. It was essential to determine who was saying what, but also who was speaking to one another. Diplomatic gatherings included not only members of the host country, but also allies and opponents. Alliances could be forged in a drawing room or office. Through these events, diplomatic wives and their husbands had the opportunity to develop new contacts, deepen relationships and learn vital information, either about a country's perspectives or an upcoming action. One wife anonymously encouraged other wives to avoid gossip as if it were the plague and to avoid over-indulgence in alcohol.³⁹¹ Alcohol could be an advantage or a hindrance: an advantage when diplomats gained information or friendship, or a hindrance when it made wives loose lipped.

Due to the nature of their work, diplomatic wives were instructed on discretion. Chester Bowles complained that "like other national capitals, New Delhi is addicted to diplomatic dinners at which ambassadors and their wives exchange gossip and try to soak up more information than they give out".³⁹² Bowles' interchangeable use of gossip and information aptly describes the double-edge sword of gathering information via social events. Historically, gossip

³⁸⁹ "Elizabeth Cabot", ADST, Interview transcript, 10.

³⁹⁰ Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, 184.

³⁹¹ "Letter from Marylouise M. Day to Colonel Lee Wallace, 1 December 1964", OWN, Box 3.

³⁹² Chester Bowles, *Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 536.

has been seen as the purview of women, while information-gathering is a more masculine pursuit. Boyce warned diplomatic wives:

From the official point of view, never repeat official information received in confidence to anyone—not even another officer or to his wife. This is the most important rule in the book. If you follow this rule strictly from the beginning, you may be the recipient of many confidences without danger to your husband or to your country.³⁹³

He advised wives that they should keep their eyes and ears open and their "mouths shut".³⁹⁴ In this era, discretion became paramount. The Cold War created a hotbed for espionage, and diplomatic wives were taught to be on guard at all times. Boyce even advised wives to avoid commenting on their husbands' work and never to admit that he confided in them.³⁹⁵ More tellingly, he reminded wives that, "in many countries, unfortunately servants, innocent bystanders, and seeming friends are paid to report what you say or write, in the hope that you will disclose official information, preferably secret. Your personal opinions are also reported as such and recorded".³⁹⁶ Boyce did not recognize gossip's usefulness. In his writing, he saw diplomatic wives as a liability, not as an opportunity to aid their country.

Many members of the Foreign Service and the State Department understood the utility of information collected through gossip. They still preached discretion, but they also encouraged wives to engage in gossip- at least the gathering of gossip, but not to share gossip themselves. Wieland wrote, "some gossip, some rumor is indeed essential to her knowing what is going on

³⁹³ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 19.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

around her”.³⁹⁷ Wieland recognized that intelligent wives had the ability to gather pertinent information. He added, “[w]hat she finds out, the impressions she gathers, can often be of vast help to her otherwise preoccupied husband”.³⁹⁸ This echoes Woods’ argument that busy diplomats relied on their wives’ listening skills since they could not be everywhere at once. While Chester Bowles remained in Delhi, Dorothy Bowles travelled throughout the country on her own. In a letter to their daughter in 1966, Chester wrote that “on her way back to Delhi, she shared a compartment with two Congress Party-wallahs from whom she secured more gossip than I, Jerry Green, and other Embassy officials have been able to do”.³⁹⁹ This illustrates how Dorothy, in a neutral social venue, could use her gender and demeanour to put her contacts at ease and gather vital information far more successfully than her husband or any embassy staff could accomplish.

In order to gather information, wives needed to have the right contacts. “Your main job, besides making a home”, Boyce wrote in his guidebook for diplomatic wives in 1954, “is to help [the mission] make friendly contacts with the people among whom you are stationed”.⁴⁰⁰ Before and after World War II, this role remained the same. FSO George Barbis reflected that he could not see how an FSO could be effective without “a spouse to help you enter the community”.⁴⁰¹ Unless FSOs were on the public diplomacy track, their work was considered part of traditional diplomacy because the majority of their interactions were with foreign governments. Their wives assumed the outward-facing role of interacting with contacts in the local host community and were responsible for forming strong connections and friendships with a range of people: essential

³⁹⁷ “Wieland draft”, OWN, Box 3.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ “Letter from Chester Bowles to Sally Bowles, 28 October 1966”, Box 1, Dorothy Stebbins Bowles Papers (DSB), Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

⁴⁰⁰ Boyce, *The Diplomat’s Wife*, 1.

⁴⁰¹ “George Barbis”, ADST, Interview transcript, 25.

people, servants, "everyday" people and importantly, as the 1960s progressed, local women. Essential people referred to the more typical Foreign Service contact: leaders in government, politics, culture, and society. Everyday people were everyone else, better described as average citizens. It is unclear if local women referred to both women categorized as essential and average citizens or if they were their own category.

When it came to listening, contacts played the critical role of illuminating foreign audiences' perspectives, either on local issues or opinions about the US. Cull claims that listening was to be conducted through activities such as opinion research, open-source media studies and "many, many conversations between diplomats and the public".⁴⁰² In the 1940s, the concept of listening to a varied audience was just starting to take root in US diplomacy. Until World War II, diplomacy was exclusively carried out among the upper-middle-classes or upper classes, primarily among those with some relationship to or leadership in politics, media, or business. With the expanded role of the US after the war, coupled with the need to counter growing communist ideology, the views of the general public became increasingly vital.

However, for much of the 1940s and 1950s, diplomats were still required to participate primarily in traditional social obligations with influential host citizens. The idea that diplomats and their wives should spend the majority of their time with "everyday citizens" was just taking root when Esther Peterson arrived in Stockholm in 1948. Peterson recounted that she and her husband were looked down upon by the other embassy wives because they spent the majority of their time with labourers, whom they had been brought to Sweden to meet.⁴⁰³ She did not neglect her high-priority contacts either, becoming close friends with the prime minister's wife, Aina Erlander, and with Sigird Ekendahl, Vice President of the Swedish Labour Organisation and a

⁴⁰² Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 4.

⁴⁰³ Esther Peterson and Winifred Conkling, *Restless (Washington: Caring Publishing, 1995)*, 76-77.

leading trade unionist.⁴⁰⁴ Peterson used these contacts to aid her husband's work. As Anne Crutcher said, "on every level of the Service, the Foreign Service woman will have a certain 'must' list of people she needs to know and entertain".⁴⁰⁵ Peterson demonstrated wives' ability to meet a wide variety of people, even in the face of disapproval from the Foreign Service hierarchy.

In the 1940s, this was made more challenging behind the Iron Curtain, as Virginia Bogardus and Lucy Briggs demonstrate. Bogardus was stationed in Prague from 1945-1948, and Briggs was stationed at the same post from 1949-1952. Years later, Bogardus reflected that she and her husband primarily spent their time with the Czechs, whom they were there to meet. They focussed on getting to know both priority contacts and their neighbours, and her husband specifically mentioned their social activities with several leading politicians.⁴⁰⁶ On February 22, 1948, when the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia took place, these social actions ceased immediately.⁴⁰⁷ Bogardus remembered that, on the day after the assassination of Jan Masaryk, her neighbours refused to acknowledge her on the streets out of fear.⁴⁰⁸ For the first two and half years of their posting, they had been able to meet with Czech nationals and learn about their opinions, attitudes, perceptions and fears. As William Rugh has argued, communication with the public of a foreign country, the backbone of public diplomacy, must start with an understanding of their opinions.⁴⁰⁹ In the years leading up to the communist takeover, they could do this efficiently, but suddenly this became impossible. During Lucy Briggs' time in Prague, they were only invited to a Czech home once as the Czechs were terrified of being seen with non-

⁴⁰⁴ Peterson, *Restless*, 77, 81.

⁴⁰⁵ "Transcript of Speech by Anne Crutcher", unknown date, ADST.

⁴⁰⁶ "Virginia Bogardus", ADST, Interview transcript, 13, 28. See "George Bogardus", ADST, Interview transcript, 18.

⁴⁰⁷ "George Bogardus", ADST, Interview transcript, 21.

⁴⁰⁸ "Virginia Bogardus", ADST, Interview transcript, 8.

⁴⁰⁹ William A. Rugh, *Front Line Public Diplomacy: How US Embassies Communicate with Foreign Publics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 224.

communists, and diplomatic parties were divided to prevent the two groups from socializing.⁴¹⁰ Even Boyce, who advocated for wives to meet as many people as possible, admitted that this was not possible behind the Iron Curtain.⁴¹¹ Current scholarly research on listening during the Cold War misses that this lack of contact can be considered listening.⁴¹² The wives may not have known exactly what their Czech neighbours were thinking, but they could get a sense of their fear, valuable information as the mission plotted out their engagement strategy in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s. Minor slights in the street or small conversations with merchants might be the only contact anyone in the entire mission had with Czechs outside of the host government. These interactions educated the diplomats about the environment, rules of engagement, and perspectives of the host country.

Wives needed to know a variety of local residents to engage as informal cultural diplomats. *Social Usage* encouraged wives to establish relationships with various elites, including local leaders in business, education and labour unions, but added that wives could be especially helpful in knowing "shop and working people".⁴¹³ This was due to the husband's office work, which meant that he had less opportunity to meet "such" people, who wives encountered more organically.⁴¹⁴ Similarly, veteran diplomatic wife Anne Crutcher encouraged wives to pursue hobbies, sports and cultural inclinations to meet ordinary people outside of diplomatic life because it would enhance their understanding of the host country.⁴¹⁵

What these examples illustrate is a shift in priorities for the US after World War II. As independent countries replaced empires, diplomacy could no longer take place only on a large

⁴¹⁰ "Lucy Briggs", ADST, Interview transcript, 11, 30, 33.

⁴¹¹ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 174.

⁴¹² The only Cold War public diplomacy book which mentions listening is Cull's *The Cold War and the US Information Agency*.

⁴¹³ DOS, *Social Usage in the Foreign Service*, 1957.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ "Transcript of Speech by Anne Crutcher", unknown date, FADST, Unmarked Box.

stage between imperial or so-called 'Great' powers. Instead, it now took place in more arenas than before and with more interested actors. Each country needed their own Embassy to work with relevant sections of the host government. At the same time, the mass or popular base of many of the newly emerging governments in Asia, the Middle East and Africa meant that the US needed to pay increasing attention to the attitudes and beliefs of general populations as well as elite opinion. At the same time, the US was becoming interested in learning more about people at all levels of society. As such, the US missions needed to understand how average citizens lived and what they thought. Only then could they understand the trends in societies or how to advance US interests to a wide audience.

Phyllis Oakley met her husband, Robert, during her first year in the Foreign Service, and, throughout their careers, they used active listening skills. After their marriage in 1958, Oakley was forced to resign and served as a diplomatic wife for 16 years before re-entering the service in 1974. When she arrived in Sudan in 1958 to join her husband, she already had the training of an FSO and used those skills as a diplomatic wife. Her husband particularly wanted to get to know young Sudanese people and encouraged her to create a welcoming environment for them.⁴¹⁶ The couple became close friends with a group of young Sudanese who had returned from university in the United Kingdom and who had been brought back to help the country after independence. Through them, she learned about the young country, its problems with fundamentalism and its politics, and she became close to their wives. Often, they would play *Monopoly* with a group, which included Monsour Khalid, later Sudan's Foreign Minister, and Sarah el Mahdi, the first Sudanese woman to study in the US.⁴¹⁷ Sitting in a garden and playing a game created the right atmosphere to build trust through lengthy conversations. In diplomatic

⁴¹⁶ "Phyllis Oakley", ADST, Interview transcript, 21.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

couples, the wives and husbands decided together on the correct environment and the actors to invite, diligently planning the opportunities for listening. These opportunities could best be categorized as active listening, which, according to Di Martino, is driven by long-term goals and the desire to create a space for fruitful communication where foreign policy can be advanced through dialogic engagement.⁴¹⁸ An intimate gathering is much more successful at this than a large embassy reception hall.

Veteran wives like Briggs knew the value of calling, but younger wives did not always agree, especially in the late 1950s and 1960s. Judith Heimann arrived in Jakarta, Indonesia, in 1958 as a young Foreign Service wife. She later became an FSO in her own right and titled her memoir, *Paying Calls in Shangri-La* (2016). Heimann acknowledged the “absurdity” of formal, “archaic” calls, but added that they gave her a quick and efficient way to meet other diplomatic wives, which was especially important when stationed in countries without a transparent government.⁴¹⁹ She added that it was easier for her to learn about what was happening within President Sukarno's inner circle from the different diplomatic corps members because of the country's anti-US political environment. These conversations could also reveal the dominant points of view, policies, and attitudes in these countries. While listening in public diplomacy ideally takes place when nationals of the host country speak directly with a diplomat, due to the political situation, listening through secondary sources had to suffice.

Servants provided a particularly useful source of information on local society and culture. While stationed in Algiers, Bogardus complained that she did not know any Arabs socially since the French were still the colonising power in 1950.⁴²⁰ Bogardus instead learned about Arab

⁴¹⁸ Di Martino, “Spectrum of Listening”, 22.

⁴¹⁹ Judith Heimann, *Paying Calls in Shangri-La* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016), 25.

⁴²⁰ “Virginia Bogardus”, ADST, Interview transcript, 14.

nationals, including social issues such as colourism, through their servants. As Heimann explained:

Domestic servants were nearly the only ordinary people of the host country that the wives of diplomats got to see regularly. This was especially true in a third world country like 1950s Indonesia. Furthermore, the wives often learned more about local people's thinking and feeling and enduring from their servants than did their husbands, who spent much of every workday in an American, English-speaking office or dealing with very westernized, English-speaking Indonesian diplomats.⁴²¹

Heimann perfectly illustrated how valuable relationships and interactions between wives and servants were for listening in this era. As an FSO herself, Heimann was particularly able to reflect on the relationship between local contacts, wives, and US diplomacy.

Wives' relationships with servants were cultivated privately and remained an essential illustration of listening methods, in contrast to more open forms of public diplomacy. Cull underlines the value of "public" listening, arguing that publics like to be listened to, and the listener needs to be seen as responsive and open to feedback.⁴²² Entertaining contacts through small dinner parties and deepening friendships provides this opportunity. Boyce encouraged wives to make contacts through social entertainment like sports or bridge, combining duty with pleasure.⁴²³ While representational entertaining focussed on creating an atmosphere to best advocate for the US, small social gatherings and calling also created the architecture for listening. People were more at ease when enjoying themselves and more likely to share their perspectives or opinions.

⁴²¹ Heimann, *Paying Calls in Shagari-La*, 39.

⁴²² Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 22, 36.

⁴²³ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 145.

Contacts and calling were the backbone of diplomacy, although calling eventually decreased in popularity in the last few decades of the 20th century. Many wives still made the initial calls to meet important counterparts in the host government and called on new diplomatic wives after their arrival at post. With the decrease in the importance of calling, listening and information-gathering had to find new tools. As the Cold War intensified, the value of understanding local communities, their society and their cultural norms increased, as discussed in the next section.

“Gateway to the Country”: The Value of the Local Environment

At the end of World War II, listening and learning about the local atmosphere was not as large a priority for many Foreign Service families as it would be later. The exception to this was the need to learn basic facts about the country they were stationed in, particularly what would offend locals. By the 1950s, knowledge about the local environment, including language, society, and people, became a pillar of US public diplomacy. In public diplomacy, the local environment refers to all segments of a country: the economy, political system, culture, society, religion, history, education system, and other elements that define the host community. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a notable shift in how State Department and senior officials began encouraging diplomatic wives to get to know the local environment, and why they felt it was important.

Cull argued that listening activities are seen as more credible when they are perceived as being close to the source of foreign policy, either publicly or privately.⁴²⁴ This indicates that

⁴²⁴ Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for Its Future from Its past”, 13.

listening activities, even active listening on an intimate scale, benefit from the participation of high-ranking officials, such as an ambassador and his wife. Chester Bowles recognised this early on in his two tenures as US Ambassador to India, first in 1951-1953 and then later from 1963-1969. Steb Bowles was not a traditional diplomatic wife. A social worker by training, she had a deep interest in seeing how people live. Chester Bowles wrote that he and his wife focussed their social activities on a wide circle of friends, inside and outside government, during their first two years in India.⁴²⁵ Steb Bowles made numerous friends among education and welfare workers in India and often entertained them. This allowed both her and her husband to ascertain the inner workings of India from the perspective of those who were most vulnerable. This listening demonstrates the link to decision-making since there is a direct relationship through the ambassador himself, the highest influential US government official in the country. During their first posting in India, Steb Bowles became interested in how the Indians viewed British colonialism, principally among those outside official circles, and often asked Indians for their opinions.⁴²⁶ This provided valuable information just four years after independence, particularly to her husband.

Steb Bowles spent the majority of her time as Ambassadors learning about the people of India. Her letters describe her travels throughout different parts of the country, where she met Indians of all backgrounds to hear about their interests and problems. Early in their tenure, in 1951, she met with a woman who was in Lahore during the partition, who survived the riots and who worked with refugees. She wrote that although the refugee situation in 1951 was not as dire as in 1949, it was hard for any foreigner to understand without witnessing it first-hand.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, 30.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 57; "Letter from DSB to family and friends, 21 November 1951", DSB, Box 5.

⁴²⁷ "Letter from DSB to family and friends, 21 November 1951", DSB, Box 5.

By the 1950s, knowledge about local languages, societal trends and even educational systems became important for US diplomacy. Learning the local language was a prerequisite of active listening and extremely useful for information gathering. The State Department recognised this and encouraged wives to learn the local language as soon as possible. The Department also understood that diplomats learned about a country through language, even writing in a guidebook that Americans could not understand a country and "interpret everyday events" until they became proficient in the local language(s).⁴²⁸ Boyce suggested that wives read the newspaper every day to learn the colloquial language while keeping up on current events.⁴²⁹

The need to learn the local language increased after decolonisation. Previously, when abroad, the State Department told wives to learn French, Spanish and German, the three primary diplomatic languages before the war. After decolonisation, for personal contacts to be successful, conversing in the local language became paramount. Both Chester and Steb Bowles advocated for diplomatic wives to learn Hindi while in India, organising free Hindi lessons for all staff and their families. They felt this gave wives a "new sense of confidence in dealing with Indians".⁴³⁰ Their reason for learning Hindi demonstrated the link of language to society. They recognised that all government officials spoke English, but that learning Hindi showed a sincere interest in learning about India's culture and way of life.⁴³¹ Given this dedication to listening, it is surprising that Chester Bowles never learned to speak Hindi, although Bowles did, and their daughter Cynthia also learned Urdu. In the case of the Bowles family, Bowles was able to make up for her husband's language deficiencies, which allowed her to show her respect for Indian culture and to learn more about the local people through her interactions. She thus met a broader range of

⁴²⁸ US Department of State, *When Americans Live Abroad* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, June 1955), 33.

⁴²⁹ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 14.

⁴³⁰ Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, 19.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

people and spoke to them directly, something her husband could not do, and she participated in more listening activities like meeting local religious leaders who only spoke Hindi.

In the 1950s, the State Department encouraged language study for wives that would enable them to meet various contacts, and it did so by admitting them on a case-by-case basis to the language training at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI). On July 1, 1960, after a congressional investigation into the use of funds for wives to learn languages, this training was cancelled.⁴³² Later, after lobbying by the State Department, the FSI was allowed to admit individual women if there was room. The Department argued that since knowledge of the language, institutions, and history of the country of assignment was essential to diplomacy, and diplomacy required the teamwork of wives and husbands, it was essential for wives to “have a suitable knowledge of the languages, and to a lesser extent the customs and institutions of these countries”.⁴³³ Since classes were capped at six people, this meant that wives rarely had the opportunity to participate in State Department-financed language training, but instead were required to pay for tutors out of their own funds once they arrived in country.

When she arrived in Beirut in 1964, Andrea Rugh noticed the importance of Arabic when she met her husband's aunt, who lived there. Through this aunt, she was able to see that knowledge of the Arabic language could turn a hostile welcome into congeniality. It gave her an entry into the local community, and she later wrote that "Arabic was more than just a language; it was a passport into the culture and the way people think".⁴³⁴ Nevertheless, Rugh did not have the opportunity to study Arabic immediately because she could not find childcare for her young child. This prevented her from numerous opportunities to learn more about Lebanon and its

⁴³² "Memo from Roger Jones", OWN, Box 3.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Andrea Rugh, *Simple Gestures: An American Anthropologist Recounts Her Years in the Middle East* (Unpublished extended edition, 2008) 12.

people from her day-to-day contacts. Women continuously faced this problem when it came to training and language opportunities, which caused FSI to discuss the creation of a nursery for wives taking the Foreign Service Wives Course or language training.⁴³⁵

Language skills were a necessity for all Foreign Service wives because it provided the tools women needed to understand the local environment and people, which was the primary objective according to State Department. While Wieland researched the *Overseas Wife's Notebook*, he highlighted an essential passage from Boyce: "A little study of the social anthropology of the host country and its application practice will be invaluable", adding that social anthropology includes "facts on the culture, history, customs of the people you are meeting".⁴³⁶ Both Boyce and Wieland described this as a "study of social anthropology", though it could also be categorised as listening and public diplomacy. The interrelatedness of public diplomacy and social anthropology explains why Andrea Rugh, after seven years in the Middle East, decided to begin a PhD in the subject on her first home leave.

Social anthropologists study the social structure and patterns of behaviour of different societies, something diplomatic wives also needed to do to be successful in their work. Bohlen frequently reminded wives to get to know the people, culture, and language of the host country. She reasoned that wives could find out what people were talking about, their problems and their perspectives, while out on everyday activities like running errands, shopping, and joining women groups.⁴³⁷ Once again, this theme of "everyday" interactions is central. Husbands did not have the same opportunities to meet everyday people, so they relied on their wives to also learn about local societies and report back to them. In a 1955 guidebook, the Department underscored the

⁴³⁵ "Wives' Course Flyer", unknown date, FADST, Unknown box.

⁴³⁶ "Wieland Notes", OWN, Box 3.

⁴³⁷ "Bohlen speech", OWN, Box 1.

need for listening, saying that the real experts on a foreign country are not those who know facts about the country and its people but those who understand how the facts, customs and other data fit together.⁴³⁸ Husbands read facts in memos, while their wives learned about society by exploring and listening.

In Bowles' writings, she never shows signs of prejudice towards India or views of the US as superior. However, Sheldon and Francesca Mills, a Foreign Service couple who served with the Bowles in the 1950s, did not view the Bowles' priority on listening positively. While they personally liked and admired the Bowles, the Mills expressed frustration with them for becoming too "pro-Indian", and they disapproved of the Bowles' predisposition to spending time in villages and meeting Indians of the lower classes, which they considered unhealthy.⁴³⁹ They especially did not approve of Cynthia Bowles' decision to live in a village or her advocacy for equality among servants. Francesca Mills reminisced that after Bowles left India and Cynthia refused to leave, a servant from the embassy came to Mills asking her to convince Cynthia to leave the village since they were worried about Cynthia's health.

This example demonstrates a breach within attitudes to the practice of listening. The Bowles reasoned that the best way to create ties with the host country was through complete immersion in the local society, even wearing Indian clothes. However, the Mills believed that this immersion was like "going native" and maintained that diplomats should be similar to anthropologists who study a society without completely submerging themselves in the society. Boyce agreed with the Mills, writing that diplomatic wives were sent not to change the way of life in a country and should observe the social customs that prevail.⁴⁴⁰ In the case of Steb

⁴³⁸ DOS, *When Americans Live Abroad*, 21.

⁴³⁹ "Sheldon and Francesca Mills", ADST, Interview transcript, 17-18.

⁴⁴⁰ Boyce, *The Diplomat's Wife*, 150-151.

Bowles, who was widely accepted by the Indian people, her decision to wear a sari and sandals, ride a bicycle, speak Hindi and connect with local Indian people probably contributed more positively to public diplomacy efforts in India. Therefore, the scale of the listening activities mattered less than the diplomatic actor's willingness and disposition to learn about the foreign society.

Chester Bowles took much of what he and his wife learned in India and, after returning to Washington, DC, wanted to make listening part of his “new diplomacy” priorities as President Kennedy’s Undersecretary of State. As Cull has shown, the Kennedy administration ushered in what he described as a “golden age” of listening.⁴⁴¹ In his letter to all Chiefs of Missions in May 1961, President Kennedy wrote that “the practice of modern diplomacy requires a close understanding not only of governments but also of people, their cultures and institutions”.⁴⁴² He continued and stated that, due to this, he hoped that ambassadors would travel extensively outside the capitals, as only then could they “develop the close, personal associations that go beyond official diplomacy circles and maintain a sympathetic and accurate understanding of all segments of the country”.⁴⁴³

In his own memo a month later to all Chiefs of Mission, Chester Bowles, laid out his philosophy on establishing a close relationship with people of the foreign nations and suggested several techniques. He described how diplomacy had changed from the pre-war period and how mission activities had expanded to reach all audiences, instead of just government officials and “top-level” society. He encouraged all diplomatic personnel, official and unofficial, to have more direct interactions with people in addition to their “traditional” contact through speeches or the

⁴⁴¹ Cull, *The Cold War and the US Information Agency*, 486-487.

⁴⁴² “Memorandum from John F. Kennedy to Heads of Executive Departments, including copy of letter from Kennedy to American Ambassadors abroad, 29 May 1961”, Digitized General CIA Records, Central Intelligence Agency.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*

press, especially those outside the capital. His objective was simple: to create closer contacts between the embassy and foreign audiences to help locals understand the US better and to give embassy staff a better understanding of the country and the "problems of its inhabitants".⁴⁴⁴ This idea quickly became popular in the Department throughout the decade, with an AID booklet encouraging staff to find a local person "who strikes you as being the most perceptive" and ask them to help you understand the local people and country better.⁴⁴⁵ This echoed much of the advice wives received during this period, including from the Wives' Course. Listening was now considered a standard practice in all good diplomacy, in stark difference from the experience of Esther Peterson in 1948 who faced condemnation from other diplomatic wives for "lowering herself" by mingling with working-class people in Sweden.⁴⁴⁶ Bowles also argued that the embassy needed to establish contact with people throughout the country rather than just in the capital to do this, later writing "The worst vantage place from which to form a balanced opinion of a country is its national capital".⁴⁴⁷

Alice Darlington and her husband, Charles, heeded these directives and spent a large portion of their time in Gabon travelling outside the capital, Libreville. In her memoir, Darlington quoted the May 1961 memo from Kennedy and added that the President told her husband, "Don't stay all the time in your office; get out and meet the people through the country".⁴⁴⁸ She described travel as a "very important part of the business of an ambassador and his family".⁴⁴⁹ Travelling throughout the country provided three key listening opportunities. The first was to be seen listening as a form of public performance, as Cull and Di Martino have

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Agency for International Development (AID), *Young Americans Overseas*, OWN, Box 3.

⁴⁴⁶ "Esther Peterson", ADST, 1992, Interview transcript, 5.

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⁴⁴⁸ Charles and Alice Darlington, *African Betrayal* (New York: David McKay Publishing, 1968), 252.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

argued. The second was to get to know “everyday” nationals, which would then give the diplomatic actor a better account of the society as a whole, all while making valuable contacts.

The third was that travelling outside of capital cities provided the perfect opportunity to meet everyday citizens. One anonymous wife wrote in the early 1960s that travelling enabled her and her husband to “develop some useful relationships of a meaningful kind outside the capital” and added that “the mere fact that my husband and I have shown sufficient interest in the area to learn and appreciate the achievements of its local people, has been a source of growing widespread favorable attitudes toward the US”.⁴⁵⁰ In a letter to Katie Louchheim, then Special Assistant for Women’s Affairs at the State Department, Darlington added that the President of Gabon, Leon Mba, was “thrilled” with their decision to travel around the country, the first time a Western ambassador had done so, and paved their way, writing ahead to local leaders of their arrival.⁴⁵¹

President Mba’s elation at their willingness to travel demonstrates Cull’s argument that listening works best when diplomatic actors are *seen* to be listening. As he explained, publics like to be listened to, and a reputation for listening becomes a soft power asset.⁴⁵² While this chapter has described listening as separate from advocacy, case studies from the era illustrate how intertwined advocacy for the US and listening could become. Darlington wrote that while she and her husband travelled primarily to understand the country and meet people, they also travelled to view AID and Peace Corps projects and to convey “a possible feeling of the US and Americans”.⁴⁵³ While diplomatic wives were out meeting people and learning about society, they were still representing the US. Because listening is a core tenant of public diplomacy, which is

⁴⁵⁰ “Traveling Forearmed with Contacts” Typescript by unknow author”, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁵¹ “Letter from Alice Darlington to Katie Louchheim (KL), 7 July 1962”, OWN, Box 2.

⁴⁵² Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 22.

⁴⁵³ Darlington, *African Betrayal*, 253.

about creating closer ties between people of two foreign nations, listening must always be tied to advocacy and representation.

The Darlington's learned much about the political situation and economy of Gabon during their travels. Through this, they could better understand the general population's perspectives towards the French. Darlington mentioned that she frequently heard people say, "we appreciate all the French do for us, our language is theirs. But why can't we have help from and contacts with other countries?" while discussing closer ties with the US.⁴⁵⁴ Cull compared listening to Sun Tzu's "art of studying moods", which is similar to what Darlington described.⁴⁵⁵ She and her husband frequently heard local leaders' and everyday citizens' opinions on closer US ties, and this could potentially translate into policymaking. When viewing local economies, they visited small towns "forgotten" by Libreville and the French, which were perfect candidates for US foreign aid. They also visited the local uranium mines in Mounana, which supplied half of France's uranium requirements at that time.⁴⁵⁶ From these travels, the Darlington's reported to Washington how the national government in Libreville collected revenues from poorer districts but only used them to support Libreville, which resulted in a frustrated population in the hinterland who viewed the capital as corrupt and inaccessible.⁴⁵⁷

The art of studying a nation's moods, which really meant gaining a better understanding of the opinions of the general population, was never more critical than in volatile situations such as these. During the attempted coup, Darlington was able to understand what the people felt about the attempted coup, and who was supportive. At the same time, the Darlington's and other diplomatic couples needed to ensure that they were not just hearing what they wanted to hear,

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 263.

⁴⁵⁵ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 23.

⁴⁵⁶ Darlington, *African Betrayal*, 273, 304, 321.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 310.

which could result in a failure of listening. Darlington was able to venture out during the coup to the bakery and gain a better understanding of the everyday people's mood during the coup- a task that was made possible due to her gender.⁴⁵⁸ While a male officer would have attracted notice, a woman buying bread does not seem out of place.

Case studies of diplomatic wives in the 1950s demonstrate the failure of listening in this period. Oakley, who tried to immerse herself in Sudanese society as much as possible, reflected later that she did not predict the coming civil wars based on what she had learned about Sudan in the late 1950s. She remembered that the people in Khartoum viewed the non-Arabs as a "southern problem" and hoped that economic development would change the attitudes of the people in both regions of Sudan toward one another. While she did not think there would be a civil war, she was aware of the tension. She also observed that Khartoum at this time was not very Islamic; liquor was sold legally, women's conservative clothing had more to do with protection from the sand, sun, and wind than religion, and Sudanese women were able to mix freely in society.⁴⁵⁹ Oakley, who had more training than the majority of diplomatic wives on the benefits of listening, demonstrates that the US foreign policy and relations could be hindered by a lack of listening to a wide variety of audiences. The Oakleys focussed primarily on the rising Sudanese leaders and overlooked a growing social division within Sudanese society. If they had been stationed in Sudan ten years later, that lack of listening could have led to the US embassy being ambushed with the coup d'état and civil war.

Di Martino argued that failing to listen could indicate a lack of adequate organisational culture, policies and resources that encourage listening.⁴⁶⁰ The Bowles demonstrate that

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 334-336.

⁴⁵⁹ "Oakley", ADST, Interview transcript, 24.

⁴⁶⁰ Di Martino, "Spectrum of Listening", 27.

embassies had the necessary resources and organisational culture to promote listening. They believed that all members of the mission, not just the ambassador and his wife, should devote time to listening, and, while in India, they instituted an orientation course for all US employees and their wives, who were required to attend. Their course lasted two to three weeks and covered Indian history, culture, language, religions, economy, social and political structures, foreign policy, the Indian Five-Year Plan, and the Gandhi movement, all taught principally by Indian experts.⁴⁶¹ It also included visits to hospitals, schools, family planning clinics, welfare centres and nearby villages. This was no easy feat; at the time, the US mission in India was the largest in the world, and the expense was immense. David Engermann has illustrated how the US and Soviet Union both flooded India with economic aid and diplomatic staff to further their geopolitical interests.⁴⁶² This explains why this mission was so large and so strategically important. Yet Bowles' course also underscores how important listening was to all aspects of diplomacy, especially the new, modern diplomacy that Bowles championed in the 1960s.

There are numerous examples of how diplomatic couples used listening activities to learn about the local environment in which they were stationed. The examples used here demonstrate the value of listening to public diplomacy in this period. Some of these techniques were also not exclusive to the Cold War, as many continued long afterwards, and many diplomatic wives, even though private citizens, still performed their work out of pure curiosity and interest. While not unique to this time period, wives' outreach with local women increased in the 1960s, as the next section will demonstrate.

⁴⁶¹ Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, 20; Bowles, *Promises*, 538-9.

⁴⁶² David Engerman, *The Price of Aid: The Economic Cold War in India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 9.

Relationships and Outreach Among Local Women as Forms of Listening

In the 1960s, as outreach to non-diplomatic or government-related contacts become standardised, diplomacy wives created closer ties through non-traditional contacts, especially local women. In the 1964 guidebook, *This Worked for Me*, an anonymous diplomat described the role of wives and women's organisations in developing local female contacts but admitted that, to do this well, they had to know the local language and customs.⁴⁶³ This observation underscores the link between understanding the local environment and outreach to local women through listening. Once diplomatic wives understood the local environment, including gender roles in the society, they were able to start creating ties. One listening activity aided another in order to accomplish the necessary objectives.

The increase in importance of outreach to women was part of a general shift on the part of the State Department to focusing on women in developing countries over the decade, including through listening activities. In the early 1960s, in a joint dispatch from the State Department, USIA, and the International Cooperation Administration (later USAID), urged all missions to study the role of women and women's organizations to determine whether they would merit "special attention as a priority audience".⁴⁶⁴ Due to the rapid decolonisation in the post-war era and increasing suffrage for women worldwide, foreign women became an essential audience for State Department priorities. Embassies soon recognised that they had limited access to women-centred groups or spaces, creating difficulties for their outreach and information activities. Female FSOs took on some of these roles, but the number of female officers was

⁴⁶³ *"This Worked for Me"*, OWN, Box 1, 58.

⁴⁶⁴ "Joint Dispatch from US State Department, US Information Agency, and International Cooperation Administration, 17 July 1961", Subject Files, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, Untiled, 1962 to Grievance Procedures, 1962-1963, Box 2, Records of the State Department, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

inadequate. Diplomatic wives had access to women's groups, as well as schools and hospitals where women worked and gathered. One diplomat wrote in the guidebook *This Worked for Me* that a wife who worked part-time at a school with a number of other local women had discovered pro-communist literature. This encouraged the embassy to inquire further and discover that the local communist party, supported by an Eastern Bloc embassy, was attempting to infiltrate the powerful teacher's union without the knowledge of the host government or US embassy officials.⁴⁶⁵ The wife's tip allowed the embassy to take countermeasures, meaning that the wife directly assisted with stopping the spread of communist propaganda to foreign women, a US foreign policy objective at the time. Another diplomat mentioned that, due to women's growing power, the embassy organised a careful campaign to assign wives to join women's groups and activities in the community so they could keep abreast of any vital information.⁴⁶⁶ This episode is one example of how wives' listening work within female-dominated sectors of society was of important to US embassies, particularly considering Cold War priorities.

Women's access to information varied by region. Behind the Iron Curtain, an anonymous FSO noted that wives were "a great help to us in gathering information", which earned the wives frequent policy briefings to create a coordinated effort to achieve US objectives.⁴⁶⁷ He argued that they could reach audiences and places that officers could not, especially other women at clubs and markets performing their everyday activities.⁴⁶⁸ Adele Porter, a veteran diplomatic wife of twenty years, advocated for diplomatic wives to receive more training and criticised the FSI wives' course because it did not emphasize the "true role" of the Foreign Service wife and

⁴⁶⁵ *"This Worked for Me"*, 81, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 83, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁶⁷ *"This Worked for Me Notes"*, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

how she could best help her husband accomplish US objectives, including information gathering.⁴⁶⁹

Many wives detailed their listening efforts in memoirs, meeting notes, and oral histories. In December 1964, Mrs. C. Harvey Doughty sat down for an interview with William Wieland and William Byrd, the FSOs responsible for drafting the publication *An Overseas Wife's Notebook*. During the interview, Byrd and Wieland recorded Doughty as recalling:

I concentrated my efforts on getting to know a small number of the women in the local community. I endeavored, and I think I was fairly successful, in establishing some rapport with a few of the local wives. In order to do this, I have found that and the most important thing to do is to listen rather than talk. If you can do this, you can truly learn about the customs and mores of the country together with the inspirations and hopes of its people.⁴⁷⁰

In one short paragraph, Doughty described apophatic, active, tactical, and background/casual learning. Apophatic listening is listening that makes a “genuine effort to understand feelings and connotations behind the words”, while active listening the active efforts of both diplomatic and non-diplomatic actors to create conditions to build relations and dialogue.⁴⁷¹ Tactical listening refers to monitoring conversations to correct misconceptions or opportunities to further goals, while background or casual listening is unsystematic listening that may lead to the accidental discovery of useful information.⁴⁷² The State Department valued all types listening activities,

⁴⁶⁹ “Memo of Conversation with Mrs. Dwight Porter, September 1964”, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁷⁰ “Memo of Conversation with Mrs C Harvey Doughty”, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁷¹ Luigi Di Martino, “The Spectrum of Listening”, 22.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

which they demonstrated through the underlining of the word “listen” in Doughty’s testimony above. Doughty and other Foreign Service wives accomplished their objectives in the local community by making contacts, building friendships, learning about the locals and gathering information to make it easier for their husbands to do their jobs.

According to the State Department, as women gained more political power in many parts of the world in the form of voting rights and political representation, the potential for wives’ involvement in diplomatic activities continued to grow, especially in areas where male officers or single female officers could not reach.⁴⁷³ In select societies, married women only interacted with other married women, so the US government had to think strategically about how to reach these people. For decades, wives had already been making contacts with people at each post, but now the State Department strategically encouraged wives to make stronger connections not only with “everyday” people, but also with local women, as detailed in *This Worked for Me*.⁴⁷⁴

This was not a completely new practice. When Lucy Briggs arrived in South Korea in 1952 as the wife of the US Ambassador, her first call was to Franziska Rhee, the wife of the President. At the time, the US embassy was anxious to have someone get to know Rhee, an Austrian. Ambassador Briggs was later told that it would be important for an American wife to befriend Rhee in an attempt to reach her husband, President Syngman Rhee.⁴⁷⁵ On her first call, Briggs asked what she could do to get involved in the community and, at Mrs. Rhee's suggestion, became involved in helping a group of war widows. In just a one-hour call, she was able to find out what she needed to know to become friends with a high priority contact and learn about what

⁴⁷³ “*This Worked for Me*”, 58, OWN, Box 1.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁵ “Briggs”, ADST, interview transcript, 10.

problems South Korea faced at the time. This was not the last instance the US needed connections with high-ranking wives in an active war zone in Asia during the Cold War.

Another example of the importance of wives' outreach came from Vietnam in 1965. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. wrote to President Lyndon B. Johnson about a "situation" he thought the President should be aware of since it could "endanger American efforts".⁴⁷⁶ Throughout his posting, Lodge recognised Vietnamese women's immense influence and role in society, which he considered matriarchal. From his interactions with Prime Minister Ky's wife, he discovered that she was exasperated by her husband's long hours, and that Lodge was worried the Prime Minister's wife might encourage him to resign, apparently a possibility given the tense political situation. He complained that there was "no effective, intelligence, high-level American contact with these highly influential persons" and admitted that there was a limit to what he could accomplish as a man.⁴⁷⁷ Lodge advocated for Johnson to allow at least five wives, with the potential for twenty-six, to come to the post, which had evacuated all dependents previously, allowing them to contact high-ranking Vietnamese women to accomplish US foreign policy objectives.

Lodge's request reflects Di Martino's definition of tactical listening, where diplomatic actors are only concerned with individuals perceived as influential or instrumental for the achievement of a specific goal.⁴⁷⁸ He needed wives at the post to accomplish US foreign policy objectives, which he only recognised once he learned about the local society. While he himself listened, he also recognised the need for further listening and acknowledged the limitations due to his gender. He felt that these listening wives "were necessary to do the indispensable works as

⁴⁷⁶ "Letter from Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. to Lyndon B. Johnson, 29 December 1965", Henry Cabot Lodge Papers (HCL), Massachusetts Historical Society, Carton 10, Reel 24.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ Di Martino, "Spectrum of Listening", 24.

regards our relationship with the Government of Vietnam", particularly gathering information and influencing key Vietnamese women.⁴⁷⁹ This illustrates the vital importance of listening in all diplomatic activities, not just public diplomacy, and the singular role that women could play.

There are three couples who demonstrate how they leveraged the wife's gender to accomplish listening activities. The first is William and Andrea Rugh who worked primarily in the sexually-segregated societies of the Middle East and North Africa. Andrea Rugh would joke that "my husband feels he only gets to know half the population, while I get to know everyone", though she admitted that in Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt, this was not as true as in their postings in Gulf countries.⁴⁸⁰ During her time in Saudi Arabia, from 1966-1971, Andrea Rugh became embedded within female Saudi society. She, her husband, the ambassador Hermann Eilts, and the ambassador's wife Helen all recognised the importance of active listening and the need to carefully cultivate relationships to accomplish long-term goals. Rugh actively chose to create a welcoming atmosphere for listening, which in turn would produce more meaningful conversations with foreign audiences, in her case, local Saudi women. In Jidda, she accepted every invitation and soon found herself in the confidence of many women who began to relay news to her, bad as well as good, giving her a better depiction of Saudi society and women's lives.⁴⁸¹ In Riyadh, she devoted her time to meeting local women, attending women's parties, and becoming a private unpaid English tutor to high-ranking Saudi women, including a princess.⁴⁸² In this role, she began to fully understand the role of women in society, particularly after meeting

⁴⁷⁹ "Memo from Henry Cabot Lodge, 29 November 1965", HCL, Carton 10, Reel 24.

⁴⁸⁰ Rugh, *Simple Gestures*, ix.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁸² Andrea Rugh, Interview with author, 16 August 2019. She also Rugh, *Simple Gestures*, 76.

many women from Bedouin tribes and a princess who acted as a tribal chieftain to solve problems of women who visited.⁴⁸³

William Rugh recognised that, in Saudi Arabia, he could not have any contact with Saudi women, while his wife could have contacts with both genders. Andrea Rugh could pass along the observations she learned from the princess to her husband, and she could also introduce the middle-class husbands of the Saudi women she befriended to her husband directly. He admitted later that this "was a big advantage, in addition to her understanding the local society, she helped [him] get access" to those he needed to know. Even more importantly, her contacts provided opportunities for both of them to gain access to the local community and to understand it better as a whole.⁴⁸⁴ In his role with USIA, Bill Rugh's position in Saudi Arabia already focussed on listening, but he could not have done it without his wife because of her access to local women in the Gulf countries. "Personal contact is crucial", he argued, "and Andrea helped with that".⁴⁸⁵ He also argued that the most crucial instrument and approach in public diplomacy was personal contacts because a diplomat could not represent the US unless they knew the audience, and, to collect information about what they think, one needs effective personal contacts.⁴⁸⁶ This cycle of listening needed to be conducted at all levels and all sections of the embassy and, as illustrated above, could best be done by husband-wife teams. Rugh was an incredibly important source of information for her husband, and that only expanded as their career continued.

While in Saudi Arabia in 1966-1971, the embassy received a request from Washington for information on women's education. Within the mission, Andrea Rugh was the only one willing and able to write the report. This allowed her to visit the first girls' school in the country,

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ William Rugh, Interview with author, 16 August 2019.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

to interview leaders in women's education, and to investigate the growing need for female education, important in a country where powerful religious figures did not agree with the need for women's education.⁴⁸⁷ Rugh was fortunate that the Ambassador's wife, Helen Eilts, also specialised in the Middle East region and was fluent in Arabic. She had met her husband when they were both enrolled at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies.⁴⁸⁸

Ambassador William Rugh later observed that Helen Eilts made significant efforts to get to know as many local women as possible, and she "consulted with Andrea a lot because she knew that Andrea had a lot of information about what was going on locally", even more than the embassy, at times.⁴⁸⁹ This illustration reveals the State Department's recognition of both the importance of women's issues and the formal involvement of wives in information gathering.

The second example was Alice Darlington, the wife of the Ambassador to Gabon from 1961-1964. Ambassador Charles Darlington was a political appointee, so she had no previous experience in diplomatic service. Gabon was also a small post, but two significant events revealed Alice Darlington's casual involvement in information gathering during her time there, which was made easier because of her gender. In 1962, Gabon erupted into sectarian violence following a football match with the Congo, which led to 48 hours of rioting and violence and ended with the mass expulsion of Congolese citizens from Gabon. Darlington was shocked at this due to her belief in the "gentle nature" of the Gabonese; after over a year in Gabon, she had come to know the population well and, naïve in her understanding of ethnic conflicts in the region, she assumed that all Gabonese were like the ones she had met.

⁴⁸⁷ Rugh, *Simple Gestures*, 51.

⁴⁸⁸ Douglas Martin, "Hermann F. Eilts, Adviser to Kissinger on Mideast, Dies", *The New York Times*, 20 October 2006. See also William Rugh, Interview with author, 16 August 2019.

⁴⁸⁹ William Rugh, Interview with author, 16 August 2019.

However, because of her involvement with the local community, she gained a greater awareness of the situation before her husband or the embassy did. Immediately after the football game, her social secretary, a local employee, confided in her about the fights that had erupted in her neighbourhood the evening before, and when she shopped in town, Darlington saw "groups of people arguing hotly along the streets".⁴⁹⁰ Because she was "out and about" as the embassy encouraged, she learned of the tensions hours before her husband, who was more secluded in the embassy. After the violence ended, she heard from her butcher and other merchants about the impact of the loss of Congolese workers on the local economy and society, information, and assessments she passed along to her husband.⁴⁹¹

The second opportunity took place two years later. In February 1964, the military staged a coup against President Leon Mba. While the country initially shut down transit between districts and high traffic areas, encouraging people to remain in their homes, the military proclaimed that foreigners would be safe "as long as they do not interfere". Thus, Darlington was able to visit the main bakery in town, one of the only places still open in the capital. She later reflected that the crowds seemed no different, with everyone "in the best of humor, getting bread as usual". While there, she ran into the Gabonese Secretary-General of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Director of Technical Education. She noted that they were in good spirits, and they mentioned that two high-ranking ministers, M. Yembi and M. Nyonda, were about to be arrested in N'Dende, where her husband, Ambassador Darlington, was visiting them. She also learned that all of the other ministers had been arrested and were being held in the army barracks,

⁴⁹⁰ Darlington, *African Betrayal*, 326.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 331.

and that a provisional government would soon take over.⁴⁹² Since her husband was out of town, she went straight to the embassy to let the Deputy Chief of Mission know what she had heard.

An example of tactical listening could be seen in another of Darlington's experiences. After the coup, she continued learning which ministers were being sent to their home districts when she met the wives out shopping in preparation for their departure.⁴⁹³ The women she had become close to, such as other ministers' wives, including women whose husbands were on trial after being arrested, often brought information they wanted the ambassador to have. They could not be seen with the US Ambassador but paying a call to his wife was socially acceptable. Darlington noted that they did not ask for help, but that one woman "wanted to tell me what was going on in her family and in her section of town".⁴⁹⁴ This resembles tactical listening in that the communication was asymmetrical. Darlington learned valuable information from these women, who also actively wanted to share it. After the postponement of elections, Darlington found herself answering questions about US elections and democracy and used this opportunity to correct misconceptions, another use of tactical listening. Darlington's experiences demonstrate that, due to her gender, she was able to enter areas that might have been restricted for diplomatic staff; a woman paying a call does not seem out of the ordinary. Between this and her contacts with other wives, servants, merchants, and ministers, she was able to form a better perspective about the situation in the capital, which was especially useful while her husband was away.

Like Rugh and Darlington, Judith Heimann was able to form relationships with local women. In a chapter in her memoir, aptly titled *Girl Talk*, she detailed how her knowledge of the local language in Malaysia led to her close friendship with the wives of her husband's official

⁴⁹² Ibid., 342.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

contacts. As she described, this “revealed that women sometimes have the advantage over men in making friends, especially in traditional societies”.⁴⁹⁵ While stationed in Malaysia in the late 1960s, the couple were often invited to weddings, very large and formal occasions in the country. Typically, Western women, along with Chinese and Indian women, were relegated to one section of the wedding festivities, but after it became known that she spoke Malay, Heimann was welcomed to mingle with the Malay women in the kitchen. There, she met “the most senior women, such as wives and daughters of Malay sultans or other senior government officials”.⁴⁹⁶ She listened as the women shared their own marriage stories, sex lives, local traditions on divorce and remarriage, and more about women’s daily lives in Malaysia. Heimann and her husband often compared notes on their experiences at these weddings, and John was often shocked by how much information Heimann had gained.⁴⁹⁷ Judith soon realised that there were three behavioural styles of Malay women: refined, court style and *kasar* (rough or coarse), which is what she had witnessed at the wedding party. Seeing women’s *kasar* side meant that you had been welcomed into the hostess’ inner circle. On this occasion and others, Heimann expertly balanced making important contacts with local women with learning more about the local society and gender roles, both important listening activities.

Sometimes, relationships with valuable contacts came about in unorthodox manners. Heimann and her husband were invited to a dinner at the Astana, the home of the ceremonial Head of State of Sarawak, but her husband could not attend, so she went alone. After being insulted by a British male guest who was open in his distaste for Americans, the Paramount Chief of the Iban, a local leader, took an interest in Heimann and declared her his daughter, thus

⁴⁹⁵ Heimann, *Paying Calls*, 61.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

offering her his protection.⁴⁹⁸ Since she understood Southeast Asian society, she knew that this was a great honour and noticed that everyone at the dinner around them regarded it as such. For the rest of their stay in Malaysia, she received invitations and calls from many senior local women and made several new contacts that would not typically have been made in her position as wife of an American diplomat.⁴⁹⁹ In Sarawak, where they lived, the Iban were the largest of the Dayak tribes, which was the largest ethnic group in the society, and her position as a daughter of their leader brought considerably more support for her, her husband and their work.⁵⁰⁰ At the same time, she had the opportunity to learn about traditional Iban society through these interactions, as well as its religion, culture and political role.

As a young diplomatic wife, she had been adopted by older women in Indonesia and Malaysia in her early postings. She would listen to the wives talk about their families, friends, local politics, and the relationship between different ethnic groups in the community, including about escalating problems. Often, because of her gender, people spoke more freely in front of her, so she found her gender could be an advantage.⁵⁰¹ What is important here was the intent. Heimann was intent on learning about Indonesian society, politics, and the atmosphere around her because she had a natural curiosity, but she also thought it might help diplomatic ties between the two countries. Intent is what marks the difference between public diplomacy and espionage or propaganda.

Like many of the wives examined in the previous section, she also understood how useful servants could be as a source of information. She noted later that they were smart people and that

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁰¹ Interview with author and Judith Heimann, October 31, 2022.

one could gather their “insights, instincts, and perspectives on the situation in the country”.⁵⁰² Heimann, an able diplomat, recognised these opportunities as both a chance for contacts and information gathering, two elements of listening. Like Rugh, she only had positive aims in mind, noting that this was the difference between diplomatic listening and intelligence listening. As the daughter of a newspaperman, she later said that she knew how to protect her sources and still be able to let her husband know when there was something he or the embassy needed to know.⁵⁰³ Heimann went on to use these skills in her own diplomatic career. After wives were allowed to sit for the Foreign Service exam in the mid-1970s, her husband encouraged her to apply as she was already doing all of this work as a spouse, and he specifically cited her listening skills, arguing that she might as well get paid and recognised for them.

Despite these examples of fruitful, active listening on the part of diplomatic wives, there are several pitfalls of listening to keep in mind. Cull warned about prejudice and affinity bias, cautioning that listeners “filter information through a mesh of stereotypes and beliefs and give preference to information which affirms pre-existing notions and opinions”.⁵⁰⁴ Di Martino concurred, adding that apophatic listening required the listener to put aside predetermined notions.⁵⁰⁵ For diplomatic wives, this was easier said than done. In Darlington’s memoir, there are still elements of racism. She struggled to be at ease with “mixed” couples when white European women married Gabonese men and, while travelling, described an evening with dancing to records and drinking champagne as a “civilised evening”, adding that it was “hard to believe we were in the Middle of Gabon, in the middle of Africa”.⁵⁰⁶ Cull explained that

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 29.

⁵⁰⁵ Di Martino, “Spectrum of Listening”, 22.

⁵⁰⁶ Darlington, *African Betrayal*, 246, 323.

listening is challenging because "naïve men are easily fooled", which is compounded when they seek to understand something foreign, which is unavoidably the case in public diplomacy, and this allows cognitive and social biases to take root.⁵⁰⁷ For Darlington, it took time to overcome these biases, although Darlington acclimated and grew to love Gabon. Compared to Judith Heimann and Andrea Rugh, who both entered their host countries with more openness, Darlington's mentality reveals the impact of bias and the importance of entering a society with a positive and open mentality, much as Boyce described a decade earlier. Their personalities and interests had the ability to shape if they were successful or not at listening.

With the US government's instructions in the 1960s to focus on outreach among local women, diplomatic wives were the obvious answer to the question of "how" to do this. Many wives had been doing similar work for decades, but now, with a bit of training, they were able to more directly relate this practice to mission objectives. This gave wives options to fine-tune their listening skills and to learn more about local communities.

Conclusion

In the 1960s, the State Department walked a fine line between outright directing wives to do work and allowing them the freedom to choose their own activities. The examples provided here indicate that the Department valued the wives' work, needed them to do it and believed that they were qualified for it. Yet, the 1960s also saw the rise of diplomatic wives' push for independence, and many balked against any outright instructions from Washington. Just a few years later, in 1972, diplomatic wives were designated private citizens, and all of their

⁵⁰⁷ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 27-29.

community activities, including information-gathering, decreased. At least officially, many wives continued this work unofficially, mostly because it was interesting to them.

The cases discussed here relate to numerous activities of diplomatic wives that can be categorised as listening in public diplomacy through three main activities: gathering information and making contacts, learning about the local environment, and outreach to local women. This chapter has traced how information gathering was so much more than gossip, and how the gathering process shifted after World War II. Many wives, including Bowles and Heimann, were able to use their gender to get even more information. This was only possible if wives were able to make the right contacts who could help them and their husbands hear foreign audiences' perspectives on a range of topics, from local politics to opinions about the US. As the Cold War intensified, a variety of local contacts of everyday people became more relevant to US priorities, and wives, who spent more of their time mingling outside of embassy walls, were the perfect conduits. They spent time with shopkeepers and servants, which provided a number of opportunities for different types of listening.

Learning the local language and willingness to travel outside of the capital cities were two pre-requisites for expert listening. This enabled wives to gather information from a variety of sources who most likely did not speak English. The State Department, after seeing the success of listening activities in the 1950s, began to integrate this practice in formal training in the 1960s, including for diplomatic wives. This illustrates how important wives became in the field at this time. As many societies at the time followed strict gendered spheres of influence, and there was a shortage of female FSOs in many countries, wives filled a necessary gap, using their access to local women to garner insight into their communities. This gave wives, their husbands, and the US embassies the information they needed to create stronger diplomatic ties publicly and

privately. This work, often ignored, should thus be regarded as an active form of listening and information gathering and as a significant element of public diplomacy.

Although the direct policy results of the wives' listening are often unclear, the State Department believed that wives had the ability to make a difference in diplomatic efforts. As listeners, they engaged in cultural diplomacy, which allowed them to represent US culture as they learned about foreign cultures. Through all their listening activities, which allowed them to make meaningful contacts and report back their analyses, wives could become more than merely their husband's "eyes and ears". While listening focuses primarily on the "hidden" or "deep" elements of a country's culture, the other part of "surface" culture was the purview of cultural diplomacy, as described in the next chapter.

Introduction to Chapters 4-6

“The American taxpayer gets two for the price of one when a US official assigned overseas takes a wife to his post with him”.⁵⁰⁸ Those words opened the 1963 exhibit, “Showcase of American Women Around the World”, organized by the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW), in the great hall of the State Department, in a ceremony featuring Secretary of State Dean Rusk, his wife Virginia Rusk, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs Katie Louchheim, the leadership of the AAFSW, and numerous diplomatic couples.⁵⁰⁹ This exhibit was contrived to present and recognise the work diplomatic wives accomplished in host communities around the world to visitors.

The exhibit first described the three main categories the community activities fell into; each of the next three chapters concentrates on one of these. The first “great area of activity embraces the sharing of arts and skills–cultural exchange”, which is the focus of the next chapter.⁵¹⁰ The second included “self-help projects”, such as teaching and providing scholarships, which closely follows the definition of education and exchange diplomacy.⁵¹¹ The third category was “welfare services, designed to relieve human suffering”, which ranged from helping victims of natural disaster to aiding orphans, similar to global health diplomacy and foreign and humanitarian aid today.⁵¹²

The exhibit explained that “such interests of American women also serve to build international trade, promote understanding of the US, and to provide foreign people with the

⁵⁰⁸ “AAFSW Exhibit” Typescript, ABP, Carton 4, Folder 105.

⁵⁰⁹ Typescript of “Showcase of American Women Around the World” An Exhibit by the Association of American Foreign Service Women, OWN, Box 3.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

skills they need to help themselves. In many ways these women thus help to forward our foreign policy goals".⁵¹³ But what were those foreign policy goals? And how did diplomatic wives contribute to them? How did the wives work both relate to and constitute public diplomacy? Those are three of the questions that the following chapters hope to address.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

Chapter 4: “This Too is Diplomacy”: Diplomatic Wives as Cold War Cultural Diplomats

Visitors viewing the 1963 Association of American Foreign Service Wives (AAFSW) exhibit were handed a pamphlet which included the following statement: “To many people in many countries, their only knowledge of Americans and our way of life comes through the American women they meet and the American homes they visit overseas”.⁵¹⁴ During the Cold War, the phrase "our way of life" became a charged statement. Every element of culture was a part of the US diplomatic arsenal, from art and music to family and societal values. At the same time, culture was used as a shield to blunt the impact of communist propaganda that foregrounded American greed and racism. In the cultural Cold War, the frontline soldiers were not the US military but officers and wives of the State Department and USIA/S.⁵¹⁵

One year before the exhibit opened in the nation’s capital, Avis Bohlen said that if wives had special interests of their own, "if they are artists or musicians, if they have done special studies in history or literature", there would be an opportunity for them to use these skills for the "good of the [host country’s] community," and thus US foreign relations.⁵¹⁶ By the early 1960s, the US government spent millions of dollars on cultural diplomacy activities in the battle for hearts and minds, and diplomatic wives had a prominent role in this. As a veteran diplomatic

⁵¹⁴ Typescript of “Showcase of American Women Around the World” An Exhibit by the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW Exhibit), OWN, Box 3.

⁵¹⁵ See Andrew James Wulf, *US International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds through Cultural Diplomacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015); Andrew Justin Falk, *Upstaging the Cold War: American Dissent and Cultural Diplomacy, 1940-1960* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010); Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*, 1st ed, vol. 18 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Victoria Phillips, *Martha Graham’s Cold War: The Dance of American Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the US Information Agency*; Sarah Ellen Graham, *Culture and Propaganda the Progressive Origins of American Public Diplomacy, 1936-1953* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2015).

⁵¹⁶ “Avis Bohlen Speech”, FADST.

wife, Jane Hart explained that, "wives by their very nature are the ones who are the most steeped in US cultural traditions", so it made logical sense that the government used them for diplomatic gain.⁵¹⁷

This chapter argues that cultural diplomacy and cultural programming, defined as the use of national cultural talents or skills by state actors to share culture with the intent of creating goodwill and mutual understanding, was another key aspect of wives' engagement in public diplomacy. These activities changed over time, corresponding directly with how US governmental cultural programming changed in the same era. Between 1945-1972, American diplomatic wives were deeply intertwined with cultural diplomacy and programming. Some of these activities were informal, an effort to get to know local culture or ingrain themselves in the community, while others were more formal such as exhibits of wives' art hosted by USIA/S in the 1950s and 1960s abroad. The first section looks at how the rise of cultural diplomacy in the 1940s was primarily informal, as wives found opportunities to engage on their own. The second section traces the work wives did to highlight American film and music during the 1950s and 1960s with the support of the State Department and USIA. The third section examines the Art in Embassies Program, which was started by a group of Foreign Service wives in the 1960s and which became a pillar of US cultural diplomacy. Finally, the fourth and last section reviews cultural diplomacy after the 1972 directive and how wives continued their involvement after they were made private citizens and had more time for cultural exchanges.

⁵¹⁷ "Memorandum of Conversation with Jane Hart", OWN, Box 1. See also "Memorandum of Conversation with Anne Penfield", OWN, Box 1.

The Rise of Cultural Diplomacy in the 1940s

Many diplomatic wives enjoyed engaging in cultural diplomacy during their Foreign Service careers. For 30 years, from 1937 and 1967, Leila Wilson accompanied her husband on his postings to seven countries. Reflecting on her long career, she said, "[o]nce at a post, I was determined to find out everything I possibly could about that place; the religion, the archaeology, the history, the geography and so forth".⁵¹⁸ Wilson was not alone; most diplomatic wives submerged themselves in their host community's culture, whether in local handicrafts or religion. In this, wives teetered between two types of public diplomacy: listening, and cultural exchange or diplomacy. Both include learning about a culture through interactive experiences, something diplomatic wives did every day. While listening focuses on "deep culture", cultural diplomacy focuses on "visible" or "above surface" culture.⁵¹⁹ Listening was getting to know the local environment and society, while cultural diplomacy focused on cultural activities like art, music, dance, and film. Cultural diplomacy in the 1940s was primarily informal, as the State Department experimented with contracting out cultural diplomacy to private entities and wives who had worked during the war sought intellectual escapes from their new roles as homemakers.

Before World War II, the US government was content to let the private sector manage cultural relations for the US, but, as the Cold War began, the government took a more significant role in using culture to combat Communism and to obtain its foreign policy goals.⁵²⁰ In the 1940s, embassies allowed diplomatic wives their freedom to roam through different countries, enjoying local cultures without much direction. Senior wives encouraged junior wives to get out

⁵¹⁸ "Leila Wilson", ADST, Interview transcript, 25.

⁵¹⁹ Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), 57-69.

⁵²⁰ Giles Scott-Smith, "Transatlantic Cultural Relations, Soft Power, and the Role of US Cultural Diplomacy in Europe", *European foreign affairs review* 24, no.2 (2019): 22.

and learn about the community or country, with a particular emphasis on culture. In an undated speech from the 1940s, Anne Crutcher informed junior wives that, by "pursuing favorite sports, hobbies, and cultural inclinations", wives could "come to know people ordinarily outside the range of diplomatic life, thus enhancing their own understanding of the host country and presenting the American viewpoint to a fresh audience".⁵²¹

These sports, hobbies and "cultural inclinations" included art, music, food, theatre, sports, handicrafts, architecture, literature, fashion, archaeology, festivals, and traditions. Diplomatic wives enjoyed engrossing themselves in cultural affairs, none more so than Irena Brauch Wiley. Wiley married John Cooper Wiley in France in 1934 while he was a diplomat stationed in Moscow and accompanied him to postings in Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Belgium, Austria, Columbia, Portugal, Iran, and Panama. A trained artist, she had studied at the Warsaw Institute of Fine Art, Slade School in London, and the School for Applied Arts in Vienna.⁵²² As a portraitist and sculpture artist, she painted many dignitaries she met, including the last Shah of Iran. While in Colombia between 1944 and 1947, she became friends with musicians and dancers, including a young Black musician named Rodo. Rodo was able to secretly bring her to witness an authentic ritualistic cumbia dance, Colombia's national dance and a blend of African, European, and indigenous cultures.⁵²³ At the time, the ritualistic cumbia was rarely witnessed by white Colombians or foreigners, while a more popular and official cumbia was a staple during Carnival. As Wiley described it, the version she attended on the island of Tierra Bomba was more heavily Africana, with powerful music and dancers illuminated by nothing but moonlight

⁵²¹ "Transcript of Speech by Anne Crutcher", unknown date, FADST, Unmarked Box.

⁵²² "Press Release," A Collection of Portraits by Polish-American Artist Irena Baruch Wiley, accessed August 11, 2021, <http://www.irenowiley.com/page1/page1.html>.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 147.

and candles.⁵²⁴ Deeply moved by the ceremony, she reflected on how interesting it was to see deeply Catholic people continue indigenous traditions, expanding her views on colonialism, religion, and culture. During her time in Colombia, Wiley also learned more about Latin American literature. She described Bogota as the "most cultured city in Latin America with bookstores on every block".⁵²⁵ Wiley enjoyed getting out of official diplomatic circles, though her view of the world was naïve. Wiley, like many wives of the 1930s, came from a very privileged background, which made the lens in which she saw the world far different than how locals might have. Her rosy version of Colombia, and many of her future postings, leaves out the political violence that affected the country during this period.

Cultural diplomacy required cultural exchange. While the first type of cultural diplomacy is the sharing of a culture, the second part is learning about another culture. Specifically, learning about a surface culture type- art, music, dance, or visiting historic/ cultural sites. Rugh later wrote that public diplomacy officers must be sincerely interested in understanding other cultures because this was the only way they would learn how foreigners thought.⁵²⁶ Wiley had a tremendous cultural awareness of each country she lived in. Perhaps this was because, as a foreign-born diplomatic wife, she felt uneasy about representing US culture, so she instead was more comfortable immersing herself and learning about others. Most likely, though, she was just passionate about art and culture. As Bohlen explains, those who have natural instincts and interest in culture are better diplomatic wives. This says much about the role of women in the 1940s and 1950s: culture, art, music, and dance were all acceptable and outright encouraged female activities. What Irena Wiley was doing in the 1940s in Colombia was typical for any

⁵²⁴ *Ibid*, 148.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid*, 142.

⁵²⁶ William Rugh, *Frontline*, 30.

Cultural Affairs Officer. Rugh explained the necessity of this work: "if you know what's in their mind, you can help bridge the gap between our culture and their culture".⁵²⁷ By experiencing a wider range of religious traditions in Colombia, she began to understand the people and the country far more profoundly than a wife who only partook in the social circuit, something she continued in Portugal in her next posting. Only then did she and other wives have the tools to accurately share American culture.

While Wiley was in Portugal, Kitty Allen was stationed in Iran. In her first month in the country, she accompanied her husband on a trip to Isfahan, which she described as one of the most beautiful cities in the world.⁵²⁸ Allen wrote in her memoir that "the mosques and universities are of the most beautiful architecture". She described the architectural history dating back to the 17th century and how the city was laid out, as well as its history as the founding city of polo. Allen also wrote about the urban planning of a city and what that said about society. When Wiley replaced Allen as ambassadress to Iran in 1948, she used the architecture of the royal palace to describe the role of the Shah, as well as the problems that would later end his reign.⁵²⁹ Like Allen, she had a keen sense of interest in urban planning and architecture and complained about Reza Shah Pahlavi's desire to modernise Tehran by importing German architects, which she felt robbed the city of its "Persian dignity by creating a town with neither character or sense".⁵³⁰ Yet, she also acknowledged that his goal of removing slums and replacing them with decent homes for Iranians was admirable, even if "his mistake was that he was in too great a hurry to destroy the past, too eager to convert Teheran into an impressive national

⁵²⁷ William Rugh, interview with author, 16 August 2019.

⁵²⁸ Allen, *Foreign Service Diary*, 74.

⁵²⁹ Wiley, *Around the Globe*, 205.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

capital".⁵³¹ This is another example of how culture could explain a deeper understanding of a country, creating insight that became useful for diplomacy.

As an artist, Wiley was extremely interested in local art and was saddened upon arriving in Tehran to learn that there was little ancient Persian art for her to view. When she asked the Shah why he had so few of the art "of his own country" in the palace, he responded that they were all in the museums of Paris, London and New York.⁵³² Even the crown jewels she admired were held in the national bank at the time as a guarantee for the stability of the Iranian currency.⁵³³ Western exploitation of Iranian art, like that of Greece, Iraq, India and China was rarely acknowledged in this era, and Wiley seemed to think little of it after her conversation. As in previous postings, she became close friends with artists and curators in Iran, including the director of the Art Museum of Tehran.

Irena Wiley was not the only artistic diplomatic wife in the 1940s. Before Betty Hahn Bernbaum married Maurice Bernbaum in 1942, she received a letter from Maurice, then posted in Singapore, to visit Robert F. Woodward at the State Department.⁵³⁴ When she met Woodward, a career FSO, they talked amicably while he assessed if she would make a proper diplomatic wife. He then took her to the head of Personnel, who said, "[f]or now on, young lady, you too are a Foreign Service Officer".⁵³⁵ This started her Foreign Service career and, later that year, she moved to Caracas, Venezuela, with her husband a month after they married. Over the next three years, Bernbaum, a painter, mingled with the art community in Caracas. She was invited by Jules Waldman, a small music shop owner, to write for a weekly English newspaper as an art editor.⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Ibid., 184.

⁵³³ Ibid., 200.

⁵³⁴ Elizabeth Hahn Bernbaum, *Adventures in Latin America: The Life of One Foreign Service Wife* (Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company, 2003), 2.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 9.

Each week she interviewed a different Venezuelan artist, including Tomas Golding, Manuel Cabre, and Pedro Cento. She became close friends with Golding, with whom she often painted, including helping him with a small commission.⁵³⁷ Through these interactions, Bernbaum formed close ties with artists, just as any Cultural Affairs Officer would. According to Rugh, Cultural Affairs Officers (CAO) managed longer term public diplomacy activities for a US embassy, including educational exchange programs, binational centres, cultural presentations, and managed contacts with students and faculty at universities, institution directors, and prominent cultural figures, including artists, musicians, and authors.⁵³⁸ Bernbaum's meetings with cultural contacts therefore can be classified as cultural diplomacy.

In 1946, the US government contracted the Metropolitan Museum of Art to host a touring exhibit titled "Advancing American Art", organized by J. LeRoy Davidson and Richard Heindel, two curators who worked for the State Department on its International Art Program on Modern Art.⁵³⁹ The exhibit featured 79 oil paintings and 39 watercolours, purchased by the State Department, and was to travel over five years to countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and Eastern Europe, split into two exhibits. The government wanted to demonstrate that, contrary to common beliefs at the time, the US had a "vibrant and fertile art scene and the developments of international modernism had crossed the Atlantic" as they believed American art had a negative perception abroad.⁵⁴⁰ This was not just a publicity campaign but an ardent effort to counter negative perceptions among European leaders and intellectuals, which were promoted by the USSR.⁵⁴¹ This was one of the reasons President Dwight Eisenhower widely supported cultural

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Rugh, *Frontline*, 44.

⁵³⁹ "Overview, Advancing American Art: exhibition records, 1946-1977", Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

⁵⁴⁰ Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists*, Chapter 2.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

programs throughout his presidency.⁵⁴² As Supreme Allied Commander in Europe during World War II, Eisenhower was aware of the stereotypical views some Europeans had of the US as materialistic and uncultured.⁵⁴³ The exhibit, which featured paintings by esteemed modern artists such as Georgia O'Keefe, was a huge success in New York and Prague, but a campaign by US conservatives, both in Congress and in the Hearst newspapers, declared the exhibit un-American, as some of the artists were members or were affiliated with communist organisations. It was thus withdrawn before it could reach Latin America, after the Eastern Hemisphere exhibit toured in Cuba and Haiti.⁵⁴⁴ This example illustrates how art communicates information about people, society, and nations. The US was still learning the right way to portray a nation with many different sub-cultures and had not figured out the right way to sell the American story through art, explaining how they were different from other European nations.

Between 1946 and 1947, while she and her husband were serving in Nicaragua, the USIS hosted Bernbaum's one-woman art show. Her daughter, Marcy Bernbaum, who later went on to become a USAID officer in her own right, described her mother's art as paintings and sketches of local life in Nicaragua.⁵⁴⁵ It is interesting and telling that, in the mid to late 1940s, USIS would choose to display an exhibit of US art that did not include scenes of American life. This may have been because, in a smaller post such as Nicaragua, American art would have been expensive to import, but it could also be connected to the US' failed first foray into art exhibits abroad in 1946. It is unknown if Bernbaum's art exhibit was tied to the timing of the failed "Advancing American Art" exhibit. Unfortunately, no archival material exists that mentions her

⁵⁴² Cull, *The Cold War and the US Information Agency*, 293.

⁵⁴³ Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 61.

⁵⁴⁴ Aninur Setiwaldi, "Historical Controversy of 'Advancing American Art' Revisited", KGOU (NPR Oklahoma), 18 March 2013, <https://www.kgou.org/arts-and-entertainment/2013-03-18/historical-controversy-of-advancing-american-art-revisited>.

⁵⁴⁵ "Interview with Marcy Bernbaum", 18 August 2021.

exhibit, and many of her paintings have been lost to time and private collections, so it is not entirely clear why she chose to exhibit American artworks depicting local Nicaraguan life.

There are two likely reasons we can consider for this, however. The first, and more likely, reason was that this art exhibit utilized both listening and cultural diplomacy to indicate that the US respected and appreciated Nicaragua as a country, as evidenced through the paintings of local life. This would have been an example of public diplomacy at its finest. The second, and less-likely, reason is that the art became an anti-colonial rhetorical tool. The message was that the US appreciated other cultures and wanted to engage in a dialogue with these countries. After the war, US diplomats needed to show that their motives were altruistic, even if they were still focussed on widening the scope of US power, selling global capitalism, and widening American influence. Bernbaum's art was a way to express respect for local culture, while also demonstrating the US' wealth and prestige. The amateur nature of Bernbaum's work would also have been compelling to more average citizens, something the US would try and replicate in the coming decade. More importantly, Bernbaum's exhibit demonstrated the US government's support of diplomatic wives' cultural diplomacy activities, which grew in scope over the next few decades.

Wiley and Allen's memoirs sometimes feel reminiscent of the popular travel memoirs upper-class tourists published in the 18th and 19th centuries. Wiley, especially enjoys "playing tourist", while Allen and Bernbaum planned their cultural activities around and in concert with their husbands' work. Wiley lacked the professionalism or focus on international politics, and she was a bit of a dilettante when it came to international relations, choosing instead to travel and join cultural activities on a whim as it suited her. Yet, it is unclear if this made her an ineffective cultural diplomat. She was certainly from an earlier generation of diplomatic wives, who viewed

diplomacy almost as a hobby rather than as a career. Bernbaum's memoir details how her first priority was her husband's career and the US mission, which became commonplace after World War II.

Wives stationed in Europe often participated in cultural activities for two reasons. The first was that there were plenty of opportunities and it was easy to get involved informally. The second was that there were fewer opportunities for social welfare work. Martha Caldwell complained while in Dublin that the Irish did not want the diplomatic community involved in any welfare work, so there was little for her to do outside the social obligations of the embassy.

Cultural activities also provided an intellectual outlet after their extensive education and work experience during the war. Martha Caldwell had been a Foreign Service cryptologist and secretary in Cairo and Athens during World War II, where she met her husband Robert, an FSO with a doctorate in archaeology. While in Greece as an employee, she worked alongside senior embassy wives who also volunteered as secretaries to help type reports, and she was required to resign her posting upon her marriage.⁵⁴⁶ In Greece and Ireland as a diplomatic wife, Martha Caldwell was able to blend her cultural interests with her role as a diplomatic wife. She found fulfilling work while in Athens assisting Dr Carl Blegen, a well-known American archaeologist, with editing and typing his manuscript *Troy: Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati*. In Dublin, she socialised frequently with the archaeological community, at the encouragement of her husband. She even drove archaeologists to historic sites when they were unable to get transport but were needed on a cultural rescue mission, giving her the opportunity to visit a number of important archaeological discoveries with prominent scholars, earning their

⁵⁴⁶ "Martha Caldwell", ADST, Interview transcript, 8-9. Caldwell also recounted how she was later allowed a temporary appointment while serving in Salonika as the Consulate was understaffed, with permission from Washington.

goodwill.⁵⁴⁷ Similar to other diplomatic wives' work in this era, it was all informally arranged. For Caldwell, this cultural outlet in both Athens and Dublin also gave her a break from her newfound role as a wife and mother and something to use her keen intellect. Caldwell was not alone; many wives used cultural activities to keep themselves busy and to find new challenges through which to use their intelligence.

Caldwell demonstrates the diversity with which wives participated in cultural diplomacy activities in the early Cold War. Unlike the cultural activities of music, art or dance, archaeology did not export US styles or the American way of life. There was little geopolitical interest in archaeology, but her work with American archaeologists supported US academics, helping them become publicised experts in their fields and elevating US archaeology. In a roundabout way, then, this did support American influence, and was typical of an activity a CAO might do later.

Archaeology was not the only atypical form of cultural diplomacy wives participated in. In the last decade, scholars have shown an increased interest in culinary diplomacy and gastrodiploamacy. Paul Rockower argued that the two are different, as culinary diplomacy refers to diplomatic events through cuisine while gastrodiploamacy is a tool of public diplomacy, similar to art or music, linked more with broader foreign policy objections, nation branding and soft power.⁵⁴⁸ Sam Chapple-Sokol defined culinary diplomacy as the "use of food or a cuisine as a tool to create a cross-cultural understanding in the hopes of improving interactions and cooperation".⁵⁴⁹ Julia Child's work fit both Chapple-Sokol's definition of culinary diplomacy and Rockower's definition of it as "a broader cultural diplomacy venture to communicate culinary

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁴⁸ Paul Rockower, "A Guide to Gastrodiploamacy", in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy, Second Edition*, ed. Nancy Snow and Nicholas J. Cull (New York: Routledge, 2020), 205-206.

⁵⁴⁹ Sam Chapple-Sokol, "Culinary Diplomacy: Breaking Bread to Win Hearts and Minds", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 8, no.2 (2013), 161.

culture to foreign publics", particularly non-elites.⁵⁵⁰ As one of the newest terms in the lexicon of public diplomacy, it is still evolving but does provide the necessary framework to understand Child's work. Through her cookbook, first published in 1961, which sold 1.5 million copies in the US, and her television show, *The French Chef*, which reached over 50 million viewers,⁵⁵¹ Julia Childs became the ultimate public diplomat.

Like Caldwell, Julia McWilliams Child found herself looking for something to do when she accompanied her husband to Paris in the late 1940s. Child had met Paul Cushing Child when they both worked for the OSS in World War II while stationed in Sri Lanka and China and they married after the war. In 1948, Cushing Child was assigned to Paris as an Exhibits Officer with the USIS.⁵⁵² Now as an unpaid wife of a diplomat, Julia was expected to support her husband and to promote French-American relations and goodwill.⁵⁵³ When Julia arrived in Paris, she volunteered at the understaffed USIS office, creating a catalogue system for over 50,000 photographs, using the skills she had acquired with the OSS.⁵⁵⁴ When she finished the project, she started exploring Paris, its markets, and the culinary environment.⁵⁵⁵

For all intents and purposes, Child was a mediocre diplomat's wife in the traditional sense. Outside of the leaving the required calling cards upon their arrival in Paris,⁵⁵⁶ she refused to get involved in embassy activities, and her husband encouraged her to pursue her own interests.⁵⁵⁷ Cushing Child also was not an ambitious diplomat and chose to separate himself

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 207.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 254; Julia Child and Avis DeVoto, ed. Joan Reardon, *As Always, Julia: The Letters of Julia Child and Avis DeVoto* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010), 397.

⁵⁵² Julia Child with Alex Prud'homme, *My Life in France* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 6.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 37.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁵⁷ "Julia Child", ADST, Interview transcript, 9.

from the embassy outside of working hours, which allowed his wife more freedom than other diplomatic wives.⁵⁵⁸ She used this freedom to create a new path for herself, one that made her an exemplary cultural diplomat and a public icon.

Child, who had rarely cooked before setting foot in Paris, was inspired by her language instructor Helene, who introduced her to merchants and took her to different restaurants. In a memoir published in 2006, she wrote about the days spent cooking, wandering in shops, befriending merchants, and learning about new foods, which were all standard listening and cultural exchange activities. Child immersed herself in all things French culture, from art exhibits to plays.⁵⁵⁹ She struggled to learn the French language but had informal conversations with neighbours and merchants. She found a teacher in Marie, the local vegetable seller, who tutored her on shallots, potatoes, and which vegetables to eat during each season, while at the same time filling Child in on Paris' wartime experiences. As Child described it, "these informal conversations helped my French immeasurably, and also gave me the sense that I was part of a community".⁵⁶⁰ Child is another example of the informality of American cultural diplomacy of the 1940s. Bored, she found things she liked doing- which happened to be cultural activities.

By 1949, she signed up for classes at the French cooking schools L'Ecole du Cordon Bleu, joining a class of American GIs studying under the GI bill as the only female in the class. Two years later, Child met Frenchwomen Simone Beck Fischbacher and Louisette Bertholle through Le Cercle des Gourmette, an exclusive women's eating club.⁵⁶¹ This social circle immersed her even more fully in the French culinary scene. Fischbacher and Bertholle had been

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.; "Letter from JMC to Family, 19 November 1948", Box 5, Julia Child Papers (JCP), Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

⁵⁶⁰ Child, *My Life in France*, 43-44.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 113, 125-126.

writing a French cookbook for Americans. An American friend had criticised their first draft as a "bunch of dry recipes, with not much background on French food attitudes and ways of doing things", adding that Americans were accustomed to more processed foods and the recipes needed to better explain French cooking. The friend had encouraged them to find an American to collaborate with who could "explain things with an American viewpoint in mind".⁵⁶² They enlisted Child to help, and the three women decided to start a small English-language French cooking school of their own in Paris. Both the cookbook and classes provided an opportunity for more even cultural exchange. Cultural diplomacy is a two-way street- the most effective exchanges require a person to both learn about a new culture and share their own. Cultural diplomacy cannot always be bringing American culture to Foreigners or Americans learning about a culture abroad, it also must include Americans bringing back a foreign culture to the US.

Over the next ten years, she continued writing her cookbook with Fischbacher, using home leaves in the US to research US supermarkets and to teach French cooking classes to Americans.⁵⁶³ Her memoir and letters speak of her frustration with the lack of fresh herbs, larger turkeys and even that Americans ate far more broccoli than their French counterparts.⁵⁶⁴ Nevertheless, they also display her resolve and recognition of cultural differences. Reflecting later, she wrote:

For now, I could see clearly that our challenge was to bridge the cultural divide between France and America. The best way to do that would be to emphasize the basic rules of

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 127.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

cooking and impart the things I had learned from [Max] Bugnard and the other teacher-chefs.⁵⁶⁵

Child was determined to bring French cooking to the US, and she succeeded. What she learned was an example of cultural exchange. While her work superficially dealt with surface culture, much of her work in explaining French attitudes, agricultural patterns and communication methods used deep culture, as she tried to understand the population and then decipher it for the non-French.

While the Childs were abroad for Cushing Child's work as a cultural diplomat, it was Julia Child who became one of the most effective culinary and cultural diplomats. She was not a successful diplomatic wife by State Department standards, as she refused to engage in representational entertaining or attend embassy functions, and her husband did not climb the diplomatic ladder. But, through her passion and sheer determination, she was able to effectively share French culture with Americans, demonstrating that cultural diplomacy is not simply a one-way street but a two-way form of intercultural communication. Few diplomatic wives had the same immense opportunity or audience in which to share foreign cultures with their fellow Americans, though others throughout the same era were successful in sharing American culture with foreign audiences.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 231.

Film, Jazz, and Representing American Culture in the 1950s and 1960s

In 1948, Truman signed the Smith-Mundt Act, which Rugh describes as the "most important" legislative act for public diplomacy in the US. Its goal was to "enable the Government of the United States to promote better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries".⁵⁶⁶ Over the next decade, as the Cold War intensified, US public diplomacy programs grew dramatically, particularly those related to cultural exchange and diplomacy. In 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower established USIA/S which shared this responsibility with the State Department. In the field, FSOs worked side by side with USIS officers, as did their wives. In the 1950s and 1960s, wives were particularly active in highlighting American film and music, which was in line with State Department and USIA/S objectives during the era.

The 1948 institutional shift in the State Department created by Truman's new legislation is best illustrated by the experience of Eleanore Lee in Oceania between 1946-1951. In 1946 in Melbourne, Australia, Eleanore was asked to give a talk on "America the Melting Pot", but when her husband reported it to the Consul General, he said he did not want her to speak on America. Instead, she was encouraged to pick a more superficial cultural topic. Eleanore, who had previously been a high school English teacher, finally gave a speech about poets, including Robert Frost.⁵⁶⁷ Promoting US literature was seen in the 1940s as something softer and less offensive than a troubling speech on American diversity. She continued giving similar speeches in their next post in New Zealand in 1948, delivering over a dozen lectures on US poets,

⁵⁶⁶ Rugh, *Frontline*, 10.

⁵⁶⁷ "Eleanore Lee", ADST, Interview transcript, 19.

including Edgar Allan Poe, Emily Dickinson, and other notables.⁵⁶⁸ She used the most important tool of diplomacy at the time, radio, and read Dickinson's and Poe's work as part of a monthly show, which was then rebroadcast over several years after she left the country. What started as an informal program grew: by the mid-1950s, American literature had become a staple of US cultural diplomacy. It was so important that when Elinor Greer Constable, one of the few diplomatic wives who became an FSO and ambassador in her own right, took the Foreign Service exam in 1955, she was tested on American literature to ensure that she had a proper background in it and could represent the US and American culture abroad. The State Department encouraged wives to learn American literature through book clubs, USIA/S libraries, and the FSI wives' course.

At the start of the 1950s, posts began encouraging the local population to learn about American life through photographic exhibits, and, in Paris and Bonn, this responsibility fell to Paul Cushing Child. However, unlike Eleanore Lee, Julia did not want to promote America to the French, but rather the French to the Americans. In smaller posts, the promotion of the US fell to anyone with time or interest, including diplomatic wives. At their first post in Martinique in 1949-1951, Jean Vance, wife of Sheldon Vance, found the US Consulate short-staffed, so she "helped out" as unpaid labour and managed a bulletin board of photographs of interesting events in the US. She described the display she curated as including, "the photograph of our president, [and] something important that was happening in the US, so the people of Martinique would become acquainted with the American culture".⁵⁶⁹ She chose the photographs, picking exactly what the US consulate wished to display to Martinicans.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁶⁹ "Jean Vance", ADST, Interview transcript, 18.

With the Smith-Mundt Act and the mandate for USIA, the US began promoting its cultural assets on a far broader scale. One of the most effective ways it did this was through film. Various scholars have documented the history of USIA's films, but none have mentioned the role diplomatic wives played in promoting the films.⁵⁷⁰ In 1953, Frances McStay Adams was posted to New Delhi, India with her husband. Before her marriage, Adams had had a robust career, employed at the Leo Burnett Advertising Agency before working with Nelson Rockefeller on Latin American affairs.⁵⁷¹ An ardent supporter of civil rights, she worked alongside Esther Peterson and Eleanor Roosevelt while in Washington, DC. Like many other wives who had worked before and during their marriage, she tried to find rewarding activities at each post in which she served. In New Delhi, she found a paid role with USIA/S to evaluate 550 films in the New Delhi film library that had been brought from the US to screen for Indians. She oversaw a team of local staff that reviewed films in eight languages, and she found several films that she knew to be offensive to the Indian people, which thus undermined US public diplomacy efforts.⁵⁷² This included a film on a meatpacking company where the video showed cattle being slaughtered, a direct affront to Hindu people. Adams worked with her husband to find out how many of these films reached India and discovered that USIA/S was accepting films from filmmakers without looking at them.⁵⁷³ Adams launched a new protocol system where a panel reviewed films once they arrived in India to prevent any further damaging of relations. In this,

⁵⁷⁰ Nicholas J Cull, *The Cold War and the US Information Agency* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 486-487. David Culbert, "Public Diplomacy and The International History of Mass Media: The USIA, The Kennedy Assassination, and The World," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 30, no.3 (2010): 421-432. Erin Krutko Devlin, "'It's Only Convincing If They Say It Is': Documenting Civil Rights Progress in the USIA's Nine from Little Rock." *Film History* 30, no.4 (2018): 22-47. Brian Real, "Private Life, Public Diplomacy: Tibor Hirsch and Documentary Filmmaking for the Cold War USIA," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 40, no.2 (2020): 297-324.

⁵⁷¹ "Frances McStay Adams", ADST, Interview transcript, 1, 38.

⁵⁷² "Adams", ADST, Interview transcript, 18.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

she was able to make US public diplomacy more effective and directly contribute to foreign relations in India.

Like Adams, June Hamilton worked throughout the early years of her marriage. At the University of Minnesota in the 1930s, she worked in a theatre on campus where she met her husband, John, and then later for the Chicago Film Council running their international film festival. There, she oversaw a committee of experts in science, nature, literature, travel, and other relevant subjects. Before that, she had worked for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations moderating discussion groups through the use of film.⁵⁷⁴ Her husband then worked for the British Information Service where he oversaw disseminating British films for the American Midwest. When he took a job with USIA/S in Tehran, he used the phrase “they want us to go to Tehran, as films officer”, indicating that he believed Hamilton would be able to support his work given her background and knowledge.⁵⁷⁵ When the Hamiltons arrived in Tehran in 1949, they learned they were to start the first-ever films program in Iran. The day after they arrived, they went to inspect the building USIA/S had selected for this and found a room filled halfway to the ceiling with cans of 16 mm films shipped from Washington. John asked June Hamilton to put the films away, alphabetising and organising them as she went. She later created a 25-page catalogue of the films and worked with a local printer to publish it in both English and Farsi and set it up so that the films could later be translated into Arabic, allowing Iranians to pick out films they might want to show.⁵⁷⁶ In 1954, the Hamiltons moved from Iran to Tripoli, Libya, with the same task: "Again I did the cataloguing, all of this as a volunteer. I loved doing it, I was happy to do it. Always a volunteer. Whatever he wanted me to do, (laughing), I did it".⁵⁷⁷ Hamilton felt that she

⁵⁷⁴ "June Hamilton", ADST, Interview transcript, 12.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

was able not only to help her husband "a great deal" but found the work engaging and rewarding.⁵⁷⁸ In this work, she supported USIA/S film programs, ensuring its chances for success.

The US government appreciated her work. In the sixth USIA semi-annual report to Congress, spanning January 1-June 30, 1956, USIA singled out June Hamilton in "The Role of USIS Wives Overseas". The report emphasised that "wives of USIS overseas officers represent their country with ingenuity and distinction".⁵⁷⁹ It described Hamilton as such:

Experience gained as executive director of Chicago Film Council's first World Film Festival helped her write and produce a catalogue of USIS motion pictures and reorganize film libraries in both Tehran and Tripoli. Ran projector for private showings of USIS documentaries for key women. Helps represent USIS in welfare activities, in schools, clinics, orphanages.⁵⁸⁰

Hamilton routinely accompanied her husband and their mobile units to screen films in remote villages.⁵⁸¹ She showed films to women audiences in Libya, who likely felt more comfortable with her showing the films rather than with a male officer. Here, she took on the role of a films officer, gaining recognition from USIA, and Congress as employees did, even if she was unpaid.

Hamilton and Adams were not alone in their work. Jean Graffis, a foreign-born wife originally from France, was able to use her French language skills to show USIS films and to

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ "Report to Congress, US Information Agency, January 1- June 30, 1956", Fulbright Papers (FUL), Box 22, Folder 27, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AR.

⁵⁸⁰ USIA, *1956 Report to Congress*, 28.

⁵⁸¹ "June Hamilton", ADST, Interview transcript, 15.

distribute USIS publications in schools and community centres. She was even invited by the wife of Haiti's president to show films at four "canteens" in downtown Port-au-Prince once a week.⁵⁸² Similarly, Mrs Robert Payne, the wife of the Public Affairs Officer in Tehran in 1956, used her contacts in different woman's groups to develop outlets for USIS books and films.⁵⁸³ In the late 1950s, Ruth Bond, Chair of the Tunisian Projects Committee of the American Women's Club of Tunisia, reported that they showed seven USIA/S films just in the first three months.⁵⁸⁴ These examples illustrate the critical role that wives played in cultural diplomacy efforts as envoys to women's groups.

In the 1950s, the State Department and USIA/S became concerned about their outreach to foreign women, and film was an important vehicle for cultural diplomacy. A draft report that evaluated USIA's Women Activities listed all USIA/S films with women in them. Few USIA/S films were designed specifically for female audiences at the time. In fact, there were just two full-length films for women: one in 1951 on rural women and one in 1952 on women in elections.⁵⁸⁵ USIA/S acquired only three other films focussed on women between 1950-1958, along with three on the Girl Scouts, and it produced or acquired no films in 1958 or 1959, indicating that USIA/S was not successful in its efforts. Yet other films for more general audiences did feature women, including *The Lady from Philadelphia*, with African American opera singer Marian Anderson, which was widely promoted and viewed in the FSI's Wives Course.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸² USIA, *1956 Report to Congress*, 25-30.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁴ "Tunisia Projects", Box 17, Folder 10, J. Max and Ruth Clement Bond Papers (BP), Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, NY.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ "Notes on Wives Course by Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson", Box 114, Folder 7, Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson Papers (MPP), Library of Congress, Washington, DC. See also "Notes on Wives Course by MMBP", ADST.

The USIA/S films demonstrate Danielle Fosler-Lussier's observations on the use of top-down and bottom-up approaches to diplomacy.⁵⁸⁷ USIA set its objectives and priorities from the "top", while embassies and USIS disseminated them from the "bottom". At the same time, officers and wives were engaged in deciding which films best fit each country, using their listening skills to determine best how to achieve US foreign policy goals, which they then reported back to Washington, completing the bottom-up approach. From the top, cultural diplomacy programs that included USIA/S films differed little from other forms of propaganda that sought to shape public opinion, but the critical difference by those in the field was that they sought to better understand the country by engaging with it.⁵⁸⁸ This engagement, combined with the intent to create mutual understanding, embodied a valid form of cultural diplomacy and not propaganda. As Adams learned about Hindu religions and then found films that might interest the audience, she was exchanging cultures rather than subverting a culture. The goal was not just to promote US interests but also not to do anything that might insult a country, jeopardising US foreign relations.

Under Eisenhower, Theodore Streibert took the helm of USIA/S and decided to capitalise on foreign interest in US mass culture, including jazz music.⁵⁸⁹ As Belmonte has argued, he was avoiding a political argument of narrowing what was and what was not American art.⁵⁹⁰ Instead, he ordered USIA/S to portray "the culture of the people of the US, not the culture of an elite or intelligentsia", with programs featuring everything from sports to music, as long as they told the "aspirations of the spirit of America".⁵⁹¹ Previous chapters discussed the US' desire to represent

⁵⁸⁷Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 26.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁹ Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: US Propaganda and the Cold War*, 66.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

an idealised view of the country, with a particular emphasis on nuclear families and US values of religious freedom, individualism and democracy. The US struggle against communism was fought using both deep and surface cultures.

Before the end of World War II, diplomatic wives represented the US in more passive ways: by serving local foods, often what their local cooks made, and spending time listening to local music, viewing local art, and watching local sports. Yet, by the 1950s, American food and culture, both high and low, become prominent in all posts.⁵⁹² In late 1950s Argentina, USIS hosted another art exhibit featuring Betty Bernbaum's artwork, this time featuring art of her children and family life as well as art of local life, with over 1,000 attendees.⁵⁹³ A similar exhibit was held with an unnamed wife in the Philippines in the 1960s.⁵⁹⁴ American wives were engrossed in sharing American culture with their local communities on five continents, with the support of USIA/S and the State Department.

To ensure that wives were equipped to discuss and promote US culture abroad, the FSI Wives' Course had several sessions dedicated to different facets of American culture. Wives were hosted by experts from the National Gallery of Art for a seminar on American architecture and painting, and they attended lectures by university professors on US literature and American history.⁵⁹⁵ The class on music showed *The Lady from Philadelphia*, a documentary featuring Marion Anderson, the African American soprano who famously performed at the Lincoln Memorial with the support of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt after she had been banned from singing at the Daughters of the American Revolution Concert Hall in Washington, DC due to her

⁵⁹² Allen, *Foreign Service Diary*, 113.

⁵⁹³ Bernbaum, *Adventures in Latin America*, 91.

⁵⁹⁴ "A Review of Volunteer Activities of the Women of the US Mission to the Philippines", Box 30, Folder 7, Katie Louchheim Papers (KLP) Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; "Notes on Wives Course", MPP, Box 114.

race.⁵⁹⁶ Anderson toured abroad for the State Department in the Cold War, and Mary Marvin Patterson described the film as “a moving presentation of what fine Americans can accomplish abroad. She is a patriot and a good diplomat, and the spirit of her approach to foreigners was a valuable example to the students”.⁵⁹⁷

However, Patterson had considerably more criticism of the lecture on American music that demonstrated two main points of US cultural diplomacy in the Cold War: the focus on diversity in the US, and the importance of amateur artists and musicians in cultural activities. She asked that the speaker include discussions on the place of folk songs and "negro spirituals" in American music, more information on chamber music, and more on the role of amateur musicians in American society. She also recommended that the instructor play selected records of less familiar American music. Overall, she felt that the lecture lacked vital information connected with US representation abroad, including USIS music programming of US musicians who performed abroad and the availability of US music in USIS libraries.⁵⁹⁸ Her criticisms were practical, but Patterson was also focussed on representing a certain America that played into US foreign policy objectives during the cultural Cold War.

During the 1950s, the US especially began to focus on the value of amateur activities in promoting American values and culture outside the US. Numerous international exhibits featured projects by amateur artists, and wives often described their experiences with amateur music and theatre groups abroad. As with sports, US officials were cautious not to "over-emphasise" America's interest in professional activities, fearful that it would "reinforce perceptions overseas

⁵⁹⁶ Sharon R. Vriend-Robinette, “Marian Anderson as Cold Warrior: African Americans, the US Information Agency, and the Marketing of Democratic Capitalism”, *American Studies* 57, no.4 (2019), 23-47.

⁵⁹⁷ “Notes on Wives Course”, MPP, Box 114.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

that ‘money and prowess’ were “inseparable in the American mind”.⁵⁹⁹ The same was true generally of US culture. Thus, the USIS promoted Bernbaum's artwork as a symbol of US amateurism, distinct from American professionalism and wealth. Bernbaum’s amateur art displayed three things: artistic freedom in the US; that, as an American housewife, she had ample leisure time to practice her hobby; and that American amateurs showed passion and were not driven by monetary greed, demonstrating that the US was not solely focussed on wealth. In order to counteract the idea that Americans were uncultured, an ambassador serving in Scandinavia wrote in "This Worked For Me" about an amateur painting, arts, and crafts show that featured the work of the mission staff and their spouses in painting, clay, ceramics, photography, and similar arts. This unknown ambassador said that "we carefully explain that it is all our own amateur handicraft—not an exhibit of US art".⁶⁰⁰ It may not have been an exhibit of necessarily American art, but it was an exhibit of the US appreciation of free expression through amateur artistic culture. This indicated that Americans did not pretend to be experts at everything and that they had more in common with general populations than previously believed.

By 1956, the State Department believed that jazz best represented the American values of freedom of speech, diversity, and democracy, and diplomatic wives aided posts in promoting and supporting jazz ambassadors while on tour in the 1950s and 1960s.⁶⁰¹ Jazz also served the need to promote Black artists as symbols of the “triumph of American democracy” in order to counter criticism of US racism and to build relations with new African and Asian states.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ Toby C. Rider, “Projecting America: Sport and Early US Cold War Propaganda, 1947-1960”, in *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War*, ed. Toby C. Rider and Kevin B. Witherspoon (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2018), 18.

⁶⁰⁰ “*This Worked for Me*”, OWN, Box 1.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*; Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 3.

⁶⁰² Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 3.

In 1963, while June Hamilton was stationed in Baghdad, Duke Ellington and his band came to the city to perform. Hamilton recounted that he arrived during a coup but gave three packed concerts for local citizens even while under curfew. When Hamilton and her husband took Ellington to visit the Taq Kasra or the Arch of Ctesiphon, the ruin of an ancient monument, he became fascinated with a 90-year-old man playing a two-stringed sitar. Ellington later used the tune from the sitar player in his album, "Far East Suite", which was inspired by his Middle East tour.⁶⁰³ When Ellington played at the 1967 Expo in Montreal, he invited the Hamiltons to his concert and announced that, "[b]ecause the Hamiltons are here with me tonight, I'm going to play the song I wrote from my experience in Baghdad".⁶⁰⁴ Hamilton had fostered goodwill by hosting Ellington and his band at her house for breakfast while her husband briefed the visitors on Iraq and Iraqi culture.⁶⁰⁵

Besides Hamilton, numerous other diplomatic wives befriended jazz musicians and helped facilitate their introduction to the local community. While in Chad in the late 1960s, Vance often hosted large buffet dinners and put a stage in her garden so jazz singers on tour could perform.⁶⁰⁶ At the embassy in New Delhi, Steb Bowles hosted afterparties, what she called hootenannies, when musicians like Charlie Byrd came to town, and she also invited Indian musicians and encouraged them to play or "jam" together in an exchange of music and cultures.⁶⁰⁷ These events had two objectives. First, they properly introduced the American artists to foreign audiences and paved the road for the success of public cultural events, ensuring that

⁶⁰³ The Far East is a misnomer but speaks to the lack of care of geography by Americans in the mid-twentieth century. Ellington performed in 1963 in Damascus, Amman, Ramallah, Kabul, New Delhi, Hyderabad, Bengaluru, Chennai, Mumbai, Kolkata, Columbo, Kandy, Dhaka, Lahore, Karachi, Tehran, Isfahan, Abadan, Baghdad, and Beirut. He was supposed to perform in Ankara, Istanbul, Nicosia, Cairo, Alexandria, Athens, Thessaloniki, and Yugoslavia, but the rest of the tour was cancelled after John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

⁶⁰⁴ "June Hamilton", ADST, Interview transcript, 11.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁶ "Jean Vance", ADST, Interview transcript, 46.

⁶⁰⁷ "Letter from DSB to Sally Bowles, 10 April 1968", DSBP, Box 1.

the visiting artists were welcomed and supported. Second, wives like Bowles introduced American to Indian musicians in order to create opportunities for cultural exchange. This is just one example of music diplomacy during this period.

Other American music introduced to host communities included folk or working-class music. The wife of the US labour attaché to India in 1965, Yetta Weisz, was inspired by Bowles. When her husband was out of town, Yetta Weisz represented him at the Roosevelt House Labor Day event, at which Joan Dine led a chorus of FSOs and their wives singing American labour songs to an audience of representatives from Indian trade unions.⁶⁰⁸ She recollected that after the performance of "It Could Be a Wonderful World", "Solidarity Forever", and "The Union Makes Us Strong",⁶⁰⁹ the German, Swedish and British labour attachés each came up to her and said, "[t]his is the most remarkable experience. We who come from [serving in] Socialist countries have never been able to put on a Labor Program singing such fantastic labor songs as you have done here in Roosevelt House". They celebrated the mix of the workers with the elite: "You even have the Ambassador's wife [Bowles] as a member of the chorus!"⁶¹⁰

Other embassy wives followed suit. In the Philippines, a wife joined the Manila symphony orchestra.⁶¹¹ Marie Antoinette Loeb, the wife of the American Ambassador to Ghana, gave violin recitals at the Residence for "70 Guineans and members of the diplomatic corp",⁶¹² accompanied by the local music school director. Loeb had always taken an active interest in music while abroad with her husband: she joined the Peruvian national symphony orchestra, started a Women's String Quartet, and performed concerts in the interior of the Amazon that

⁶⁰⁸ "Yetta Weisz", ADST, Interview transcript, 25.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 25.

⁶¹¹ "A Review of Volunteer Activities of the Women of the US Mission to the Philippines", Box 30, Folder 7, Katie Louchheim Papers (KLP) Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

⁶¹² "September 1964 State Department Newsletter", OWN, Box 3.

were only accessible by gunboat.⁶¹³ A State Department newsletter for all posts reported that, in Conakry, “Mrs. Loeb has initiated a concert series which will bring together a variety of musical ensemble groups and which promises to contribute eminently to the State Department's Cultural Presentation Program”.⁶¹⁴ These examples demonstrate how wives responded to the State Department encouragement and support of wives promoting US cultural programming in the 1960s.

The support extended to the domestic arena. Robert Manning, the Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs, wrote to George Hunt, the managing editor of *Life* magazine, encouraging him to commission a piece on US diplomatic wives' involvement in international education, folk dancing, and contributions to symphony orchestras.⁶¹⁵ He wrote that, “[t]he wives of our Foreign Service Officers are a little recognized but invaluable asset to our diplomacy”.⁶¹⁶ Diplomatic wives understood that culture, music, and art transcended borders and could bring people together while promoting the US as a bedrock of culture. The State Department appreciated the wives' involvement and, by the mid-1960s, was promoting it widely.

Displaying American Art and the Art in Embassies Program

There is some debate over who first came up with the idea for the Arts in Embassies Program, but it is clear that a group of diplomatic wives were heavily involved since the program's inception.⁶¹⁷ Naomi Mathews recounted that Alice Strong, the wife of the US Ambassador to Norway, "really was the one who started the Art in Embassy program" in 1953,

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ “Letter from Robert Manning to George Hunt, 18 June 1963”, KLP, Box 25.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ “Letter from Robert H. Thayer to James A. Donovan Jr, 19 October 1976”, CU, Box 315.

albeit unintentionally.⁶¹⁸ The Strongs had powerful connections with the modern art world, including with the Rockefellers and New York museums. They were also determined to bring modern American paintings to the embassy in Oslo to demonstrate “American cultural sophistication” to the Norwegians. They hosted a trial exhibit of American art in the Residence from the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), which later grew into the Art in Embassies program.⁶¹⁹

MOMA itself acknowledged that Alice Strong initiated the program as her "first-hand observation of the effectiveness of an art collection in making embassy residences a cultural center led her to suggest to the International Council the possibility of a continuing program."⁶²⁰ Starting in the 1960s, the Art in Embassies Program, administered by the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art, which boasted having Jacqueline Kennedy and Senator J. William Fulbright on its board, began shipping curated art collections to embassies around the world. Strong, on her return from Norway, became the principal fundraiser to send more American artwork to embassies worldwide. Numerous archival sources detail the important relationship diplomatic spouses and ambassadors' wives had with the program. Throughout the 1960s, wives were instrumental in launching the Art in Embassies program, a pillar of American cultural diplomacy during second half of the 20th century.

The most significant contribution came from Shirley Woodward, the wife of Stanley Woodward who initially joined the Foreign Service before becoming Chief of Protocol and then Ambassador to Canada in 1950. Woodward met her husband while at Vassar in 1923, but they began a relationship when they both were teaching in China in the early 1920s. The Woodwards

⁶¹⁸ “Naomi Mathews”, ADST, Interview transcript, 57.

⁶¹⁹ “Press Release No.54G, April 1966”, MoMA Press Release Archives, Museum of Modern Art Library, New York, NY. https://assets.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/3676/releases/MOMA_1966_Jan-June_0110_54G.pdf

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

provided art for embassies at no cost, funding the program themselves. At the same time, Woodward, as a former diplomatic wife, deeply understood the needs of an embassy and the value of art in cultural diplomacy, as well as which pieces of art would best represent the US abroad. In 1959, the Woodwards started a foundation in Washington to lend art specifically for embassies.⁶²¹ The Woodwards' personal collection of art was "derring-do" or "avant-garde", and they began purchasing a separate collection for the sole use of US embassies. They purchased over 500 paintings, lithographs, collages, and sculptures in the first years, and Woodward was the first to call the program "Art in Embassies". Shirley Woodward put the collection for each embassy together herself, with the help of Betty Battle and Jane Thompson, also ambassadors' wives.⁶²² Battle deployed and represented one of the collections when her husband became Ambassador to Egypt in 1964. Thompson became a reserve FSO and director of the Art in Embassies program in the 1970s and 1980s after it was transferred to the State Department.⁶²³

Two of the first recipients of the art collection were Alice Dowling in Germany (1960-1963) and Elizabeth Lewis Cabot in Poland (1962-1965). Soon after her arrival in Bonn in May 1960, Dowling described the enthusiasm of German guests at the embassy, and wrote to MoMA that, "[i]f the Art in Embassies project is as successful everywhere as in Bonn, we shall be very fortunate".⁶²⁴ Just two years later, Cabot, then stationed in Warsaw, added that the library of art books sent with the paintings were also a massive asset to the program.⁶²⁵ The program spread through embassies in Europe and then began to expand into other regions of the world. At a regional conference in New Delhi in 1961, a group of US ambassadors' wives from Asia asked

⁶²¹ Elizabeth Shelton, "Art of Living Americans Carries Cultural Diplomacy Around the World", *The Washington Post*, 27 February 1966.

⁶²² *Ibid.*

⁶²³ Claudia Levy, "Jane Thompson Dies", *The Washington Post*, 5 February 1999.

⁶²⁴ "Press Release No.54G", MoMA.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*

Steb Bowles for American art to decorate the embassies they oversaw, which they knew to be possible in Europe but not yet outside of it. The wives expressed interest in paintings, prints and lithographs, which they felt were better suited to the tropical climate restrictions, as well as ceramics, woodwork, glass, textiles, and crafts. Bowles felt the delivery of art would be a "real value to local leaders as inspiration and guides in development work".⁶²⁶

Thus, the program was extended outside of Europe in the early 1960s. Katie Louchheim, then the liaison between diplomatic wives' work and the State Department in 1961, asked for each wife to send a list of requests for art. By the time her husband was appointed Ambassador to Nigeria in 1964, Mathews had secured a collection of American art from MoMA to display in the embassy. For the opening of the exhibit, she hosted an evening with "all the artists in Lagos we could round up", and she frequently invited school groups and other visitors.⁶²⁷ Mathews explained to viewers that modern art had its beginnings in Africa and suited the "big, open, light houses of the tropics".⁶²⁸ Mathews and other diplomatic wives understood the importance of selecting art that not only resonated with local communities and cultures but that was also practical and that would work in non-museum protected environments.

After President John F. Kennedy officially established it in November 1963, the Art in Embassies program became an essential part of orientation and training for wives. The program included numerous cultural institutions, such as MoMA, the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, the Smithsonian, and other smaller museums and galleries.⁶²⁹ New ambassadors' wives were required to check in with the State Department for briefings from the Foreign Buildings Office (FBO) about the embassy, the desk officer of the country, the Deputy Assistant Secretary

⁶²⁶ "Notes from India", ADST.

⁶²⁷ "Naomi Mathews", ADST, Interview transcript, 25.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ "Art for US Embassies", Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 1966, KLP, Box 9.

of State for Community Relations, and the special advisor for the State Department's Art in Embassies program, another example of how the role of diplomatic wives were formalised in this era.⁶³⁰ In 1963, Nancy Kefauver, the widow of a US Senator, was hired to advise on the program and often spoke to wives during their FSI course.⁶³¹ As a senator's wife, she likely had an affinity for ambassadors' wives, many of whom she may have known socially, just as Louchheim did. Yet, some described her as "purely" a political appointee with "no experience in the arts".⁶³² Keaufver detailed her visits to US embassies and her work with ambassadors' wives curating and coordinating collections that best fit each post.⁶³³ She argued that ambassadors' wives should have the final say about the choice of artwork instead of the Cultural Affairs Officer, because the wives were responsible for the embassies as homes.⁶³⁴ Speaking to the press, she noted that ambassadors and their wives considered various artworks in relation to "established criteria", as the art had to be original and of high quality to "best represent American culture".⁶³⁵

By 1965 Keaufver had worked with the wives of ambassadors to Gabon, Luxembourg, Libya, Malta, Algeria, Iran, Syria, Greece, Jamaica, Chad, Ecuador, Philippines, Cameroon, Barbados and the US Cultural Affairs Officers in Karachi, Caracas, Vienna, Vientiane, Bangkok, Rabat, Helsinki, Addis Ababa, and Lagos, which were waiting for permanent ambassadors.⁶³⁶

Newspaper articles and internal memos detailed the messaging and value of the program.

Speaking with a *Washington Post* reporter, Kefauver stated, "No newly developing country need consider an exhibit of American Indian or Eskimo art as an indication that the US thinks it unsophisticated". She explained that this "primitive" art is also natural for Africa where "tribes

⁶³⁰ Morgan, *Her Life and Writings*, 30.

⁶³¹ "Notes on Wives Course", OWN, Box 3.

⁶³² "Letter from Robert H. Thayer to James A. Donovan Jr, 19 October 1976", CU, Box 315.

⁶³³ "Memo from Nancy Keaufver to William Crocket, 16 December 1964", KLP, Box 9.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁵ Frances Lide, "Ambassadors Ask for Paintings", unknown outlet, unknown date, KLP, Box 3.

⁶³⁶ "The Art in the Embassies Program Progress, November 1965", State Department, KLP, Box 9.

create similar work, the ceramics, wall hangings, and paintings, wood, and soapstone carvings also go to major embassies".⁶³⁷ She then cited Bowles, who had an extensive collection of Native American art in India and mentioned Robin Duke, the wife of the US Ambassador to Spain and former Chief of Protocol of the US, who also preferred to show Native American art in the residence in Madrid.⁶³⁸

The Art in Embassies Program had lofty goals of demonstrating that the US was cultured, diverse, and attuned to other countries' differences, but despite this, the women who worked for it still had a sense of American and western superiority. Keaufver assumed that all "Africans" would like Native American art due to her tendency to resort to a stereotypical and prejudiced understanding of their background and commonality, making simple assumptions about Africans' taste in art and that in other developing countries. In Keaufver's mind, this showed similarities between the US and developing countries, dismissing their ability to understand and appreciate modern art. Yet, interestingly, Duke's decision to display Native American art in Spain and Europe indicates how the showcasing of American indigenous art could demonstrate the US' commitment to representing itself as a melting pot of different cultures, and one that supported indigenous communities. Using this theory, one piece of art in a small elite exhibit could communicate American priorities, values, history, and domestic politics. It is not surprising that wives like Bowles requested Native American art, considering her interest in the Civil Rights Movement, which also included expanding rights and recognition for Native Americans.

⁶³⁷ Elizabeth Shelton, "Art of Living Americans Carries Cultural Diplomacy Around the World", *The Washington Post*, 27 February 1966.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

Some Africans did welcome American indigenous art: in 1965, the American Ambassador to Niger described a reception for seventy-five prominent Nigerian diplomats and concluded, "[t]hey were particularly impressed with the two Indian rugs and the three pieces of pottery, and several of the guests made the comparison with similar work which is done here in Niger".⁶³⁹ According to him, the similar art techniques was able to communicate that Americans were similar to Nigerians in some ways. It communicated their openness, acceptance, and commonality, which could not have been explained in speech. Art diplomacy was able to provide a context for US culture, both deep and surface-level, and was able to bring a bit of an American sub-culture abroad.⁶⁴⁰

Although the value of the Art in Embassies Program can be found in both oral histories and US government papers, the comments from diplomatic wives best articulate the program's success for exchange. For example, in 1964 one wife explained that, not only were American paintings helpful to communicate American ideals, but she also received paintings from famous artists born in the host country but who had emigrated successfully to the US and whose work exemplified "cultural interchange".⁶⁴¹ She added:

The collection as a whole also illustrated well one aspect of current cultural activity in the US and helps correct the mistaken impression some of the local people had that America was strong militarily and economically but was lacking in culture.⁶⁴²

Over a decade after Eisenhower's cultural programming addressed these same concerns, the US was still trying to prove that it was a cultured nation. Art programs had the support of the US

⁶³⁹ "The Art in the Embassies Program Progress, November 1965", State Department, KLP, Box 9.

⁶⁴⁰ John Brown, "Arts Diplomacy: The Neglected Aspect of Cultural Diplomacy", in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy, Second Edition*, ed. Nancy Snow and Nicholas J. Cull (New York: Routledge, 2020), 81.

⁶⁴¹ "Notes for Volume II", OWN, Box 2.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*

government and the American people to represent the US abroad, shepherded by diplomatic wives. These efforts by the government wives who sat on the international committee of MoMA, which first supported the Art in Embassy Programs, mirrored the public-private partnerships that defined American cultural diplomacy.

Cultural Diplomacy after the 1972 Directive

In the 1970s, as diplomatic wives became private citizens and were no longer required to work for the Foreign Service, they were able to spend more time enjoying local cultures than representing the US according to government mandates. Vance continued her interest in music and art, organising talks on African talking drums and the history of Zaire.⁶⁴³ Leila Wilson made a study of Palestinian embroiders for a textile museum while stationed in Palestine, using what she had learned as a diplomatic wife, combined with knowledge gained from her own travels, to share what she had learned with Americans after returning home. While these examples demonstrate the opportunities offered to wives to enjoy local cultures without the involvement of the US embassy, many wives also pursued their interest in culture with the explicit hope of bettering foreign relations, fulfilling the age-old objective of cultural diplomacy: mutual understanding.

In her memoir, Dorothy Irving recounted her life as a diplomatic wife from her and her husband's first tour in Vienna in 1952 until the last tour in Jamaica in 1979. In the foreword, her husband wrote that Dorothy "set the tone and atmosphere that contributed to many of the successes our embassy achieved, to the many successes that were officially attributed to me".⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴³ "Jean Vance", ADST, Interview transcript, 53.

⁶⁴⁴ Dorothy Irving, *This Too is Diplomacy* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2007), xiii.

He added that: “Nations are made up of people. The more we understand the culture and perspectives of others—even when we disagree—the greatest our chances [are] of building bridges and changing opinions”.⁶⁴⁵ Frederick Irving's words underscore the importance of cultural diplomacy to achieve support for US objectives, best illustrated by their experience in Iceland in the early 1970s. When the Irvings arrived in Iceland in 1972, their main objective was to convince Iceland to keep the NATO base because the country did not want to have any military presence on the island.⁶⁴⁶ Irving was an integral part of the team and one of the first and only spouses to be given a full-field security clearance.⁶⁴⁷ She discovered that the Icelanders, who wanted to close the base, were invested in their country’s culture and that Iceland was proud and protective of its history, literature, language and traditions.⁶⁴⁸ Iceland was soon to become a small US proxy Cold War battleground against the Soviets over the decision whether or not to close the base. The Soviet Ambassador told Irving that if she and her husband was able to get the base closed, Moscow would reward them with a post in Paris, which she was greatly looking forward to.⁶⁴⁹

Much like Julia Child, Irving recognised that culture was inherently important to the Icelandic people and that her time would be best spent learning everything she could about her host country. Irving dedicated herself to learning the complicated names of Icelanders, their sagas, their food, sports, and customs about “little people” or elves, which demonstrated America’s interest in and respect for Iceland’s culture. Irving not only learned to speak Icelandic fluently but also read all of the old Icelandic sagas.⁶⁵⁰ Literature, language and culture was the

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 99.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., xiii.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 108-109.

way to Icelandic's hearts she deduced, which was not surprising for a country with the highest literacy rate in the world. Irving did not learn Icelandic in an effort to keep the base, as that was her husband's role, but instead, as she claimed, "because I was so interested in the language of this land that so treasured the written word".⁶⁵¹ As a former teacher, Irving was passionate about different cultures and their languages and literature. She recognized the importance of literature to daily Icelandic life, observing that even at official dinners, people argued over heroes and plotlines of the classic sagas, and that books were the most cherished Christmas present.⁶⁵²

Word of her fluency spread, and even people in the eastern part of the island that she met while camping knew her as "the American who speaks Icelandic".⁶⁵³ Irving wrote that her knowledge of Icelandic opened many doors, "not only for my own deep pleasure, but in the hearts of Icelanders". She knew that her cultural fluency played a role in the base discussions: her respect for their language, culture and customs helped Icelanders feel more comfortable with the US officials, and thus with the presence of the NATO base.⁶⁵⁴ This demonstrates how cultural affinity could directly translate into political sway. At their farewell dinner, the Foreign Minister of Iceland said that Irving "furthered good relations between our two countries at a time of stress, and she loved us enough to learn our difficult language".⁶⁵⁵ As Irving was both separate and part of the US embassy, she had the ability to learn about and come to love the local culture, which was not possible for an FSO or ambassador without facing charges of "going native". As a wife, this admiration came across as so earnest that it earned unparalleled goodwill between Americans and Icelanders.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Irving's experience demonstrates that cultural diplomacy could be particularly effective during tense negotiations because cultural presentations and exchanges had the advantage of appearing non-political while still diffusing tension.⁶⁵⁶ Yet Irving's experience also illustrates the importance of diplomatic wives and the nuances of their particular forms of diplomacy as both private and public actors. At a dinner, the wife of the Soviet Ambassador boasted about both Soviet and American superiority over Iceland, declaring that the opinion of Iceland should not matter and that if the Soviets oversaw military outlets in Iceland, they would "grind them [Icelanders] under our feet".⁶⁵⁷ By the next afternoon, most of the country knew of the comments. The Soviet wife's disdain for Icelandic culture and sovereignty, as demonstrated through her comments, turned Icelanders away from the USSR, particularly when compared with Dorothy Irving, who consistently demonstrated her love for Iceland and its culture. She made the Icelandic acceptance of the US and NATO much smoother, proving wives could have a valuable role even after the 1972 directive.

Conclusion

The examples of Irving and other diplomatic wives demonstrate the importance of their particular and unique approach to cultural diplomacy in the Cold War. Diplomatic wives knew that the most crucial part of cultural diplomacy was exchange, and many learned about local practices while sharing American culture. Before World War II, the US government predominantly let private entities such as museums informally manage cultural relations for the US, but the Cold War changed this. In parallel, wives' engagement in cultural diplomacy in the 1940s

⁶⁵⁶ Rugh, *Frontline*, 134-145.

⁶⁵⁷ Irving, *This Too is Diplomacy*, 117.

was primarily informal, as women sought intellectual outlets from their primarily roles as homemakers or hostesses. Caldwell and Child demonstrate the diversity of cultural activities and programming in which wives joined.

In the 1950s, with the escalation of the cultural Cold War, the passing of the Smith-Mundt Act and the creation of USIA/S, there was extensive opportunity for US cultural and public diplomacy to grow. Simultaneously, wives increased their own involvement. Those in Europe took a heavier interest in cultural affairs, most likely due to the number of opportunities available and the lack of social welfare work open to them. In the 1950s and 1960s, in various diplomatic stations, two of the most effective cultural programming opportunities came through films and music, as epitomised by the jazz diplomacy. Wives' involvement in this has often been overlooked, but the wives' engagement, combined with the intent to facilitate mutual understanding between Americans and foreign audiences, is what makes this a valid form of cultural diplomacy and not propaganda. Overall, these decades witnessed a shift from passive to active cultural exchange, with wives sharing American food, music, and other elements of culture with those they met.

As described in this chapter, the 1960s also witnessed an increase in support from the State Department for wives' activities, particularly cultural ones. They began actively promoting wives' engagement at embassies, in Washington, and in the foreign and domestic press. To ensure that wives' work stayed on message, they added several cultural topics to the FSI Wives' Course. The State Department understood that music, art, and other facets of culture had the ability to transcend borders and share a positive image of the US. This was one of the many reasons why the Art in Embassies Program, which quite a few diplomatic wives were heavily engaged in throughout the last few decades of the twentieth century, became so successful. After

the 1972 directive, wives continued their cultural inclinations, including participating in the Arts in Embassies Program, as they had more time to enjoy local cultures than to serve in formal representational duties.

The US had many cultural diplomatic objectives during this era, including to create mutual understanding and to correct a "false image" of America as uncultured, financially motivated, and as a swamp of corporate businessmen and their greedy wives.⁶⁵⁸ Gienow-Hecht and Donfried have illustrated that the more separation there is between cultural diplomacy programs and a nation's political and economic agendas, the more likely the programs are to succeed. Diplomatic wives had the benefit of being considered part of the embassy community, but also a step away from their husbands as private citizens. They thus became excellent and nuanced cultural conduits.⁶⁵⁹ They were able to represent the US as professional wives and as amateur American artists and musicians who voluntarily donated their time to cultural pursuits and philanthropy, thus demonstrating their appreciation for other cultures. Many wives took this same enthusiasm and balance between formal and informal to their other volunteer activities, including in education, as discussed in Chapter 5, and in social welfare, as explored in Chapter 6.

⁶⁵⁸Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, and Mark C. Donfried, *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 18.

⁶⁵⁹ Christina Luke and Morag Kersel, *US Cultural Diplomacy and Archaeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2-3.

Chapter 5: "Natural" Educators: Diplomatic Wives' Involvement in Education and Exchange Diplomacy

The Smith-Mundt act of 1948 set US public diplomacy priorities for decades. These included funding and instructions for educational exchanges, such as leader and technical exchanges, information services, libraries, schools, community centres, and fostering public-private partnerships.⁶⁶⁰ For this, over the next three decades, the State Department and later USIA/S sent thousands of Cultural Affairs, Information, and Public Affairs Officers and their families abroad. While these officers had the primary mandate to carry out US public diplomacy, between 1945-1972 diplomatic wives were instrumental in these programs.

Margaret Morgan, the wife of the director-general of the Foreign Service Institute, wrote in a piece titled "The Foreign Service Wife Serves her Country Well":

... any constructive activity that brings wives in closer relation to the people of the country at all social and economic levels is important; they can work on welfare and charitable projects, participate in sanitation and public health programs, engage in various kinds of teaching, or pursue a course of just getting acquainted with more and more people on the basis of mutual friendship and understanding.⁶⁶¹

The keywords in the last sentence are "mutual" and "understanding," which are the same words found in the Smith-Mundt act. It is not a coincidence that Morgan wrote this article: compared to the average Foreign Service wife, Morgan was in a better position to understand US Department

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Margaret Morgan, "The Foreign Service Wife Serves Her Country Well," *State Department Newsletter*, May 1964, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

policies and priorities when it came to both public diplomacy and wives' activities. Before her marriage, she had been a high-ranking State Department official as chief of the Public Liaison Division between 1945-1951 and was one of the few wives who continued her paid work for the Department while stationed in Washington. After her marriage, she was a special assistant to the assistant secretary for Economic Affairs, and in 1961 was made special assistant on Trade Policy at the White House. She held this role until 1964, the same year the forementioned article was published.

Morgan's husband, George Allen Morgan, was also the director of FSI. George Morgan understood the important role diplomatic wives held abroad and, in 1962, led the revival of the Wives' Course at FSI.⁶⁶² He handpicked Mary Vance Trent, a female Foreign Service officer and seventeen-year veteran of the Service, to not only restart the course but to completely overhaul it for modern diplomacy as per George's vision. Trent was unsure as to why she was chosen, since she had never met George Morgan; but had previously worked with his wife.⁶⁶³ At the time, Margaret Morgan was credited with the revitalization of the wives' course and had in fact designed it, although she continued to attribute it to a partnership with her husband until her death.⁶⁶⁴ In her retirement, Morgan continued her interest in international education and volunteered with the National Education Association, taught English in Vienna, and sat on the Austrian American Educational [Fulbright] Commission.⁶⁶⁵

Morgan's interest in educational activities was not unique. Teaching English was the most popular activity for Foreign Service wives abroad. Wives also helped prepare exchange participants to go to the US, continued connections with alumni, opened schools for girls in

⁶⁶² "Mary Vance Trent", ADST, Interview transcript, 3-4.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid*, 4.

⁶⁶⁴ "Margaret Morgan", ADST, Interview transcript, 16; "George Morgan", ADST, Interview transcript, 12.

⁶⁶⁵ "Margaret Morgan", ADST, Interview transcript, 34.

developing countries, taught at American schools all over the world, staffed libraries, raised funds, volunteered in local binational centres, administered college admission tests, and wrote reports on education systems in host countries. They also taught home economics, worked on literacy programs, and started some of the first special education programs for disabled students in host countries. In most posts, this was done with the backing of and, sometimes, at the explicit instruction of the embassy. Wives found these activities particularly fulfilling, it gave many of them a sense of a career of their own, it was portable, and could easily continue in different posts. At the same time, the teaching career was acceptable and encouraged by the Foreign Service because women were seen as natural educators, and education, especially primary education, was seen as "women's work."

Numerous public diplomacy scholars and historians have written on exchange diplomacy. However, education diplomacy has often been side-lined. Cull in his chapter on education and exchange diplomacy in *Public Diplomacy*, focused only on exchange programs. While this limits the literature available to understand the role of English teaching in public diplomacy, it also allows this work to demonstrate its contribution for the first time in scholarship; including the role of diplomatic wives in teaching.

In a similar way to how after the American Civil War the American Missionary Association urged single women to go South and "bring a liberating literacy to the children of hopeful freemen", the US government encouraged wives to educate local women and children in host countries.⁶⁶⁶ In 1949, with President Truman's Point Four Program, a plan to lift developing countries out of poverty⁶⁶⁷, English teaching became relevant to public diplomacy. By the 1960s,

⁶⁶⁶ Geraldine J. Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes: A Social History of Women Teachers in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 68.

⁶⁶⁷ Stephen Macekura, "The Point Four Program and US International Development Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 128, no.1 (2013): 127.

the State Department acknowledged the sheer volume of wives teaching English and recognised the extra training needed to better them and bolster US objectives abroad. By 1964, training in teaching was included in every wives' course schedule, taught by FSI linguists and USIA staff.⁶⁶⁸ A 1965 circular to Foreign Service, USIA/S, and USAID staff, noted teaching English as an opportunity for wives to participate in community activities.⁶⁶⁹

This chapter will illustrate diplomatic wives' engagement in education and exchange program further evidences their participation in public diplomacy. The first section reviews the history of women in US education, important context to understanding wives' involvement. The second section looks at the start of US educational programs abroad in the 1940s. The third examines how the 1950s saw an increase in wives' participation with State Department approval and surveys how wives' participation in English language training was standardised between 1950s-1960s. The final section then looks at exchange diplomacy in the same period, with a special case study on exchange programs.

Education and Gender Roles in US History

Teaching had long been considered a woman's career in the US. Geraldine Clifford notes in her book, *Those Good Gertrudes*, that women have dominated teaching since the US became a country, and pre-independence, 75% of all teachers were women.⁶⁷⁰ Many female seminaries, which later became the first women's colleges, created the first generation of higher-education teachers. In her book *College Girls*, Lynn Peril argues that college-trained women were most

⁶⁶⁸ Wives' Course Class Schedule for Jan 20-31, 1964, FADST, Unmarked Box.

⁶⁶⁹ "Training Wives and other Members of Family," Joint State, AID, USIA/SCircular, 28 April 1965, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5. See also: "AAFWSW Exhibit," *State Department Newsletter*, Nov 1962, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

⁶⁷⁰ Clifford, *Good Gertrudes*, 36.

accepted as teachers as teaching was seen as an extension of their natural role as caregivers to children.⁶⁷¹ Additionally, it was believed women were responsible for moulding children into citizens.⁶⁷² She cites a 1920s brochure for women's classes at the University of Oregon that described women's "instinctive fondness for children".⁶⁷³ Unsurprisingly, by 1950, 60% of women in colleges were being prepared to teach⁶⁷⁴ It follows then that when diplomatic wives served abroad in the 1950s they were often asked to teach, particularly in American schools where they could help shape the next generation of Americans or in local schools where they could shape the youth in young democracies. Many of these positions were voluntary and few wives were paid for their work.

State Department employees shared this gendered view. One Foreign Service officer note that "single secretaries can teach night school (this should be mentioned in their efficiency reports), and wives can teach many things".⁶⁷⁵ The officer comments highlight two particularities. Firstly, an underlying assumption that any woman could teach and indeed, teach a wide range of subjects, that they were natural caregivers and, therefore, educators. Regardless of having full-time jobs, as with secretaries, women can and *must* teach. Secondly, and more broadly, the comment indicates how the State Department used volunteer activities outside of the prescribed job description to assess the performance of FSOs, and their wives. However, while female employees were able to earn extra credit through teaching, diplomatic wives were overlooked and considered free labour, or "two for the price of one".

⁶⁷¹ Peril, *College Girls*, 335.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁴ Clifford, *Good Gertrudes*, ix

⁶⁷⁵ "Survey Notes" Typescript, OWN, Box 2.

The 1940s and the Start of US Education Programs Abroad

During the 1940s, wives' educational activities were limited and ad hoc, in tandem with US educational diplomacy activities at the time. In fact, many embassies discouraged wives from participating. Before WWII, private institutions such as the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford foundations financed most education and exchange activities; the US government had little role or interest in supporting or promoting international education.⁶⁷⁶ Still, wives found alternate ways to be involved. This is exemplified in the case studies of Ruth Clement Bond, Betty Atherton, and Jean Vance. Their atypical experiences provide a framework to understand the unique roles that wives carved out for themselves while stationed abroad and how they related to US public diplomacy.

Ruth Clement Bond and her husband, Max Bond, arrived in Haiti in 1944 as part of President Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbour Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. Max Bond headed a team of six or seven educators, including two women, that were sent to teach languages, science, homemaking, and other subjects in local schools. Bond volunteered on the team, teaching English at the Ecole Normale.⁶⁷⁷ When her husband joined the Foreign Service, Bond was an experienced teacher. In Haiti, her husband endeavoured to send a Haitian English teacher to the US for further study. However, even with a scholarship, the teacher needed his income from Ecole Normale to financially support his family. The solution engineered by Bond was for his wife to substitute so the teacher would still earn the salary from the Haitian government. Bond agreed, accepting that "the government paid him the salary and I did the work".⁶⁷⁸ She later continued to teach English at the school and began tutoring women in it,

⁶⁷⁶ Liping Bu, "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War," 395.

⁶⁷⁷ "Ruth Bond", ADST, Interview transcript, 4.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

including the wife of the Haitian Minister of Education.⁶⁷⁹ Thus, Bond's case illustrates how she was able to effectively participate in two different elements of public diplomacy —education and exchange— at once.

Jean Vance met her husband Sheldon while studying at Carleton College, from where she graduated in 1939. Vance had both an idealistic and a realistic view of education and of her career. While her expectations from her college education were limited to learning history, art, and music, (although she later majored in Economics) she also hoped "to have the world open up for me". She had ambitions of becoming a stockbroker before marriage.⁶⁸⁰ Instead, she ran the mathematics department for Harvard University while her husband attended law school. In December 1942 they left for Brazil, where Sheldon was a Junior Economic Analyst at the Embassy. Jean Vance taught English at the equivalent of a USIS library in Rio de Janeiro while stationed there from 1942-1946.⁶⁸¹ These libraries in South America were a joint project between the American Library Association (ALA) and the Office of International Affairs, headed by Nelson Rockefeller.⁶⁸²

Unlike Bond, Vance had no teaching experience when she arrived in Brazil. Vance was paid 10.00 USD a week for her English teaching and, as she remembers, was the only wife in the embassy to teach. She found it exciting and an adventure to go into the city several times a week and have a life separate from that of a diplomatic hostess.⁶⁸³ Later, she added that while she was

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁸⁰ "Jean Vance", ADST, Interview transcript, 5.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 8. See also: Sheldon Vance and Jean Vance, Typescript of *American Diplomacy: An Insider Look* (Unpublished Memoir), 27, *Sheldon and Jean Vance Papers* (JVP), Manuscripts Collection, Minnesota Historical Society (MNHS), Saint Paul, MN, Box 1, Folder 1.

⁶⁸² Jody Sussman, "US Information Services Libraries," December 1973, University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science, <https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/3815/gslisoccasionalpv00000i00111.pdf?sequence=1>. For further reading, see Mary Niles Maack, "Books and Libraries as Instruments of Cultural Diplomacy in Francophone Africa during the Cold War," in *Books, Libraries, Reading and Publishing in the Cold War* (Austin: University of Texas, 2001), 64.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 8.

teaching her students English, she increased her Portuguese vocabulary and gained more confidence in speaking the language.⁶⁸⁴ For Vance, the English teaching was significant for three reasons: her own identity, that she helped people learn English, and that she also learned something from them. This concept of reciprocity is a critical element in education and exchange. As Antonio Lima argues, to constitute exchange, there must be a two-way flow of information and learning.⁶⁸⁵

Betty Atherton, a trained teacher, had two unorthodox teaching experiences in the late 1940s. During WWII, Atherton had been widowed and had a young daughter. In 1946 she met Leroy "Roy" Atherton and married him only two months later. When she first met her husband, she was studying for her master's at Emerson College and teaching drama at the Girls' Latin School. She had planned to have a career as a speech or drama teacher which changed when her husband announced that he had taken the Foreign Service exam one day. When Atherton arrived in Stuttgart, Germany in 1947 for their first post, she began teaching English to the German female telephone operators at the military base who struggled with the soldiers' peculiar dialects of English, which she dubbed "GI English."⁶⁸⁶ Atherton and a friend taught the women two to three times a week, creating their own successful English language program.

Her second foray into English teaching, which was not included in her oral history, was later recounted in her husband's. In 1948, after the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, many Czech refugees ended up in camps around Stuttgart. A group of refugees included students and professors from Charles University. They formed the Masaryk University in Exile to teach university students in the refugee camps. While some students had English language skills, many

⁶⁸⁴ Vance, *American Diplomacy*, 27.

⁶⁸⁵ Antonio F. de Lima Jr, "The Role of International Educational Exchanges in Public Diplomacy," 235.

⁶⁸⁶ "Betty Atherton", ADST, Interview transcript, 23.

did not. Atherton and Rosser Finger, the first wife of the head of the Political Section at the post there, volunteered to teach them. The Consul General summoned Roy Atherton and Seymour Max Finger, explaining that he did not want their wives "going to that camp" and "mixing" with the refugees because they (students particularly) might be communists. Roy took this as "a direct order that I should tell Betty to stop teaching English to the Czech students".⁶⁸⁷ This posting, and their experience with the Consul General, led both Atherton and her husband to reconsider if they wanted a future career in the Foreign Service.⁶⁸⁸ While Atherton struggled with the formality of the post, Roy struggled with the fact that in this career he would have to defer to prejudiced people, who he felt had a different and more narrow-minded view of the role of women and families in the Service.⁶⁸⁹

How the State Department dealt with women working differed according to the post and those in-charge as well. An example, after Eleanore Lee arrived in Dakar in 1944, she struggled under Consul General Wilkinson, whom she described as a dreadful, racist alcoholic. When Lee was offered a chance to teach English at the nearby lycée, Wilkinson threatened her, saying "I cannot keep you from taking this job, but I'll break your husband if you take it."⁶⁹⁰ In fact, out of the aforementioned case studies, only Bond's work was encouraged by the embassy and that was likely because her husband was the education advisor and had arranged the work himself.

Leone Mendenhall taught English to 25 Turkish girls aged 10-12 years old in the local preparatory school, American Robert College of Istanbul, between 1946-1947.⁶⁹¹ Mendenhall

⁶⁸⁷ "Leroy Atherton", ADST, Interview transcript, 19.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁰ "Eleanor Lee", ADST, Interview transcript, 7.

⁶⁹¹ "Leone Mendenhall", ADST, Interview transcript, 6.

recollected that no one raised any objection to her teaching. In fact, it was one of the few things she could do that seemed quite proper.⁶⁹² She added:

Oddly enough, I didn't get any objection from Mrs MacAfee [Consul General's wife], although she did say that I had to carry on my functions as the wife of a Vice-Consul, that I remember. But she didn't say it harshly at all; she just thought that was really what I was there for and that if I could fit in other things without any problem, it was fine.⁶⁹³

While Mendenhall was allowed to teach, she was certainly not encouraged to do so, and it was made clear by her superior that this could only be her hobby. Her main priorities remained the usual functions as the wife of the Vice-Consul, in addition to the more traditional roles of wife and mother. She neither received institutional support nor credit for her work.

Childcare was a crucial issue for women who worked in this era. Jean Vance gave up her teaching job when she became pregnant. While Max Bond studied for his PhD at the University of Southern California, Bond started her own but had to give it up because she could not find proper childcare.⁶⁹⁴ Mendenhall too gave up this role when she became pregnant.⁶⁹⁵ For women in the 1940s and even in the Cold War, childcare not only limited when they could work but also limited their ability to work. What caused most women to give up work was the lack of maternity leave and lack of infrastructure for early childhood care. For the wives, with their limited opportunities and constrained abilities, it was extremely challenging to hold a job in this era.⁶⁹⁶

Taken together, these women's experiences on four different continents demonstrate how attitudes towards teaching varied by post, those in-charge, priorities of embassies, and gendered

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ See Keonhi Son and Tobias Böger, "The Inclusiveness of Maternity Leave Rights over 120 Years and across Five Continents." *Social Inclusion* 9, no.2 (2021): 275-87.

perceptions of work. Overall, teaching was not considered an essential activity, as illustrated by the problems with childcare. This would change drastically in the 1950s and 1960s as international relations shifted due to the Cold War, and with it, diplomacy.

Women's Work: Education and Portable Careers in the Foreign Service

The 1950s saw an increase in wives' participation in educational activities. In 1951, Bancroft Beatly, then president of Simmons College (a women's college in Boston) wrote that women preferred professions with "large carry-over values for the home" such as teaching, nursing, librarianship, and social work. This statement reflects the social attitude of the decade.⁶⁹⁷ Caroline Sue Dillon, who joined the Foreign Service in 1956, noted that in the 1950s there were rules against hiring wives for any roles except "teaching English or teaching in American schools."⁶⁹⁸ Women like Dillon and Atherton crafted parallel careers as teachers while still maintaining their careers as diplomatic wives. Some wives, such as Dillon, returned to school during home leaves in the US and became certified teachers.⁶⁹⁹ In addition to being "women's work," and therefore more readily accepted by the embassy, teaching and librarianship were both easy to take from post to post.

This view of teaching as a women's profession was not unanimously accepted by diplomatic wives. Margaret Sullivan, for example, was born at an American mission in China and spent her formative years there. She encountered American women at the mission field were doctors, researchers, and professors. Although on her return to America, she too was constrained by the "teaching was mostly 'women's work'" trope, she did not think of teaching as a career for

⁶⁹⁷ Bancroft Beatly, *Another Look at Women's education* (Boston: Simmons College, 1955), ix, 11.

⁶⁹⁸ "Caroline Sue Dillon", ADST, Interview transcript, 19.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

herself. Sullivan further noted that while women's magazines in the 1920s-1930s published articles about working women, magazines in the 1940s-1950s romanticized women as "perfectly fulfilled homemakers and mothers."⁷⁰⁰ Although she graduated from the American University with a bachelor's in English and minors in French and Economics ("not exactly a woman's subject," she added), she had already married and was pregnant.⁷⁰¹ This left her little time to consider her career. Instead, like many other Foreign Service wives, Sullivan ended up finding work, if not a career, in teaching.

Another example is that of Jeanne Foote North who had refused an education in teaching, knowing it was an expected career path and she did not want to limit her career options. She instead earned her master's in social work from Columbia University and Vanderbilt University. However, post-marriage, her husband joined Truman's Point Four Program and they were posted to Ethiopia in 1953. Once in Ethiopia, North volunteered to teach as it was the only available option.⁷⁰²

Like North and Sullivan, Phyllis Oakley too had actively avoided a degree in education. Oakley graduated with her bachelor's in Political Science from Northwestern University and her master's in international relations from the Fletcher School at Tufts University before joining the Foreign Service. When she arrived in Khartoum in 1958, she found that she did not have enough to do in the small post during the day.⁷⁰³ Despite no teaching experience, she was able to find a job teaching world history at a local girls' school run by missionaries. Oakley was given British history books that featured outdated myths about the US, including depicting 1920s-1930s America as taken over by Al Capone and gangsters, which she promptly brought to the

⁷⁰⁰ Margaret Sullivan, *Fragments From a Mobile Life* (New Mexico: Red Mountain Press, 2017), 53.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid*, 137.

⁷⁰² "Jeanne Foote North", ADST, Interview transcript, 6.

⁷⁰³ "Phyllis Oakley", ADST, Interview transcript, 22.

ambassador's wife.⁷⁰⁴ Oakley couldn't change the textbook, but she did try to repair any preconceived notions her students had about the US. It is worth noting that despite having a career as an FSO, Oakley was not supported by the institution to further her career alongside her husband and was not considered employable anymore. Post-marriage, her role within FSO was dramatically and irrevocably altered *despite* her previous professional work. Even at an individual level, the institution was unwilling to accommodate women's careers. This highlights not only the transient nature of the wives' work, but of women in the Foreign Service in general.

Sullivan, North, and Oakley had purportedly chosen not to study education or seek a career in it. Yet their circumstances led them to seek intellectual outlets, albeit limited to teaching. In addition to the gendered perspective of this profession, increased aid for education and interest in educational exchanges in this era further pushed and perhaps even limited them into an unwanted career as embassies relied on this floating free labour to gain soft power. Teaching English or World History with an American perspective became vital to advance American culture. Teachers like North and Oakley not only taught students a language and a history, but they taught them from an American perspective. Wives could advocate for the American viewpoint, a necessary counterbalance to British imperialism and Russian communism. At the same time, educating children and women in developing countries gave them the tools to better understand the world around them, foster American culture and perspectives, and instil goodwill within their local communities, thus broadening the embassies' scope of influence.

While these three case studies demonstrate how women ended up in teaching, the case study of Janet Stoltzfus best illustrates the impact of this on public diplomacy. In the 1950s and

⁷⁰⁴ Interview with Phyllis Oakley with author, 17 November 2020.

early 1960s, not every country, and especially not all developing countries, had an American school—or even a missionary school. Most mothers were expected to educate their children using the Calvert System, a correspondence school in Maryland.⁷⁰⁵ Like many other wives, Janet Stoltzfus began by teaching her children at their posting in Taiz, Yemen, in 1959.⁷⁰⁶ A year later, she started a small elementary school for twelve children of the diplomatic corps in Aden, but soon after also enrolled the children of the Yemeni foreign minister and the local police chief.⁷⁰⁷⁷⁰⁸ Ahmad bin Yhya, the Iman of Yemen, was especially wary of foreign influence but eventually allowed the school to proceed. This school was also the first in Yemen that taught girls and featured western education methods.⁷⁰⁹⁷¹⁰ The school continued to grow, moving to a building beside the American Legation. By the end of the first year, other diplomatic wives started to teach there, and the school counted 35 students, mostly Yemeni.⁷¹¹ Additionally, an unknown German woman organized the nursery/kindergarten, and a Yemeni Foreign Office official taught Arabic to the foreign students. In March 1961, the Iman gave his royal approval to the school. Subsequently, a school board, including the American Charge d'Affaires and the Yemeni Foreign Minister, was established to administer the school.⁷¹² After the Stoltzfuses were transferred from the post in June 1961, Janet Stoltzfus initially closed the school. When Louise Stookey, the wife of the new Charge d'Affaires, arrived, a group of Yemeni children appeared at the embassy residence and asked when the school would reopen.⁷¹³ She then took over the school

⁷⁰⁵ "Afghanistan Post Report," *BP*, Box 7, Folder 8, J. Max and Ruth Clement Bond Papers (BP), Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University (COL), New York, NY.

⁷⁰⁶ *Interview with Philip Stoltzfus with author*, 17 January 2022.

⁷⁰⁷ Ginna Vogt, "Janet Sorg Stoltzfus," *Journal of the British-Yemeni Society* (Spring 2004), <http://b-ys.org.uk/journal/obituaries/stoltzfus-janet-sorg>.

⁷⁰⁸ "Projects Abroad Undertaken, Supported or Recommended by Wives of American Mission Personnel," Undated, *KLP*, Box 31, Folder 2.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁰ "A School Grows in Taiz," Airgram from International Cooperation Admin, 3 Sept 1961, *KLP*, Box 31, Folder 2.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁷¹² *Ibid.*

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

and arranged for the Yemeni children to receive English lessons twice a week until classes began in the Fall. Over the summer, she continued to work with Katie Louchheim from the State Department to raise funds for books and classroom supplies.⁷¹⁴

With the Iman's approval, the US mission used educational exchange funds to bring two American teachers from the US to Yemen in late 1961/early 1962.⁷¹⁵ The representative of the International Cooperation Agency (ICA), USAID's predecessor, wrote to Washington for financial support under Section 411 of the Mutual Security Act, arguing that the school could be enlarged from 45 students to 200.⁷¹⁶ In fact, due to the limited resources, the school had a long waitlist of Yemeni students already.⁷¹⁷ The ICA officer especially wanted US government funds to support the school since it was clear the Yemenis could not financially afford the school otherwise.

What started as a small project by embassy wives become one of the most successful examples of grassroots public diplomacy in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region during the Cold War. "Grassroot diplomacy" was a common phrase in the 1950s-1960s to encourage private citizens to get involved in public diplomacy activities. The ICA officer argued that while teaching American children was important, providing basic education for Yemeni children would "enhance US-Yemeni relationships," and allow Yemeni children to receive the basic qualification for high school and even universities abroad.⁷¹⁸ He wrote:

The little American school has taken a room in Taiz in the fertile soil of desire for modern education. Favorable interest is met on all sides, and encouragement has been

⁷¹⁴ "Projects Abroad" Typescript, *KLP*, Box 31, Folder 2.

⁷¹⁵ "A School Grows in Taiz," *KLP*, Box 31, Folder 2.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ "Projects Abroad," *KLP*, Box 31, Folder 2.

⁷¹⁸ "A School Grows in Taiz," *KLP*, Box 31, Folder 2.

received from high officials of the government of Yemen to continue our effort. The country team believes this endeavor is of utmost importance to the Yemeni people and ultimately to the successful operation of the US teacher program and will provide significant impact value for continued Yemeni and US relations, particularly at a grassroots level.⁷¹⁹

His description of the school and its influence demonstrates the long-term impact of grassroots diplomacy and educational programs. Like many aspects of public diplomacy, international education and education diplomacy are long-term initiatives. They do not always show results in a few months or even years, but sometimes decades. Students who received a basic education could not only have productive careers in Yemen, but they could also then qualify for student scholarships to study in the US, furthering ties. Stookey and Stoltzfus understood this and had grand plans for their school. In particular, they recognized that the female students were highly intelligent, describing the eagerness of the Yemeni students for education as "inexhaustible" and "amazing."⁷²⁰ Therefore, with parental support, Stookey and Stoltzfus began raising money for a scholarship for the girls to complete their education abroad at a teachers' college, and then return to the school to teach there.⁷²¹

More generally, as part of the exchange policies, students learning English as children could apply for home exchange programs in high school, which could lead to scholarships to attend US universities. That in turn could even lead to a Fulbright grant for graduate school or, if and when they become 'leaders', to a leaders' grant. However, the more grandiose schemes were often underlined by the efforts and successes of smaller grassroots organisations like the Taiz

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ "Projects Abroad," KLP, Box 31, Folder 2.

school which had their own fluctuating life cycles. The Taiz school, which later became the Yemen-American Cooperation School, continued with an American principal and paid staff until 1967, when the school was closed after the American community was evacuated. The school then restarted in 1971 in Sanaa with the original principal, continuing the legacy of Stoltzfus and Stookey.⁷²² Stoltzfus' impact is best illustrated by a letter from a former student who later became a doctor:

She was my first teacher in life and had such an impact on the rest of my life whereby I fell in love with everything American. I loved school and books because of her, and I've never forgotten her caring generosity to me.⁷²³

While education diplomacy is building blocks, public diplomacy is the multiplier effect. The motives of Stoltzfus and Stookey were altruistic: they wanted to give young children the chance to earn an education. But in doing so, they created trust and mutual understanding, meeting the definition of public diplomacy in more ways than one. That a student learned to “love everything American” and then shared his affection with his friends and family demonstrate how this earned goodwill for the US. In that, the Taiz school qualifies as public diplomacy on the very basis of sharing education with people of another nation and teaching them about the US. Given the student’s romanticized view of the US, Stoltzfus most likely taught about the country very generally, not surprising given the students’ ages. At the same time, it is not surprising that Stoltzfus’ version of the US was uncomplicated. As a diplomat, she was trying to showcase the best parts of her country, just as Oakley wanted to do with the inaccurate textbooks.

⁷²² “The History and Origins,” QSI International School of Chengdu, accessed January 2022, <https://chengdu.qsi.org/about-us/history>.

⁷²³ Vogt, “Janet Sorg Stoltzfus.”

Overlooked in Public Diplomacy: English Language Teaching and Diplomatic Wives

English teaching became, by far, the most frequent and widespread volunteer task for diplomatic wives after 1945⁷²⁴ and wives were directly employed by USIS as volunteers, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s as education diplomacy became more commonplace. This was not only because of the escalating Cold War and America's ambitions to extend soft-power (English teaching being a cost-effective way of doing so). But also, with growing feminist movements at home, especially in the 1960s, an increasing number of diplomatic wives were looking for a career and/or intellectual fulfillment. Consequently, teaching was a portable and socially acceptable profession that would also support their husbands' careers.

There are many examples of this. Judith Heimann was posted to Jakarta, Indonesia in 1958 and her husband's boss, Hester Henderson was able to arrange for her to teach English and public speaking to a group of "enterprising Indonesian women preparing to attend international conferences."⁷²⁵ While English teaching was primarily a task for junior and mid-level wives, even Margaret Morgan, a senior wife at this time, taught English in Japan.⁷²⁶ It was so taken for granted that diplomatic wives would teach English when abroad that, when Patricia Barbis described her time in Thailand with her husband in 1959-61, she said:

I also, of course, gave English classes. I gave them to the top leaders in the community, the mayor's wife, the commanding general's wife, the justice's wife, and so I took it as my responsibility to get to know people and to have them know us, and it seemed like a job. I just wasn't being paid for it.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁴ Mary Lou Schertz, "State Department Policy Toward Spouse Employment Radical Change and Continued Need," Paper, May 1981, FADST, Unmarked box, 66.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Morgan, *Life and Writings*, AAFSW, 15.

⁷²⁷ "Patricia Barbis", ADST, Interview transcript, 6.

Barbis had recently given up her own commission as a USIA/S Cultural Affairs officer in South Korea, where she had taught English to a weekly class of women at a university, except then she was paid as a USIA/S employee.⁷²⁸ The English classes she taught in Thailand ranged from teaching young children in a local school to conversation classes to high-ranking women. Barbis went from an FSO to a wife, but continued doing similar work, albeit unpaid.

Barbis' audience illustrates the wide-reaching goals of teaching English in the Cold War. For foreign children, being taught English gave them a skill that they could use to speak with Americans and to study in the US; in addition, it turned them into an audience for American culture. At the same time, her conversations with high-ranking wives allowed her to teach prominent women a language they could use to interact and converse with more Americans without the assistance of interpreters. This allowed for cross-cultural exchange and friendships and built essential contacts within the local community. These advantages were recognised at the time as well. Bill Rugh was a practitioner who worked for USIA/S and the Foreign Service during the Cold War and his *Handbook* provides a summation of US policy and public diplomacy theory the late twentieth century. Rugh underlined the theory on cross-cultural communication wives experienced. In addition to the benefits of teaching English, he points how teachers are highly respected in most societies, and therefore become trustworthy sources of information. This further highlights the role wives played in building soft power and cultural influences of embassies.⁷²⁹

Teaching itself was not a linear experience. Jeanne North was posted in Ethiopia alongside her husband in 1953. Because she had a degree in medical social work, her services in

⁷²⁸ Ibid, 3.

teaching English and technical medical English at a nursing school proved invaluable. North was not alone in her experiences. Many wives, especially those who worked in education, had similar non-linear careers. One role might lead to another role, which might be a volunteer or paid position. Some women considered these non-linear paths as careers, while others did not. Like Atherton and Adams, those diplomatic wives that worked argued that this helped them keep their own identity during their Foreign Service years.⁷³⁰ This gave them a place in the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s and allowed them to use their intellect and education. At this time, the women's movement was becoming important to diplomatic wives, especially younger wives who had experienced it on their college campuses before joining the service in the 1960s. Older wives would not have had a chance to experience it until their next home leave in the late 1960s or early 1970s, as was the case with Margaret Sullivan.⁷³¹

The importance of this intellectual outlet is highlighted in Judy Smith's experience. In the interview, Smith was open about her struggles in her first post in Dakar where she had feelings of being useless and this led to severe depression.⁷³² Consequently, she decided to create her own role and career, and went back to graduate school to get a master's in teaching and teaching English as a second language. Smith also recognised that her role in teaching was transferable from post to post, as well as useful in the US on home leave, and that it gave her a *profession* of her own.⁷³³ Additionally, Smith was aware of the value of educational diplomacy and was interested in pursuing it as a profession. Of her intentions, Smith stated she "wanted to teach the people in that country, not just at an American school. I wanted to be involved with them," and

⁷³⁰ Sullivan, *Fragments*, 222. Interview with Francon Silverman and author, 19 January 2022.

⁷³¹ Interview with Margaret Sullivan and author, 30 August 2019.

⁷³² "Judy Smith", ADST, Interview transcript, 3.

⁷³³ *Ibid*, 4.

chose to teach host country's nationals in university or adult education classes.⁷³⁴ This indicates that Smith was interested in intercultural communication and the potential impact her teaching had on students and the community.

Wives were not limited to governmental and diplomatic efforts and found non-US government-funded and administered programs to continue their work. Ruth Bond taught at the YWCA, an American non-profit, while stationed in Malawi in the 1960s.⁷³⁵ Jean Vance taught at the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association school. Budget cuts sometimes played a role. One of the best examples of wives taking the place of budget cuts is Atherton's work in India. In 1962, Atherton and her husband were stationed in Calcutta. According to her, USIA/S was going through budget cuts and decided to cut the English language program in Calcutta because the British worked already in that field. Atherton and a few others thought that American English also had its place in India and persuaded the Indo-American Society to fund classes again.⁷³⁶ She took the lead on this project and began reading and studying more about teaching English as a second language because she struggled with teaching classes characterised by different languages and dialects.⁷³⁷ After seeing how successful Atherton's classes were, USIA/S reinstated the funding.⁷³⁸

Nevertheless, the US government was more than content to use wives' skills and knowledge whenever possible. Phyllis Oakley taught for USIS while in Cote d'Ivoire from 1963–1965, as did Jean Vance in Chad in 1967–1969.⁷³⁹ Reviewing materials from the Overseas' Wives Notebook (OWN) and the Office of Community Advising Services (O/CAS), it is clear

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ "Ruth Bond", ADST, Interview transcript, 10.

⁷³⁶ "Betty Atherton", ADST, Interview transcript, 22.

⁷³⁷ Ibid.

⁷³⁸ Ibid.

⁷³⁹ Vance, *American Diplomacy*, 247-248.

that the US government began collecting dozens of examples of wives teaching English overseas for two purposes. O/CAS collected them as promotional tools in public affairs, not just abroad but also in the US. The writers of OWN collected them to encourage more wives to join in the efforts, just as they did in the *This Worked for Me* booklet, which was sent to all posts in 1963. Both actions, while independent from each other, have ties to public diplomacy. One example from *This Worked For Me* explained how an embassy encouraged wives to volunteer with USIS English conversational groups at binational cultural centres.⁷⁴⁰ Another detailed how wives used these conversation groups to keep contact with returning international students and exchange grantees after arriving home, therefore directly contributing to American public diplomacy efforts at that time.⁷⁴¹ Teaching English was thus not just an alternate occupation for married women in FSO but had a larger diplomatic impact. In this version of the profession the wives had an inconsistent, non-linear, and unpaid experience. Yet it required a diverse set of skills, wit, initiative, and effort on their part as well as a keen eye for diplomatic opportunities. The work of the teacher-wife extended well beyond simply teaching.

Exchange Diplomacy Meets Citizen Diplomacy

In the 1950s and increasingly in the 1960s, wives participated in two different type of exchange programs. One was their support both abroad and within the US for foreign visitors. The second was their participation in educational exchange programs on US soil, teaching American children about other countries while on home leave in the 1960s. This did not exist in a vortex. Exchange programs had become an increasing priority since Dwight Eisenhower was

⁷⁴⁰ *This Worked for Me* Draft, OWN, Box 1.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*

elected president in 1952. Eisenhower made his foreign policy stance on educational exchanges clear: "I firmly believe that educational exchange programs are an important step toward world peace... It is my personal hope that this activity...will continue to expand in the coming years."⁷⁴² He held to his promise, and expanded US government-funded and privately-funded exchange programs. In 1956, he launched the People-to-People program, which envisioned exchanges created and managed by American citizens instead of the government. In his initial invitation, he wrote that the government had a "modest apparatus" for communicating American objectives and principles around the world, adding:

But clearly, there will never be enough diplomats and information officers at work in the world to get the job done without help from the rest of us. Indeed, if our American ideology is eventually to win out in the great struggle being waged between the two opposing ways of life, it must have an active support of thousands of independent private groups and institutions and millions of individual Americans acting through person-to-person communication in foreign lands.⁷⁴³

His remarks were meant to galvanise private organisations and citizens into creating mutual understanding through everyday citizen diplomacy and one-on-one conversations. However, diplomatic wives around the world responded to his policies and supported exchanges in every way they could. They hosted local citizens about to embark to the US, welcomed and stayed in contact with exchange alumni, volunteered with educational foundations such as Fulbright commissions, raised funds to send students to the US, and even supported students through their US university applications through advising and helping with standardized testing.

⁷⁴² Dwight D. Eisenhower to Kenneth Holand, 16 October 1952, Box 1, Folder 20, J. William Fulbright Papers (JWF), Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

⁷⁴³ "Press Release regarding June 12 White House Conference on People-to-People Partnership," 31 May 1956, Box 764, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum, and Boyhood Home, Abilene, KS.

In a speech to the American Women's Club (AWC) in Uruguay, in March 1957, Ambassador Jefferson Patterson congratulated the women, many of whom were wives stationed in his embassy, for their work in "advancing the cause international of goodwill through understanding of foreign neighbors."⁷⁴⁴ He then paraphrased the words of President Eisenhower, "the cooperation of individuals and groups for this purpose can, in the view of our Government, achieve its purpose more effectively than can any other means."⁷⁴⁵ For Patterson, the wives themselves were the ones participating in the people-to-people diplomacy, and his speech laid out the numerous ways the committees intended for the initiative to be carried out, including English teaching, book collection drives, and student exchanges. He also argued that he felt the AWC in Uruguay was in a "particularly advantageous position" to advance the cause of international understanding, and specifically of understanding between Americans and Uruguayans.⁷⁴⁶ He encouraged wives to maintain contact with Uruguayan visitors returning from the US and in this regard, he cited the reception events hosted by his wife, Mary Marvin Patterson. He also encouraged the wives to raise funds for Uruguayan students' travels to the US, and offered the support of his Public Relations officer, Mr Urist, to help with this.⁷⁴⁷ He concluded that through those efforts wives could "keep alight the fire" of interest and connection between the US and Uruguay.

Patterson's long speech detailed many ways in which American wives abroad could support Eisenhower's exchange diplomacy. Many wives worldwide answered that call in their efforts to reach exchange students, leaders, and alumni in the 1950s and 1960s. While the organisation of exchange programs within the State Department and USIA/S changed during the

⁷⁴⁴ Jefferson Patterson, "Remarks to be made before American Women's Club of Montevideo", 27 March 1957, FADST.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

1950s and 1960s with reorganizations, the wives' devotion to their programs did not. Their work remained consistent throughout the two decades and is best described by the different types of exchange and categories of support the wives provided.

Since its inception in 1946, the Fulbright Program has been the flagship international exchange program for the US government. Funded initially with surplus funds from World War II, the Fulbright Program was created under the Fulbright Act on August 1, 1946, and later expanded under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Act of 1961. As William Rugh noted, the program was unique in that it brought foreigners to the US and sent Americans abroad; "Fulbrighters," as the exchange participants are called, are chosen by the binational Fulbright Commission boards or US embassy.⁷⁴⁸ Over the years, many diplomatic wives either administered these programs or sat on those boards, including Frances Adams.

Adams's father died during the Great Depression, and her mother lost the family business and all her property. Adams worked her way through college at the University of Minnesota and her interest in women's rights and social justice grew.⁷⁴⁹ A journalism major, she graduated at 20 and was employed at one of the largest advertising firms in the US—Leo Burnett, in Chicago. By the time she was 23, she was made Research Director and married her husband the following year. When they moved to Washington in 1941, she was recommended by Leo Burnett to Nelson Rockefeller, and she worked for him in the Office of Inter-American Affairs (IIA) until she and her husband left for their first deployment to Ecuador in 1943.⁷⁵⁰ She then continued working at each of her husband's posts.

⁷⁴⁸ Rugh, *Frontline*, 162.

⁷⁴⁹ "Frances McStay Adams", ADST, Interview transcript, 4-5.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8, 11.

When her husband was assigned to Cairo in 1950, Frances Adams became director of the Fulbright Program for the Binational Fulbright Commission in Egypt (then the US Educational Foundation for Egypt), established just a year earlier as the first Fulbright Program in the Arab world. Her role was primarily to select and approve participants based on the applicants and the open positions in both Egyptian and American universities.⁷⁵¹ She also oversaw teams of specialists that interviewed prospective Egyptian grantees to ensure that the grantees would be effective ambassadors, were experts in their fields, and that their education would benefit from the program of study. She also started a program for teachers, primarily women, to come from the US to Egypt to teach. As a way to extend these educational and cultural exchanges, she and the commission hosted weekly informal meetings for grantees to talk about their experiences.⁷⁵²

Adams was atypical in that she was paid for her work with the Fulbright Commission, which directly supported US government exchange programs. As her husband described it after their retirement, she "had some excellent opportunities to do constructive work during our career. She's rather unusual in this respect."⁷⁵³ To her husband, this role was another instance of their joint career, and her outside work supported her embassy life. In this regard, Frances Adams described how she managed to navigate a tricky political situation with the Fulbright board in Egypt and the ambassador. She heard from a group of Egyptians that the head of the Fulbright board, a well-known Egyptian historian, had never been invited to the embassy due to the ambassador's penchant for official protocol which stated they had to be introduced first.⁷⁵⁴ Since this could be contrived as an insult to the Egyptian educational community, Adams worked with

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁵³ "J. Wesley Adams" Oral History Interview with Richard McKinzie transcript, Truman Library, accessed 11 November 2021, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/oral-histories/adamsjw>.

⁷⁵⁴ "Frances McStay Adams", ADST, Interview transcript, 17.

the protocol officer to rectify this, ensuring smoother diplomatic relations. In this same post, she also worked with Palestinian refugee students which, according to her husband, gave her a better understanding of the Israeli-Arab conflict in the region than even he himself had as an officer in the embassy.⁷⁵⁵ After Adams left Cairo, another Foreign Service wife, Ruth Weathersby, took over as Acting Executive officer, and was then highlighted in the 1956 USIA Annual Report to Congress as an example of wives' devotion to USIA/S activities.⁷⁵⁶ Adams subsequently moved to New Delhi, where she continued to sit on the Fulbright Selection Committee.⁷⁵⁷

The second most extensive US government exchange program in the post-war period was the Foreign Leaders Program, later renamed the International Visitor Program (IVP) in 1952, and the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) in 2004. During the 1950s and 1960s, the program was colloquially referred to by the US and USIA/S as "leader grants", "foreign leader program", "foreign specialist program" and/or IVLP.⁷⁵⁸ This program, funded under the US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, provided grants to leaders in government, business, and civil society from foreign countries to come to the US for a short period to "experience this country first-hand and cultivate lasting relationships with their American counterparts."⁷⁵⁹

From 1948 on, when the program was signed into law, diplomatic wives were involved in its organisation. In 1949, while her husband Oliver Peterson stayed at the Stockholm Embassy, Ester Peterson spent a few months in the US lobbying for the AFL-CIO, the largest American labour union, against a bill in Congress. At the same time, her husband negotiated a trip for a

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid, 37.

⁷⁵⁶ USIA, *1956 Report to Congress*, 26-30.

⁷⁵⁷ "Frances McStay Adams", ADST, Interview transcript, 18.

⁷⁵⁸ "Notes on Discussion at the Meeting with Wives on Monday," 12 March 1962, *KLP*, Box 30, Folder 3.

⁷⁵⁹ US Congress, *Smith-Mundt Act*.

dozen Swedish labour officials to come to the US on a visit under the Leaders Program. Ester Peterson met them at the airport in New York, writing later "I was to be there as Oliver's wife, not a representative of the State Department."⁷⁶⁰

Together with the State Department and the Department of Labor, and using her own connections, she arranged for the Swedish labour officials to meet every important senator and representative on the Hill, including the then-Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn.⁷⁶¹ Peterson was especially capable of organising these tours because she had connections with the labour leaders in the US and knew the labour movements in Sweden. She had the deep relationships needed to gain the trust and credibility of Swedish labour leaders and ensure they had a productive experience, hopefully bettering US-Swedish relations. This credibility and support would become the tenets of exchange programs.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, as women gained more prominent roles in societies worldwide, the US sought to reach more women leaders as part of the program. In March 1949, USIA/S detailed a "basic guidance paper" sent to all posts that outlined suggestions on how to reach women leaders and organisations.⁷⁶² Later on, in a c.1959 draft report on USIA's Women's Activities, USIA/S explained its past outreach and involvement with women leaders, and the problems and limitations faced. It stated that USIA/S "endeavours" to reach women leaders, and that the objectives were the same as with male leaders:

to provide information on US foreign policy, to show US support for legitimate aspirations of other nations; to combat hostile propaganda, and to delineate those aspects

⁷⁶⁰ Peterson, *Restless*, 83.

⁷⁶¹ "Esther Peterson", 1989, ADST, Interview transcript, 10.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*

of American life and culture which are important to an understanding and acceptance of US foreign policy.⁷⁶³

The report, despite revealing some pride towards the agency's efforts to reach women, also highlighted the general sexism women faced in the exchange diplomacy. In the "Problems and Limitations" section, the report frankly admitted that women leaders did not have enough stature in the "determination of the political and economic orientation of each nation" and that, therefore, women leaders are "secondary". It also noted that due to limited budgets, to take women leaders would mean to decrease attention to male leaders and further insinuated that this would damage foreign policy relations. The second problem outlined was the process of "assessing the true influence" of women in many areas, arguing that women's role is not always visible to "the foreign observer, because of local cultural patterns," which made the assessment needed to nominate women leaders delicate and time-consuming. The use of the word "true" also indicates a lack of belief in women's influence and the deep sexism within the agency which therefore had a negative impact on inclusion of women leaders. The report concluded that including women in exchange programs was an "impossible task" unless there was a "keenly perceptive woman staff member or official wife to work out the primary analysis and set up contacts".⁷⁶⁴ This author also illustrates the role that wives abroad could have in selecting and preparing grantees for the program. As demonstrated in previous chapters, wives sometimes had more entrée into the local female society and, therefore, had better understanding of foreign women leaders. Wives therefore had the knowledge and skills to do the work of officers, but unpaid. It was a given that wives would have the time and will to help, although it was beneath the time and effort of male officers.

⁷⁶³ "Report on Women's Activities," CU, Box 104, Folder 14.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

After President Kennedy took office in 1961, he became concerned about foreign women leaders who came to the US, and whom he felt no one paid attention to.⁷⁶⁵ In February, he nominated Katie Louchheim as special assistant for Women's Affairs to the State Department.⁷⁶⁶ Louchheim knew Kennedy well. She was Vice Chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and led the women's committee of the DNC for years. She also had a background in foreign affairs, having previously worked for the State Department in the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation during WWII, and helped form its United Nations counterpart, the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).⁷⁶⁷ Louchheim was thus perceptive, well-connected, and had a keen understanding of politics. Chester Bowles, then Under Secretary of State, did not want Louchheim working for him as Kennedy intended, and set her aside. Feeling underutilised, Louchheim later recalled a friend asking, "They do hate women in the Department, don't they?"⁷⁶⁸ Subsequently, with the help of allies in the department, namely Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Executive Secretary Lucius Battle, she was transferred and became Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in February 1962, becoming the highest-ranking woman in the department up to that point.

Louchheim understood the importance of wives of public officials from her time in politics.⁷⁶⁹ In 1963, she launched the Office of Community Advisory Services, which was responsible for increasing contact between American communities and the Foreign Service. It was also responsible for supporting Foreign Service wives in their volunteer work, as laid out in the 1963 Foreign Affairs Manual Circular No 148.⁷⁷⁰ Louchheim frequently met and held

⁷⁶⁵ Louchheim, *By the Political Sea*, 196.

⁷⁶⁶ Memo from Katharine Massel to Katie Louchheim: "Women's Activities Advisory Function in the Department, 1961-1966," 22 September 1967, KLP, Box 29, Folder 3.

⁷⁶⁷ Glenn Fowler, "Katie Louchheim is Dead at 87; Official for US and Democrats," *New York Times*, 12 February 1991.

⁷⁶⁸ Louchheim, *By the Political Sea*, 196.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 200.

⁷⁷⁰ FAMC 148, 30 October 1963, KLP, Box 29, Folder 3.

discussions with Foreign Service wives, including at regional conferences. In an August 1961 meeting in New Delhi, she encouraged wives to let her know what women needed, and to look for women who wanted to visit the US and would "profit from leadership grants or privately financed exchanges".⁷⁷¹ She continued this in the US, where at a March 1962 meeting she laid out how they could help with exchange programs. She encouraged wives to nominate women foreign leaders to the cultural affairs officers for leader grants and detailed the type of leaders the State Department was looking for.⁷⁷² She also added exchange programs to briefings for ambassadors' wives throughout the 1960s, and in her speeches at the Wives' Course at FSI, she encouraged wives' involvement in selecting leader grants.⁷⁷³ Louchheim put into practice what the unknown officer wrote in USIA's 1959 report on women's activities. She understood that wives understood local communities and could identify women leaders who would benefit from time in the US.

Around January 1962, Louchheim began working with Haru Matsukata Reischauer, the wife of the American ambassador to Japan, on a project to bring women's leaders to the US. Reischauer was Japanese-American, having grown up in Tokyo, the daughter of a prominent Japanese Stateman and a Japanese-American mother.⁷⁷⁴ She graduated from Principia College in Illinois and became a newspaper reporter. She had known her husband, Edward Reischauer, as teenagers when they attended high school in Tokyo. Post-WWII, they reconnected in Tokyo in 1955. Reischauer struggled in her dual identity, not at home in either country, though her background was helpful as she frequently wrote on Japanese-American issues for the *Saturday*

⁷⁷¹ "Notes on Meeting of wives with Mrs Bowles and Mrs Louchheim in the home of Counselor for Administration, 7 August 1961, FADST.

⁷⁷² Notes on Discussion at the Meeting with Wives on Monday," 12 March 1962, KLP, Box 30, Folder 3.

⁷⁷³ Letter from William Crockett to Dr Frankel, 1 February 1966, CU, Box 286, Folder 43. See also: "Overseas Assignment: A Course for Wives (Nov 26-Dec 7 1962), Biographic Sketches of Speakers," FADST.

⁷⁷⁴ Barbara Stewart, "Haru M. Reischauer, 83; Eased Tensions with Japan," *The New York Times*, 5 October 1998.

Evening Post and *Christian Science Monitor*.⁷⁷⁵ While the ambassador in Tokyo, she helped ease tensions, and Foreign Service Officers commended her for her crucial work in bringing the "psychological end to the post-war occupation of Japan".⁷⁷⁶

Reischauer took a special interest in the exchange programs at the US Embassy in Tokyo, especially those geared towards women. With Louchheim, she arranged and supported visits to the US under the leader grant program for members of the Diet, Japan's legislative body, in September 1962⁷⁷⁷, cabinet wives in December 1962,⁷⁷⁸ women civil society leaders in November 1963,⁷⁷⁹ and labour leaders in February 1964.⁷⁸⁰⁷⁸¹ Louchheim had initially wanted to create a teacher exchange, similar to the one that had been set up by Adams in Cairo. However, in consultation with her husband, Reischauer encouraged selecting leaders in women's organisations instead, because of their wider sphere of influence and flexible schedules.⁷⁸² Most importantly, Reischauer was able to work with Charles Fahs, the Public Affairs Officer at the embassy, to select the women leaders for the 1963 exchanges. Along with four other grantees, she nominated Hama Shio, who was the only high-ranking female government official not to have visited the US despite having planned the Japanese Ministry's exchange program trips to the US.⁷⁸³

Reischauer met with those grantees before they left and hosted them after returning to Japan.⁷⁸⁴ Through these meetings, she organised informal pre-departure orientations and end of

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁷ "Letter from Katie Louchheim (KL) to Haru Reischauer (HR)," 18 September 1962, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

⁷⁷⁸ "Letter from HR to Virginia Rusk," 8 January 1963, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

⁷⁷⁹ "Letter from HR to KL," 17 September 1963, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

⁷⁸⁰ Letter from HR to KL, 6 February 1964, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

⁷⁸¹ See all letters in KL Papers: Box 7, Folder 6, including letter from KL to HR, 10 May 1962.

⁷⁸² Letter from HR to KL, 15 May 1962, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

⁷⁸³ Airgram from Charles Fahs/ Tokyo Embassy to Washington, 15 June 1962, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

⁷⁸⁴ Letter from HR to KL, 6 February 1964, *KLP*, Box 7, Folder 6.

program assessments. She determined that the 1963 leader grantee group "did not have the trip they should have," stating that the choice of a 70-year-old Japanese American male interpreter who could not understand contemporary Japan or the "modern" Japanese women stifled their experience. She noted that they did not experience spending the night in an American home as they had requested to and asked why someone like Margaret Morgan could not have facilitated that.⁷⁸⁵ Effectively, Reischauer was assessing through a small focus group the same feedback that exchange program managers use to determine the success of a program. Through her questions, she gauged what went wrong, what could have been done better, and determined that this might cause these women leaders to view the US negatively. She also compared the 1963 exchange to the highly successful trip of the Diet women in 1962 and expressed her frustration to the managers of the most recent trip. This example demonstrates the importance of wives' engagement in planning exchanges with female grantees in this era as they had the background of the US and American society, as well as local environment to best understand how to create a successful trip itinerary. Her experience corroborates Kennedy's concern about women leaders' poor experiences which prompted him to name Louchheim to her post.

Reischauer's management bettered the exchange program and in 1964, she organised a delegation specifically of women socialist labour leaders. Following its success, Ed Reischauer wrote to Leonard Marks, the Director of USIA, and encouraged him to continue the women's affairs program the Reischauers had started in the US Embassy in Japan. He argued that women were the stronger, emotionally stable, intelligent, and pro-American members of Japanese society, and voted as such. He wrote:

⁷⁸⁵ Letter from HR to KL, 31 December 1963, KLP, Box 7, Folder 6.

For the sake of Japanese-American understanding and goodwill and for useful mutual interchange, I feel that there is more to be achieved with less effort in women's relations than in any other field of Japanese-American contact.⁷⁸⁶

He also encouraged Marks to consider suitable American wives of embassy personnel for work as women's activities officers at posts, a specialised position created by Louchheim and piloted in five countries in the 1960s.⁷⁸⁷ Using his wife as an example, he argued that they had the qualifications needed, as they were knowledgeable about Japan, spoke Japanese, and had a “sensitive, non-aggressive personality type that fits well in Japan”, and with some training and a reprieve from normal representational and household duties, the wives could make valuable contributions.⁷⁸⁸ While his comment on women and wives as non-aggressive was a generalized stereotype of women, his qualifier that their personalities match with Japanese social norms shows his perceptiveness. His further thoughts best illustrate both the important role wives could play, but also just how radical it was to acknowledge their importance, writing:

I realize that it is somewhat revolutionary to suggest that the critical role of wives in diplomacy be given more serious and more official consideration, but it is about time for diplomacy to join the twentieth century.⁷⁸⁹

After serving as ambassador for five years in a modernised country, Ed Reischauer understood the coming role women would play in governments and societies around the world. He had watched his wife perform her own vital role in diplomacy and saw how her success had boosted US-Japanese relations.

⁷⁸⁶ Letter from Edwin Reischauer to Leonard Marks, 7 September 1966, KLP, Box 7, Folder 7.

⁷⁸⁷ “Women's Activities Advisor” Report, CU, Box 286, Folder 43.

⁷⁸⁸ Letter from Edwin Reischauer to Leonard Marks, 7 September 1966, KLP, Box 7, Folder 7.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Comparing Reischauer's experience with the 1959 USIA/S report on women's engagement with exchange programs at posts allows scholars to see the pace of change in a short span of few years. Women were no longer afterthoughts. These shifts overlap with a new administration that was seen as progressive and modern and the growing feminist movement in the US. The State Department needed womanpower to achieve their objectives and diplomatic wives were the perfect solution: free, knowledgeable, able, and willing.

Windows on the World: Exchange in the US

Margaret and Dan Sullivan were supposed to deploy in 1965 to Indonesia until Margaret Sullivan was diagnosed with Hodgkin's lymphoma. Now in Washington, DC, for an extended period, she became co-chair of the Association of American Foreign Service Wives (AAFSW)'s Windows on the World program. Windows on the World was created around 1965 to get Foreign Services wives stationed in D.C. involved in the local community.⁷⁹⁰ During their different times in Washington, Eleanor Heginbotham, Dorothy Kidder, and Margaret Sullivan co-chaired the Windows on the World program, assigning different wives to speak at different schools, primarily sixth-grade learning world history and geography classes. Each year of the program, wives visited over 60 classrooms, reaching over 4,000 students, and feedback showed they were "widening horizons" for many students.⁷⁹¹ One teacher wrote, "they didn't realize how much we are like the people in that remote place."⁷⁹² Wives gave presentations on scores of countries, including Ethiopia, Australia, Russia, Spain, and Argentina. In 1968, the wives began a rural

⁷⁹⁰ Eleanor Heginbotham, "Members Open Windows for City and Rural Children," AAFSW Newsletter, July 1968, BP, Box 24, Folder 16.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

⁷⁹² Ibid

program too, which reached over a thousand sixth grade students in rural Virginia.⁷⁹³ In these communities, explaining farming techniques from Borneo was one way to show similarities between Malaysia and the US.⁷⁹⁴ In both classrooms, the Vietnam War loomed large, with numerous students talking about their cousins or brothers fighting and a curiosity about the far away countries, while wives presented on their time there and on Vietnamese culture. Barbara Pringle noticed students were "quick to grasp the significance of the size and shape and climate of Vietnam as a battlefield and interested in the habits and traditions of peaceful pursuits."⁷⁹⁵

In Washington, D.C., schools were technically integrated, but due to the "white flight" demographics, the majority of students were Black, and many teachers came from the Urban Service Corps, a public program to increase public servants. The schools encouraged wives who had lived in Africa to speak with classes, and for white wives like Sullivan, this could be a new experience and a delicate balancing act. She later described:

Going into those schools at a time of burgeoning change and racial tension was a different form of cultural immersion for me. As someone who had lived in and wanted to talk about Africa, I was welcome. The situation was also-how to put it? Edgy. The students and teachers were wary of me. Like my "bature" friend, I was a resource and a window but also an outsider.⁷⁹⁶

The window was the crucial part: she was a window into another country and culture. Sullivan would arrive with a "big bag of props," including maps of Africa and Nigeria, clothing for the children to try on, baskets, python skin, and a few small pieces of African art. She would start by asking them what they already knew about Africa (often lions and jungles), either dispel the

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁶ Sullivan, *Fragments*, 147-148.

myths or give more context and explain what life was like there for children of the same age as theirs.⁷⁹⁷ For Sullivan it was a "particular pleasure to watch students and teachers alike feel a direct connection to Africa as they excitedly handled real African things and saw how well made and beautiful they were".⁷⁹⁸

The program had buy-in from the DC public school system. Marguerite Selden, the Assistant to the Superintendent, held a panel for wives, as well as training and encouraging wives to "see the needs of city children and to meet them with a lively, concrete, imaginative presentation of the posts at which they have lived".⁷⁹⁹ Selden was a teacher, principal, head of the Urban Service Corps, and a parent in DC schools, so she understood the impact the wives' presentations had on students. She advised wives to bring slideshows, food, records, and objects from their travels and build on the experience of the students, "encouraging them to see contrasts and similarities with their own lives and surroundings" through educational games, group discussion, preparation of food, or modelling of costumes.⁸⁰⁰

Ruth Bond supported these activities in any way she could as co-chair of the AAFSW committee on Community Relations and, with Heginbotham, organised a trip for 200 students from the inner-city to view an exhibit of artefacts and costumes that Foreign Service wives had collected during their postings abroad.⁸⁰¹ She also worked on preparing wives to volunteer at the schools and advised them on proper communication and on pronouncing names correctly.⁸⁰² She organised wives to volunteer helping classes with reading and special education, which also often had a cultural exchange component. For example, Margaret Fayerweather Aylward brought

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Unknown Author, "'Encourage Curiosity,' Mrs Selden Tells Speakers Service," *AAFSW Newsletter*, June 1968 or 1969, BP, Box 24, Folder 16.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ "Ruth C. Bond," *AAFSW Newsletter*, Undated c.1968 or 1969, BP, Box 24, Folder 16.

⁸⁰² "Hints at Starting at Simmons School" Typescript, BP, Box 24 Folder 16.

a Nepalese yak hair sling to show students while presenting about Nepal during a reading hour.⁸⁰³

Bond's community work had two goals. The first was to teach American children about different parts of the world. The second was a "living demonstration of her belief that white and black Americans must work closely together in strengthening the moral and ethical fabric of the nation," a vitally crucial scope after the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968 and the race riots that occurred in DC.⁸⁰⁴ Bond had served abroad in the 1960s, so she most likely understood the international community's interest in race relations in America and that wives, once they left the US, would be responsible for articulating the experience in the US. Bond held an optimistic view of race relations in America and believed that "day to day contact" would break down prejudice and barriers in society.⁸⁰⁵

Most importantly, she also knew the effect wives could have on children and how their presentations on different parts of the world could broaden their horizons.⁸⁰⁶ This last reason fulfilled elements of both education and exchange diplomacy that generally would be fulfilled by exchange students or visitors. As wives were used to volunteering abroad, AAFSW channelled that voluntary spirit to American classrooms and showcased new cultures to eager and interested students, perhaps stoking their own interest in living abroad and learning about other countries and cultures. Through this intention, wives could reciprocate what they had learned abroad through exchange and bring bits of public diplomacy right into American classrooms, as only they could. For many of these wives it was also a continuation of their work abroad. Many began teaching abroad because it was one of the only opportunities available to them and when they

⁸⁰³ Untitled Update, *AAFSW Newsletter*, July 1968, BP, Box 24, Folder 16.

⁸⁰⁴ "Letter of Recommendation for Ruth Bond for the Woman of Conscience Award," Undated, BP, Box 24, Folder 16.

⁸⁰⁵ Untitled Update, *AAFSW Newsletter*, June 1969, Box 24, Folder 16.

⁸⁰⁶ "AAFSW 8th Annual Report 1967-1968," BP, Box 24, Folder 16.

returned home, they had the skillset needed to fulfil a unique role in American schools. Their skills and knowledge gave them a strong advantage compared with regular teachers or male diplomats. They alone had the unique combination of both and were able to create these necessary bridges.

Conclusion

While there has been little scholarly work on education diplomacy and international education in the early Cold War, other than with exchange programs, diplomatic wives provide a case study for understanding US government-supported educational activities abroad, including teaching English and organising exchange programs. From the 1940s, where each post's ad hoc policy dictated who could volunteer and with whom, to being trained by the Foreign Service on teaching English to local communities in the 1960s, this period saw tremendous change in US policy towards education and wives' work. After the directive in 1972, many wives continued these educational activities, some paid and some voluntary.

In the 1940s, it was common for wives to face censure for any teaching work they did while posted abroad. This drastically changed in less than a decade when wives could even be coerced into teaching. This change within the US government bureaucracy and hierarchy probably would not have been possible if diplomacy itself had not shifted with the Cold War, but the women's movement happening in the US was another crucial factor. Women's roles within US society changed drastically between 1945 and 1972, with more women looking for an independent career. This was one of the main reasons that so many wives came to see teaching, librarianship, and other educational work as a career of their own that could continue at different posts or on home leave in the US. This allowed women to have something of their own, which

had the potential to increase their own self-worth, but also provided a measure of security. Wives had something to fall back on if they needed extra income and it gave them another outlet to use their education and intellect for something separate from their husband's work. While so much of diplomacy at the time relied on a two-person, one career format, education above all gave the best opportunity for wives to have their own, slightly smaller, and beholden, career parallel to their husbands'. As wives like Atherton, Sullivan, and Smith showed, this was tremendously important for their mental health and allowed them to have more ownership over their careers and lives than other wives felt possible in the Foreign Service. It gave them back their own identity and find one within the Foreign Service itself- which younger wives joining in the 1960s, and some select earlier wives, felt was crucially missing. According to the Athertons, this led them to have a stronger marriage and family life, but also positively impacted diplomacy. Happier wives made happier husbands and their work often supported public diplomacy programming, contributing to US foreign relations, while giving them a greater purpose. Overall, they have demonstrated how they used their perceived "natural" inclination to educational work to both find a portable career and earn goodwill towards the US, while creating their own niche to best support American efforts abroad.

Due to the lack of sources of the foreign nationals they worked with, it is challenging to discern the wives' impact on educational and exchange diplomacy during this period. While wives' accounts provide a better understanding of the work they did and allows for better documentation of wives' experiences and efforts, it is primarily anecdotal evidence from a small population who left historical records. The same is true for cultural diplomacy and global health diplomacy/ humanitarian assistance, covered in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Challenging Lady Bountiful: Public Health, Volunteering, and Aid

Efforts

The US has a long history of volunteerism. Starting in the nineteenth century, benevolent societies were staffed primarily by middle- and upper-class wives and daughters of professional men, as it was assumed that women were “uniquely suited” to helping the poor.⁸⁰⁷ At the same time, the fields of public health, international health, and nursing were growing in the US and Europe. The nineteenth century saw the growth of voluntary health agencies, whose positive contributions to public health historian David Rosen has long argued is impossible to overlook.⁸⁰⁸ These agencies often tackled one disease at a time, such as tuberculosis or polio, by mobilising American society, particularly women. By the time World War II ended, volunteering had become a pillar of American society; and diplomatic wives were more than ready to export this American volunteer "can-do" spirit abroad. This attitude was well suited to Truman's Point Four Program in the 1950s, which aimed to contain communism through technical assistance (TA), which was aid given to provide countries with the expertise they needed to promote economic development. In his Point Four speech in 1949, Truman articulated how the US could harness its scientific advances and progress to help underdeveloped areas worldwide, and in doing so, it would also help the US itself:

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and

⁸⁰⁷ Clarke A. Chambers, "Women in the Creation of the Profession of Social Work," *Social Service Review* 60, no.1 (1986): 4.

⁸⁰⁸ George Rosen, *A History of Public Health* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 2015), 219.

stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.⁸⁰⁹

Truman was not just talking about economic development, but also global health issues.

The 1950s also saw numerous early iterations of USAID before it was established, along with the Peace Corps, by the Kennedy administration. While the US government supported everything from agricultural technical assistance to family planning, diplomatic wives supported a range of similar initiatives but on a smaller scale, including maternal and child health, nutrition, food aid, clean water, health clinics, family planning, support for disabled children, disaster relief, and supporting refugees.

After representational, cultural, and educational activities, the most common activity for Foreign Service wives was community service or volunteering, and due to their gender roles in Western society as nurturers, women became heavily involved in early international health voluntary efforts. Social work scholar Clarke Chambers has argued that public assistance, administered by men, was formal and unfeeling, while women's private charitable efforts were more personal and warmer.⁸¹⁰ Social work became an acceptable career for middle- and upper-class women in the 1920s and 1930s, along with nursing and teaching, and many universities began offering related courses and degrees. In the US, the mid-twentieth century saw a growth in women's groups and women's voluntary associations, which could be traced back to early-American sewing groups that focused on supporting the poor. Parallel to diplomatic wives increase in volunteer efforts worldwide, the US government supported massive campaigns in the

⁸⁰⁹ Harry S. Truman, "Inaugural Address." (Speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1949), Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/truman.asp

⁸¹⁰ Chambers, "Women in Social Work," 5-6.

burgeoning field of development and foreign aid, previously left to volunteer organizations like the Red Cross and influential philanthropic organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation.

This chapter engages with literature on humanitarian assistance, foreign aid, development, and international philanthropy, sometimes used interchangeably. Foreign aid has long been understood to mean aid that comes from one government to another foreign government and focuses on economic or well-being, a definition solidified during the Cold War.⁸¹¹ Humanitarian aid, assistance, and relief do not have settled definitions. In her history of twentieth-century foreign aid, Carol Lancaster determined that humanitarian relief does not equate to development or bring long-term improvements in economic and social well-being, but instead is temporary and is meant to help return people to "a situation in which they could provide for their own sustenance."⁸¹² For the purpose of this chapter, foreign aid will refer to any economic, health, education, or social welfare that flows from one foreign country to another. In contrast, development aid refers to government-funded foreign aid that stipulates that it must be used by developing countries to grow their infrastructures and economy in order to meet modern developed countries' standards. International philanthropy is any funding or support by charities, NGOs, and individuals, but not governments, to help those in need worldwide. Humanitarian aid will refer to private initiatives to provide aid for citizens of other countries. Aid and assistance may be used interchangeably. The majority of diplomatic wives' volunteer efforts sit at the crossroads of humanitarian assistance and foreign aid.

This dissertation has illustrated three core pillars of public diplomacy, or at least core phrases repeated in scholarship and primary sources: mutual understanding, people-to-people, and "hearts and minds." While cultural diplomacy and exchange/education diplomacy are

⁸¹¹ Sara Lorenzini, *Global Development: A Cold War History*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 70.

⁸¹² Carol Lancaster, *Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 26.

thought to support mutual understanding, the people-to-people diplomacy of diplomatic wives in philanthropic and global health work had more to do with the battle for hearts and minds, the other tenement of public diplomacy. Historian Olivier Zunz has argued that mutual understanding was indispensable during the Cold War. However, this research clarifies that while true, people-to-people diplomacy and the "battle for hearts and minds" were equally pivotal.⁸¹³

Helen Brown was the wife of the Principal Officer in Kuching, William Andreas Brown. In June 1965, when asked by Assistant Secretary William Crockett about the social welfare activities of wives of Foreign Service Officers serving overseas, Helen was delighted to give her thoughts in a twelve-page memorandum that her husband then sent to Washington. "I am happy that the genuine efforts of the American Foreign Service wife overseas is recognised, especially in her worthwhile work in community service," she started before going on to describe her own work teaching full time and managing her representational entertaining responsibilities while still volunteering with "numerous charities" and "women's group" in her previous posting in Singapore. She then added:

What I do find disturbing is our incessant "do-gooding." Anyone who has survived the type of community work which was being done in the late 1920s and the early 1930s knows exactly what I mean. Too often, our work overseas is nothing more than this. We are too often, as much as possible, used as money raisers for very worthwhile projects. We look at the need and respond with generous hearts, as we should. But by what means do we raise money?⁸¹⁴

⁸¹³ Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America a History*. (Princeton: Oxford Princeton University Press, 2011), 149.

⁸¹⁴ "Mrs. William Brown" Typescript, OWN, Box 3.

Her memo engages with many of the themes surrounding technical assistance and international development that different US government officials focused on in that time, while also shedding light on the role of women in volunteer work throughout the twentieth century. Helen Brown was an ideal candidate for this feedback. Before the Foreign Service, she had been a social worker in Boston, and during her career in the Foreign Service she continued her work in many ways. Her memorandum also helps to understand better the role of community service in the Foreign Service. As she describes, their work was similar to the "lady volunteer" role that became popular in the 1880s during the settlement house movement, a reformist social movement in the US and UK.

Numerous wives tried to find the right balance between representing the American volunteer spirit and being perceived as "Lady Bountiful," which was particularly tricky as new nations emerged from decades of European colonialism. American diplomatic wives in the 1960s were particularly sensitive to this stereotype and the phrase had deep negative connotations within the Foreign Service community. These women wanted to be seen as American friendliness personified rather than patronizing do-gooders. Within Britain and the British Empire, white British women, especially the wives of colonial officials, were particularly associated with the phrase, showing off how wealthy and benevolent they were through volunteering or donating to charities. While some did it out of kindness, many embraced the "White Man's Burden," the need to help non-white populations who they felt were less developed than themselves. Both the terms "Lady Bountiful" and "White Man's Burden" are products of imperialism, and as the US was supposed to be advocating for democracy in new

nations, it would be particularly counterproductive for American wives to be seen embracing colonial norms.⁸¹⁵

This chapter will explore how diplomatic wives engaged in foreign and humanitarian aid, particularly aid that focuses on social and health welfare and that builds upon a long history of women volunteers in the US. Their work in these activities changed over time as volunteering in charitable endeavours became an accepted occupation for diplomatic wives according to the State Department. To understand diplomatic wives' community work in the early Cold War, multiple historiographies are needed as context, including the history of public and global health, international philanthropy, American women voluntary groups, and soft power. First, the chapter will explore the links between foreign and humanitarian aid, international and global health, and public diplomacy. Next, the second section will highlight how diplomatic wives were involved in many international health projects throughout the 1940s due to the rise of public health work in the early 20th century. The third part of this chapter will examine how the 1950s saw a rise in humanitarian and foreign aid in response to the Cold War, with the US emphasizing the importance of technical assistance in parallel to wives' volunteer work in comparison with early Lady Bountiful techniques. Finally, the chapter will explain how the State Department began increasing support for wives' volunteering during the 1960s, under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson's administrations.

Overall, the aim of the chapter is to use the aforementioned historical literature and selected case studies to better illustrate the wives' community work, with the aim to understand its purpose and how the State Department viewed and encouraged the work between 1945–1972. Simultaneously, this chapter will argue that the soft power and people-to-people nature of this

⁸¹⁵ See also Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

work, and the sometimes-goal of the work to generate goodwill for the US, made the wives' community work, other global health efforts, and humanitarian aid work a sixth form of public diplomacy.

The Connection Between Foreign and Humanitarian Aid, International and Global Health, and Public Diplomacy

Scholars do not dispute the role of the aforementioned four types of public diplomacy illustrated in this dissertation: advocacy, listening, cultural diplomacy, and education/ exchange diplomacy. Along with international broadcasting, the core five have long been considered types of public diplomacy activities, yet this leads to a gap from another well-regarded goodwill activity: foreign and humanitarian aid, including the subfield of global health diplomacy, which grew in tandem during the twentieth century. Historian Julia Irwin has traced how in the early 20th century, Americans believed foreign assistance should be left to charities and churches, not the US government. Through foreign assistance, however, America created opportunities to impart their ideas on health, charity, and social organisation to foreign citizens.⁸¹⁶ Due in part to their technical advances in healthcare in the 19th and 20th centuries, Americans became eager to export their technical knowledge to developing countries, mirroring US technical assistance in agriculture and infrastructures through Point Four. Throughout the Cold War, the fight for global hegemony was waged through foreign and development aid as the US and the USSR competed for support from developing countries, which are defined here as nations developing their individual economies during the mid-to-late twentieth century while emerging from colonialism.

⁸¹⁶ Julia Irwin, *Making the World Safe the American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3.

When Eisenhower sent Eric Johnston to review Point Four at the beginning of his presidency, Johnston determined that Point Four was "a good US investment in friendship and goodwill."⁸¹⁷

Therefore, while creating goodwill is only one goal of foreign and humanitarian aid, in virtue of its peacebuilding nature and direct relationship with foreign publics it can also be considered a public diplomacy tool. Consistently, veteran Ambassador Lucy Briggs articulated that wives' volunteer activities not only helped people and gave wives their own careers, but also supported their husband's official work adding, "you're making the Americans welcome!" with you referring to her fellow diplomatic wives.⁸¹⁸ Dorothy Irving also understood this, writing in her memoir:

When I arrived anywhere in the Embassy car, people knew it was the Ambassador's wife, and it gave prestige to the visit. It was a way of demonstrating American interest in this school, this hospital, this library, this remote section of the country.⁸¹⁹

Both Briggs and Irving link their volunteer work to creating a more welcoming environment for Americans and the US embassy. In many ways, this is the same objective of public diplomacy, which ultimately aims to create positive ties or "win hearts and minds", even if policymakers primarily justified the programming with creating mutual understanding during the Cold War.

To best understand global health diplomacy, it is necessary to have a working definition of public, international, and global health, as many historians often use them interchangeably without noting the distinctions between them. A group of scholars, including Jeffrey Koplan,

⁸¹⁷ Amanda Kay McVety, *Enlightened Aid: US Development as Foreign Policy in Ethiopia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 129.

⁸¹⁸ "Lucy Briggs", ADST, Interview transcript, 17

⁸¹⁹ Irving, *This Too is Diplomacy*, 81.

working with the executive board of the Consortium of Universities for Global Health, sought to define and differentiate the terms. They settled on the use of a definition of public health as "the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting physical health through organised community efforts."⁸²⁰ Public health services include sanitation, communicable infections, hygiene education, organisation of medical and nursing services. Public health must primarily focus on populations rather than on individuals, and emphasise prevention rather than curative care.⁸²¹ International health builds on public health but focuses on constituencies abroad, "the application of the principles of public health to problems and challenges that affect low- and middle-income countries and to the complex array of global and local forces that influence them."⁸²² Global health overlaps with both public and international health but uses diverse societies' resources, knowledge, and experience to address health challenges around the world.⁸²³ Public health focuses on the local community; international health focuses on knowledge and aid from developed countries to developing countries. In contrast, global health is a more collaborative approach that uses skills and knowledge from many communities and countries to help the greater good. Using these definitions, international health best fits the definition of many of the wives' engagement; but there were also instances of true collaboration that can be defined as global health activities.

The collaborative nature of global health diplomacy requires people-to-people connections and, when combined with foreign assistance, can generate significant goodwill through public diplomacy. Scholars Sima Barmania and Graham Lister have long argued that

⁸²⁰ Jeffrey P Koplan and T Bond, "Towards a Common Definition of Global Health." *The Lancet* (British Edition) 373, no.9679 (2009): 1993-995.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*

⁸²² *Ibid.*

⁸²³ *Ibid.*

civil society organizations (CSOs) that work in global health utilise public diplomacy techniques.⁸²⁴ Many diplomatic wives' community service activities, which worked directly with local, American, or international CSOs and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), exemplify this. Margaret Morgan, a former State Department publicist, understood the connection between wives' volunteer efforts, global health, and public diplomacy:

Any constructive activity that brings wives closer to the people of the country at all social and economic levels is essential. They can work on welfare and charitable projects, participate in sanitation and public health programs, engage in various forms of teaching, or pursue a course of just getting acquainted with more and more people on the basis of mutual friendship and understanding.⁸²⁵

Many of the philanthropic activities that diplomatic wives in the Cold War participated in revolved around global and international health, which correlates on a smaller scale to American foreign aid. Overall, this chapter will contend that foreign and humanitarian aid, particularly aid that focuses on social, health, and educational welfare, should be included in many definitions of public diplomacy, primarily when used as a publicity campaign for a foreign government. By reviewing diplomatic wives' charitable activities in health and social welfare, it is evident that they match other characteristics of public diplomacy yet deserve their own category that has not existed previously. The following sections will examine different ways wives engaged in social welfare activities, and what this says about US government priorities during the Cold War.

⁸²⁴ Sima Barmania and Graham Lister, "Civil Society Organisations, Global Health Governance and Public Diplomacy," In *Global Health Diplomacy* (New York: Springer New York, 2012), 254.

⁸²⁵ Margaret Morgan, "The Foreign Service Wife Serves Her Country Well," *State Department Newsletter*, May 1964, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

Individual Efforts in International Health and Disaster Assistance

During the 1940s, wives were involved with a number of international health projects due to the rise of public health work in the early 20th century, which sharply increased during World War II. While creating technology of mass destruction, the war also provided a new set of tools that significantly reduced the burden of certain diseases.⁸²⁶ DDT, anti-malarial drugs, the mass production of penicillin and other antibiotics, vaccines, and portable x-ray machines all extended the life expectancy in developed countries. The war also encouraged international cooperation in public health. In 1942, eighteen Latin American countries agreed to work on public health concerns together through bilateral and multilateral agreements under the leadership of Nelson Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (IIAA).⁸²⁷ These technical assistance programs focused on health centres, sanitation, insect control, clean water, public health education, and healthcare worker training, all major public health concerns at the time. Primarily started in areas where the US had military bases, USAID's official history writes that it also focused on public health and welfare by collaborating with Latin American governments.⁸²⁸ Scholar George Herring noted that this idealistic and pragmatic side of the Good Neighbour policy won "some" goodwill for the US in the region.⁸²⁹ By 1944, 181 American technicians, a mixture of physicians, nurses, engineers, and more, worked in 18 Latin American countries. These offices

⁸²⁶ Randall M. Packard, *A History of Global Health: Interventions into the Lives of Other Peoples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 108.

⁸²⁷ Tonya Himelfarb and US Agency for International Development (USAID), *50 Years of Global Health* (Washington, DC, US Agency for International Development, 2013), 20. Note that the USAID report does not name the eighteen countries involved.

⁸²⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

⁸²⁹ George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: US Foreign Relations since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 557.

pioneered the bilateral government and NGO relationships that would define future foreign aid activities.⁸³⁰

Similar to how many government offices existed because of one individual leader within government in the 1940s, such as Rockefeller's IIAA, diplomatic wives' activities in this era were informal and individual. Wives did not yet work together in groups as they would in the 1950s and 1960s, but wives primarily volunteered alone and similarly focused on health programming and disaster assistance. While not a healthcare worker, Frances McStay Adams had worked for the IIAA in Washington, DC during the war. When her husband was assigned to Ecuador in 1943, she found a position with the IIAA office, working to create public service announcements (PSAs) and radio shows from both the US and locally to transmit to Quito and the surrounding area. Initially, she was supposed to be focused on war propaganda, but quickly noticed that talking about maternal and child health issues was a much better way to "win friends for the US," and began to develop her radio programs around these issues:

This was when I got to see that selling the war effort was not the best way to win friends there. They were much more interested when I myself got people to come in on child health, and we set up some demonstrations where people came, and we worked all around the country. They bathed children.⁸³¹

She understood the local population and immediately recognised it was not gaining support or goodwill for the US, instead opting to shift towards public health programming which were far

⁸³⁰ Zunz, *Philanthropy and America*, 153.

⁸³¹ Fenzi, "A Notes" Typescript, FADST. "Frances Adams", ADST, Interview transcript, 11.

more successful. She did this on her own, but with the knowledge and support of the larger IIAA office.

What is telling about Adams' account is that, while historians have documented the extensive work IIAA technicians did on public health, Adams, a communications professional with experience in marketing, keenly understood its importance for earning goodwill for the US. Her communications work had the potential to reach wider audiences and therefore greater impact using a stalwart form of public diplomacy: international broadcasting. Adams' decision to focus on public health as a way of connecting with local audiences underscores the importance of health subjects in public diplomacy work, and dates global health diplomacy efforts at least as far back as World War II. Funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and the US government, Adams and the IIAA had more authority than more minor diplomatic-wife-run initiatives that would follow—the call for women into the workforce during the war gave many women the opportunity to work in previously male-dominated fields. Adams showcases an example of a woman who had an official role, both through herself and her spouse, but also found ways to continue in work she knew would ultimately support the US government's position, while also saving lives.

Like Frances McStay Adams, Beatrice Berle was also called into the workforce during the war and served as an officer in the Public Health Service in Washington, DC. Berle is a unique case of a professional woman in the pre-war era, and her background is interwoven with the history of women in health and social work. After she had earned a degree in history and English at Vassar and spent a year abroad in France, Berle decided to apply for a master's at the New York School of Social Work in 1926.

Social work grew from early charity organisations, funded, and run upper- and middle-class people of local standing in the early to mid-nineteenth century. It later morphed into the more comprehensive settlement movement in immigrant and working-class neighbourhoods in the late nineteenth and early twenty centuries. Chambers illustrates how the role of women as providers, founders, and managers of these welfare agencies, created the new profession of social work as they grew.⁸³² In his argument aimed at persuading historians to pay particular attention to women in the history of social work, Chambers illustrates how social work, like nursing, teaching, and librarianship, was a societally acceptable career for women between 1890 and 1930, as the professions of medicine, law and government service were closed to them.⁸³³ This is particularly apt for diplomatic spouses, because many wives would study and have careers as social workers and nurses before and during this time as diplomatic wives, just as they often were directed into teaching and librarianship as described in chapter 5. In this, the diplomatic wives were a product of their background and era. All four careers were not just common fields for women, but also portable careers from post to post.

In 1926, Berle sought out Lilliam Wald, who founded the Henry Street Settlement in 1895 to discuss her plan to become a social worker while facing strong pushback from her parents, as her staunchly capitalist mother viewed social work as socialism.⁸³⁴ Berle went to great lengths to further her formal education as an upper-class woman in the early twentieth century. Her parents threatened to have her institutionalised if she continued her education and work, which they considered unsuitable, deeming her “unstable, immoral, and in need of psychiatric treatment” before financially and emotionally cutting her off, never to see her

⁸³² Chambers, "Women in Social Work," 5-6.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁸³⁴ Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds*, 79, 97.

again.⁸³⁵ After her marriage and a period of time working as a psychiatric social worker, and inspired by her own experience with childbirth, she later decided to attend medical school. Due to her large inheritance from another relative, her husband, Adolf Berle, could devote his career to government service and became a member of President Franklin Roosevelt's Brain Trust and Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. Berle continued her medical work with a residency at Gallinger Hospital in Washington, DC, which she found challenging to balance with her diplomatic dinner party schedule.⁸³⁶ During the war, she organised a health service for government employees and health PSAs for the Office of War Information while still working at Gallinger and supporting her husband in his career. This ability to balance different activities would prove vital in her time as ambassador in Brazil in 1945.

In many ways, it was easier to be a Foreign Service wife in the 1940s than in the 1950s, 1960s, or 1970s. The State Department dictated no official responsibilities or restrictions due to the smaller scale of the diplomatic corps, and diplomatic wives even had fewer representational responsibilities. When Berle arrived in Rio, she noted that at the time the Foreign Service did not associate with "ordinary" people, spending their time with elites in capitols.⁸³⁷ Berle was determined to meet and communicate directly with people of all socioeconomic statuses, which she did by using her background in public health.⁸³⁸ Keen to participate personally in Brazilian medicine, she applied to unpaid work at Santa Casa, a hospital for the "aged and abandoned," where she worked with an unknown Brazilian doctor who had recently studied and worked in the US at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She quickly found a way to balance her work as a doctor and as a diplomatic wife: "I worked on the ward every morning when we were in town,

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸³⁶ "Beatrice Berle", ADST, Interview transcript, 5.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸³⁸ Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds*, 164.

learning a great deal of medicine and coming to know and love Brazilians in all walks of life." This is of particular importance. The main difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy is the audience: in traditional diplomacy, one works with foreign governments; in public diplomacy, one works directly with foreign people. While she was not allowed to practice alone as a physician due to licensing regulations in Brazil, she was able to listen, learn and advise:

I practiced in the sense that I took care of people on the ward. So, I learned a great deal about Brazilians whom you don't meet at embassy cocktail parties; and also, about parasitic disease.⁸³⁹

In Brazil, Berle brought some of her American medical knowledge and expertise to help train Brazilians. She advised surgeons on paediatric surgery for pyloric stenosis, common in the US but rare in Brazil, and administered the first dose of penicillin in the country. Most importantly, though, was her work in public health. Her two most impactful projects were creating a course of lectures for further medical education and writing a textbook on preventative diseases. Her mentor at Santa Casa, Paulo Cesar de Andrade, believed the "American era" of medicine had come, and as part of creating a modern surgical service he asked Berle to develop a "refresher" course. Berle organised a set of lectures on public health problems in Brazil and included an American public health sanitarian who focused on the modern planning of sanitation facilities. While it is unclear if that sanitarian was part of IIAA, it is highly probable as IIAA was the only source of funding for American sanitation experts in Latin America at the time. After the course was finished, she turned it into a text called *The Book of Preventative Medicine* (1944), which

⁸³⁹ "Beatrice Berle", ADST, Interview transcript, 8.

was sent to doctors in the Brazilian interior. Working with a local parasitologist, they developed a chapter on tropical diseases, and she had the sanitation expert write about building privies to prevent disease.⁸⁴⁰ An unknown Brazilian benefactor sponsored the book and paid to print and distribute it to all reaches of the country. Through these experiences, she developed a reputation regarding health themes, and ministers she met through her husband and her work began consulting her on all matters of health.⁸⁴¹

Within the embassy, Berle found a new way to get involved in charitable projects. She started a sewing circle with her children's nurse to create clothes for children in the hospitals and favelas. This later became a group called the "Voluntarias" and was hosted in the embassy ballroom, using sewing machines donated by the Singer company and materials financed by the women themselves. Working with the Baronesa de Bonfim, a socialite leader in Rio high society, Berle was able to get Brazilian and American women to sew together one day a week.⁸⁴² Because of de Bonfim's social influence and Berle's popularity, other women in Brazilian high society wanted to be seen volunteering with the two women, which led to a high number of volunteers. Under Berle, the Voluntarias became a goodwill mission to the Brazilian people. As a professional woman, Berle believed that Brazilians would respect her, writing that "it turned out that both of us [she and her husband] were the right people at the right moment."⁸⁴³ She was correct: her breed of diplomacy, focusing on the everyday people instead of just government leaders, paid off. Towards the end of her stay in Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian government awarded her the Cruzeiro do Sul for her work in Brazilian hospitals, and she received several tributes. After the Berles left Brazil in 1946, the next American ambassador, a divorced single

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 11; Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds* 169.

⁸⁴¹ Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds*, 178.

⁸⁴² "Beatrice Berle", ADST, Interview transcript, 10.

⁸⁴³ Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds*, 165.

man named William Pawley, "threw" the Voluntarias out of the embassy, at a "considerable loss of goodwill for the US," though Berle does not explain why.⁸⁴⁴ However, another American wife worked with the wife of the President of Brazil to help transfer the organisation to the Presidential Palace. While in Brazil, different diplomatic wives, including Jewell Fenzi, worked with the Voluntarias, which over the following few decades spread to other cities in the country and became a national organisation.⁸⁴⁵

These sewing circles also took place in other countries. While Berle was in Brazil, in 1944–1946, Ella Wilson and Ruth Bond started a similar project in Haiti.⁸⁴⁶ Wilson was the wife of US Ambassador Orme Wilson Jr, who was the grandson of Caroline Astor, the Gilded Age socialite. Unlike Berle, Wilson and Bond distributed the garments themselves, creating more direct goodwill by building personal ties with those they met. In both cases, Berle and Bond knew the local people well enough to know what they needed, not just to give off cast-offs or other goods that did not help people as previous "Ladies Bountiful" did. By using these listening techniques, they could best represent caring Americans and help those in need. That being said, this is only conjecture, as there is no record of how the Haitians or Brazilians responded.

Wilson, who came up with the idea of creating garments for impoverished Haitians, could also be construed as a stereotypical Lady Bountiful. There was little opportunity at this time for Wilson to get to know local people well because of the strict barriers on race, class, and religion. Perhaps that was why she chose to work directly with Bond, who was Black and had been working with local artists within Haiti for months on a collegial and equal level and was therefore able to determine exactly what they needed. It is implied that Bond and Wilson were

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ "Ruth Bond", ADST, Interview transcript, 7.

sewing for the same artists that Bond worked with over her time in Haiti. Bond's own race, background, volunteer experience, and her fluency in French, made her an appropriate public diplomat for such an activity. However, Wilson's thought process and reasoning are unknown.

Besides Berle, there were other wives who worked in public health during the 1940s that earned the goodwill of local people. Another example of wives working in this field was Grace Dreyfus, the wife of Louis Dreyfus, who served as American Minister to Iran from 1940–1943. Iran faced a famine and typhoid outbreak due to Russian-British policy between 1942–1943. In response to the crisis, Dreyfus, who had been a nurse in World War I, volunteered to care for patients in one of the worst slums south of Tehran, daily distributing bread and medicines to victims of famine and typhus gathered in caves. After the crisis, she started a clinic and orphanage to care for forty young boys left without families.⁸⁴⁷ Arthur Millspaugh, a diplomat attached to the legation, wrote:

The Minister's wife had captured the hearts of the Persians, not only as a charming hostess, but also as a sympathetic and tireless worker in the slums of Tehran. Daily, she took medical care to hundreds of the poor[est] people. No publicity agent, aiming to dramatize and popularize American in the Persian mind, could have improved on Mrs. Dreyfus' spontaneous, simple, and sincere technique.⁸⁴⁸

Like many men of his generation, Millspaugh highlighted Grace Dreyfus' two roles: hostess as part of representational entertaining as discussed in chapter two, but also American volunteer woman. The other keywords are "publicity," "popularize," and "sincere." Millspaugh illustrates

⁸⁴⁷ Allen, *Foreign Service Diary*, 68-69.

⁸⁴⁸ Arthur Millspaugh, *Americans in Persia* (Washington: Brookings, 1946), 49-50.

the State Department's instant desire to publicise any story that shone a positive light on the US. However, the diplomatic wives themselves seem to have a more sincere desire to help others. Dreyfus was most likely aware, as her husband was, that the British occupying Iran were withholding the typhus vaccine and grain aid from Iran to devalue their currency.⁸⁴⁹ While she could not help at the political or diplomatic level, she was able to do what she could on a more personal basis. Her background as a nurse and her working physically with the sick meant that due to her experience and direct work, she would not have been considered a “Lady Bountiful” type, which most likely helped her gain admiration from locals.

After the Dreyfuses left Iran, the clinic was named the Grace Dreyfus Clinic and Orphanage. Many locals started making financial contributions to it, and a binational board of Americans and Iranians was set up to administer the funds, later becoming the Iran-America Relief Society. Katherine Allen and Leila Wilson volunteered with this organisation in the late 1940s. Wilson recollected that "the name 'Dreyfus' was magic, and it was Mrs. Dreyfus they were talking about."⁸⁵⁰ Wilson also added that the orphanage and clinic was an innovation at the time as the society opened a modern medical facility with new equipment and an x-ray machine. The clinic itself was an example of exchange diplomacy: funded by donations from both Americans and Iranians raised by diplomatic wives, the clinic was headed by an American doctor sent to advise the Iranian government but was staffed by Iranian doctors. The orphanage was run by two Iranian women and two American women. Even the sisters of the ruler of Iran, Mohammed Reza Shah, held balls to raise money for the charity. Wilson herself volunteered with the orphanage, focusing on what the children were to eat, ensuring they had balanced diets.

⁸⁴⁹ Simon Davis, "A Projected New Trusteeship? American Internationalism, British Imperialism, and the Reconstruction of Iran, 1938-1947," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 17, no.1 (2006): 43.

⁸⁵⁰ "Leila Wilson", ADST, Interview transcript, 22-23.

Allen raised over \$10,000 for the clinic and orphanage by hosting an American-style carnival fundraiser, complete with hot dogs and hamburgers.⁸⁵¹

Allen greatly understood the charity's vital role, and she argued that the work had a "two-fold purpose." Besides taking care of children, it:

gave the American wives some active charitable work to do and made many possible contacts with Iranians whom they otherwise might not have known. It showed the Iranians that we were interested in working with them as fellow human beings, outside official channels.⁸⁵²

Her description indicates more purposes than keeping wives busy or helping children. It allowed wives to learn about Iranian society and make contacts, two facets of listening illustrated in chapter three. What makes the wives' experience unique and so relevant to public diplomacy is that these wives were making these contacts outside of official channels. Unlike their husbands and because of gender norms at the time, they could leave their official background and slip into a more personable "natural" and "nurturing" role that brought them closer with everyday people. However, it also represented the American volunteer spirit and advocated for closer Iranian-American relations on a person-to-person level. On top of advocacy and listening, Allen's use of an American style carnival and American food in support of the clinic indicates the use of cultural diplomacy. In this case, the clinic became a veritable domino effect of public diplomacy tools and efforts.

⁸⁵¹ Allen, *Foreign Service Diary*, 68-70.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*

All three of these cases highlight wives using their unique skills to support people in developing countries through public health work. Importantly, each of them did not work completely on their own, but in some informal relationship (or formal in the case of Adams) with the US government. Berle and Dreyfus' status as American Ambassadors' wives also brought them a level of publicity and support that other junior-level diplomatic wives or similar upper-class women, may not have had.

Two Sides of the Same Coin: Ladies Bountiful and Technical Assistance

As the Foreign Service grew after World War II, so did the scale of diplomatic wives' social welfare activities. While in the 1940s these were carried out on an individual person-to-person level, the 1950s and 1960s saw the growth of activities supported directly by the US government in a collaboration of informal small-scale charity and formal large-scale development aid. However, this does not mean that women like Berle, Adams, Allen, or Dreyfus were less impactful. All three case studies above illustrate that this work had the potential to help others and demonstrate how caring Americans were, earning the country goodwill during World War II and the aftermath.

The 1950s saw a rise in humanitarian and foreign aid, in response to the Cold War, with the US emphasizing the importance of technical assistance (TA). This led to much of wives' work during this period also shifting to technical assistance, a marked difference from the earlier "Lady Bountiful" work that some wives continued with less success. Both Zunz and Packard have articulated how many high-ranking policymakers believed foreign aid would eliminate poverty and at the same time help win the Cold War, as developing countries were a breeding

ground for communism.⁸⁵³ In response to this, Truman announced his Point Four policy, and while focused firmly on economic development, his words also spoke to many global health concerns, including nutrition and disease.

Some wives, like Margaret Morgan, who was both a diplomatic spouse and formerly employed by the State Department, were especially passionate about Point Four and its work. In a 1951 article aimed at American educators, Morgan wrote:

Some people have asked, "What has Point Four got to do with stopping communism? Is this the time to be helping people on the other side of the world to raise better crops and stamp out malaria?" The answer is that this is the very time; that most of the people we are working with are less interested in abstract principles of communism and democracy than in solving their urgent problems of hunger, disease, and the difficulty of scratching for a bare living. The communists offer them quick remedies for all their ills. We have a chance to prove to them in practical and concrete ways that a free society can promote both human well-being and human dignity.⁸⁵⁴

When she wrote this, Morgan was still an employee of the State Department and had yet to go abroad as a Foreign Service wife (she married her husband later in 1951). She would subsequently become a principal supporter of diplomatic wives' community service activities at the highest level of the State Department, planning the 1964 exhibit on them and writing numerous articles in the *Foreign Service Journal*, as well as planning the new wives' course when her husband led FSI in the 1960s.

⁸⁵³ Packard, *History of Global Health*, 112.

⁸⁵⁴ Morgan, *Her Life and Writings*, 56.

There were two types of diplomatic wives in community service work in the 1950s. The first was the "Lady Bountiful" types who took the noblesse oblige to heart and wanted to be seen doing good works but from a very top-down approach. The second were the wives who focused more on their own technical assistance and preferred to support local organisations through training and support but without taking charge. This chapter will showcase studies from each including a focus on Marvin Patterson, Jeanne Foote North, and Margaret Sullivan.

Marvin Patterson married into the Foreign Service during the war and left her "career girl" behind to become a diplomatic wife when her husband was made ambassador to Uruguay in 1956. Patterson became a self-centred ambassadress, who believed certain things were due to her. One of these was that she thought the American Women's Club should ask the wife of the ambassador to be honorary president, which she believed should be accepted as "it is a natural responsibility."⁸⁵⁵ She explained:

Then there are inspection trips that the wife makes by herself, usually in the capital to institutions, hospitals, schools, and welfare projects. These are made by invitation and appointment and are of mutual benefit: the wife learns, and the hosts appreciate—they enjoy showing the work which they do with a deep devotion to an interested and responsive foreign diplomat's wife. It is wise to wear photogenic clothes and comfortable shoes—you may walk for miles and stand for hours. I used to take a different junior wife with me each time, chosen as far as possible to be appropriate to the institution to be visited. This was not only to carry the huge bouquet, which was usually presented to me,

⁸⁵⁵ "First Draft Talk to Wives of Senior Officers" Typescript, May 11, 1959, MPP, Box 114.

and to show that I considered the visit to this or that place an important one, not just a casual 'dropping by' but also to teach her how to make such visits.⁸⁵⁶

Patterson's use of underline indicates precisely how she saw herself: the benevolent listener who was there to bestow the goodwill of the US on the poor locals. She also knew to wear "photogenic" clothes to showcase the best side to the local press, which would be disseminated throughout the country. Her most telling words are how she views the junior wives, almost as ladies in waiting, there to carry the "large bouquet of flowers" she felt were due to her. Patterson's condescending and patronizing attitude towards anyone she viewed as inferior made her the epitome of Lady Bountiful and had the opposite intention that many other diplomatic wives had in the same period.

The term Lady Bountiful has a very chequered past in the American Foreign Service. Many wives used it as a derogatory term, meant to describe a woman who goes around flaunting their wealth and treating the poor with false concern. Helen Brown complained that "Two European ladies, via the Red Cross, have been 'noblesse- obliging' it once a month distributing cigarettes, candy, and cheer" at a Leper Hospital in Malaysia.⁸⁵⁷ What bothered Brown the most was that the women would complain that the locals were ignorant and thought leprosy was contagious, which is why "only" Europeans would visit, which she later found to be untrue. Through this, there runs a current of religious moralism, which has been popular with American missionaries abroad for two centuries who aimed to convert indigenous peoples to western Christianity and mores. However, as Julia Irwin explains, this began to change around the World Wars, when Christian universalism gave way to international humanitarianism.⁸⁵⁸ It is during this

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ "Mrs. William Brown" Typescript, OWN, Box 3

⁸⁵⁸ Irwin, *Red Cross*, 8-9.

period that Irwin argues that the secularisation of American missionary ideology grew, which is confirmed when looking at diplomatic wives. In the 1930s-1960s, the Foreign Service was very intertwined with American missionaries, with many diplomats and diplomatic wives like Margaret Sullivan and her husband, having grown up as the children of missionaries abroad, which sparked their interest in international affairs. During their time in the Foreign Service, religion was not a large part of their lives. Similarly, Patterson never mentions Christian morality, but it is almost implied in her writings.

The 1950s saw a shift from individual Ladies Bountiful charity work to a much more ingrained and collaborative type of social welfare. Part of this could be due to changes in the US status in the world, and also in the background of wives. Upper-class heiresses like Patterson no longer were the diplomatic wife norm. With the changing Foreign Service and Wristonization, which converted civil servants to the Foreign Service, diplomatic wives primarily came from the middle class, and had worked as nurses, social workers, and teachers. In addition, as Brown highlighted, a common concern in posts worldwide was who would continue social welfare activities after the wives in charge left. Finally, within the unique culture of the Foreign Service, the opinion towards volunteer work shifted, as Jane Hart discovered.

While in Cairo, Hart was admonished by ambassador Raymond Hare for being too engaged in charitable work and for attracting any “Lady Bountiful” attention. He lectured, "What do you think about charity? Don't you think it really begins at home? That it's a private, personal thing?" adding:

Don't you think perhaps you've been overdoing it a little? I think it's the Ambassador and his Lady's duty and the staff's duty to possibly attend these things when they feel it's a

good thing, but to throw them, to give them, don't you think that's overdoing US representation a little bit?⁸⁵⁹

All of the wives mentioned in this chapter could be accused of being too engaged in charitable work, yet it is that engagement that makes them public diplomats. Hare had joined the Foreign Service in 1927, and his criticism of Hart is reminiscent of that earlier era. Hart was from a different generation who was more used to US intervention and aid abroad, as well as a stronger US presence. Hart both agreed and disagreed with Hare. In many ways she struggled with criticism of diplomatic wives' volunteer work, as she felt that it was impossible to see great poverty and not help with so much to be done:

What they do not realise is that the needs there just scream at us, coming from here. We believe "How can we go on and go to parties and play bridge when all this is here that needs doing?" And they don't realise how that speaks to us. And it seemed to speak in most of my posts, particularly to women from the Midwest who are very strongly community-oriented. Time and time again, I noticed these women going all out, AID groups and so on. It was very moving to me that they carried over the same moral feeling about their community as they had at home. I don't know how you can criticize that. It's Americans being Americans.⁸⁶⁰

Hart's views are important to unpack. First, her struggle with the notion of sitting at diplomatic parties, playing cards, and doing nothing in the local community speaks to the two paths for diplomatic wives. They could follow the diplomatic social circuit, or they could volunteer, and

⁸⁵⁹ "Jane Hart", ADST, Interview transcript, 34.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

different personalities were attracted to each. It also notes the difference in wealth between diplomats and developing countries, and as both Muriel Hanson and Hart have articulated, it was quite challenging to see such severe poverty and do nothing. Second, her use of the word community-oriented is reminiscent of the early history of social work, based on charitable ladies who looked after the less fortunate in their communities and the culture of volunteerism in the US. Finally, her notion that you can't criticize "Americans being Americans" is especially important, as Hart felt this was part of a national identity, and a natural continuation of work the wives would do in their own home communities. At the same time, she admitted that Hare brought her "down from her high horse," and she became more circumspect in her activities, working with local organisations on their welfare projects and no longer being "quite so 'noblesse oblige'", language that brings to mind "White Man's Burden" and imperialism in international development.

Some of this cultural shift was due to the changing view on humanitarian assistance and foreign aid that was happening around the same time. This underlies the viewpoint and importance of technical assistance as a concept.⁸⁶¹ There are two arguments for the relationship between technical assistance and development aid for global health. The first is similar to previous, more imperial "know how" attitudes. One example is of how germ theory and disease control were disseminated around the world at the beginning of the 20th century, "often by colonial powers eager to make newly acquired tropical territories safe for their personnel and to demonstrate the 'civilising' effect of their rule"—as illustrated by the US's attempt to cure yellow fever and malaria after the Spanish-American War.⁸⁶² The second argument reflects the way Packard viewed the 1950s, an era where new technologies created the "know-how and show

⁸⁶¹ "Mrs. William Brown" Typescript, OWN, Box 3

⁸⁶² Erez Manela, *The Development Century: A Global History*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018), 91.

how” culture of development, which was embodied by Point Four.⁸⁶³ It is not just nutrition and disease that were a public health concern, but also living conditions. More importantly, it was relevant that the US had all the industrial and scientific techniques it took to overcome issues and was now willing to share them.

Both ideologies were consistently used in development policy throughout the second half of the twentieth century: that the US had a moral obligation to help the world as the wealthiest country, and that as the most technologically advanced, it must share this knowledge to help others. In the decolonizing society of the Cold War, the battle was over hearts and minds, and many diplomatic wives took to heart the new policy of assistance instead than that of condescending moralistic support.

Like education and nursing, social work was seen as an acceptable career for middle-class women in the mid-twentieth century. Chambers argues that this is because many of what professional social workers did—supporting mothers, children, and families—was considered “women’s work.”⁸⁶⁴ Jeanne Foote North had a traditional education and background for a diplomatic wife of the 1950s. After college, she received a master's degree in social work from Vanderbilt University and Columbia University before working as a social worker at a New York City hospital.⁸⁶⁵ When North arrived with her husband in Ethiopia in 1953, she quickly found unpaid work assisting with the Gondar Public Health College, which had been started by Point Four. Her role was to train, guide, and mentor an unnamed Ethiopian woman who had recently received a degree in social work abroad, the first Ethiopian to do so. Specifically, North was to help her understand and consider different cultures in which they would provide public

⁸⁶³ Packard, *History of Global Health*, 109.

⁸⁶⁴ Chambers, “Women in Social Work,” 10.

⁸⁶⁵ “Jeanne Foote North”, ADST, Interview transcript, 5.

health education, to make the training more successful. North found this both a learning and teaching experience, as she learned about Ethiopian culture while sharing the tools and skills she had acquired in the US. Together, North and her pupil helped teach students from local high schools to become health aides, substitute junior doctors, sanitarians, and nurses. At the same time, North' used to teach English to Ethiopian nurses so that they could communicate with German, Danish, and British doctors. She also developed her own course called Social Work for Nurses, which focused on the social, cultural, and emotional aspects of illness” at Empress Zaudito Hospital.⁸⁶⁶ North loved the class because it:

was a lot of discovery on my part as well as theirs. It was a very interactive course where they would take certain questions and orientation and go and find the answers in class.

And we would talk about it.⁸⁶⁷

North’s work was also deeply ingrained in the historiography of Point Four, as Ethiopia was a primary recipient. North and her Ethiopian mentee were responsible for training faculty and staff from WHO, UNICEF, Australia, New Zealand, Italy, US, and Eastern European countries. She noted how due to the number of staff from different countries, there were significant cultural differences, “so there was a great deal of international consideration going on as well as education.”⁸⁶⁸ Her experience had elements of both cultural and education/exchange diplomacy, with an aspect of listening since she needed to understand deep culture and surface culture. North’s case demonstrates how wives engaged in technical assistance could make a

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., 14.

valuable contribution to their host country, especially in fields women have historically been considered naturals for: social work, nursing, and education.

During the 1950s, the US saw improvements in maternal and infant mortality due to public health campaigns and increased medical knowledge and technology, although levels still varied among different communities. After being explicitly asked by the wife of the British High Commissioner, Margaret Sullivan began volunteering for a well-baby clinic in Malaysia funded by the Malay Ministry of Health and the Anglican Cathedral. Well-baby clinics were another American invention that many diplomatic wives exported to the countries they lived in throughout the twentieth century. Medical historian David Rosen writes that well-baby clinics originated in New York City in the 1880s to decrease infant mortality and had a strong focus on clean water and milk; disease prevention; and antepartum care.⁸⁶⁹ At the clinic, Margaret Sullivan managed intake and helped with the check-ups on babies and small children. This included weighing them, ensuring they were adequately fed, treating colds, and sending sick children to local hospitals. Other nurses volunteered with her, and in other parts of the world, diplomatic wives did similar work. Mrs C Edward Wells was cited in a report to Congress on the activities of USIA/S wives as volunteering at a baby clinic in Tehran and Ankara.⁸⁷⁰ Many wives in the 1960s, such as nurse Martha Rau, participated in or started these clinics worldwide. Beatrice Berle even ran a well-baby clinic in the embassy pantry in Brazil.⁸⁷¹

Diplomatic wives' efforts in the 1950s in global and public health also included wives volunteering in orphanages, helping polio victims, working with Mother Teresa, teaching nutrition, increasing literacy, and supporting refugees. Unlike the 1940s where the aid was direct

⁸⁶⁹ Rosen, *History of Public Health*, 198-203.

⁸⁷⁰ USIA, *1956 Report to Congress*, 26-30.

⁸⁷¹ "Beatrice Berle", ADST, Interview transcript, 13.

volunteer hours or financial aid, most of this volunteer work focused on technical assistance and fundraising, as wives understood their time was short in each post and preferred to work with local organisations to support as needed, as Brown had suggested. Consistently, Jane Hart argued that the best programs needed to involve local women who would take over what American women had started, adding,

I think really no matter how much we do, we do have to stop and think, that like so many AID programs, they have to have a basis in the society to last and to have any meaning. Otherwise, to others, they look like “nobless oblige.” They look as if we’re trying to gain some kind of stature or influence by this means.⁸⁷²

Like Hart and Helen Brown, Margaret Morgan also encouraged women to avoid starting projects they could not finish or imposing "American ways on reluctant people," and to "remember they are guests in the country" and that "even though they personally are acting unofficially, the people of the country tend to associate them and their actions officially with the US."⁸⁷³ Technical assistance solved the problem of wives leaving posts, and had the potential to create long-lasting improvements with higher buy in from local partners. All three of these women demonstrate that diplomatic wives understood the value of technical assistance and the new focus on modern development aid instead of the previous imperial know-how that marked most aid of this kind throughout the pre-war period. This is not surprising since their husbands worked with Point Four and other USAID predecessors. They also understood the negative imagery of “Lady Bountiful,” and that avoiding this stereotype would be in itself an effective

⁸⁷² “Jane Hart”, ADST, Interview transcript, 35.

⁸⁷³ Morgan, “The Foreign Service Wife Serves Her Country Well,” *State Department Newsletter*, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

public diplomacy action. In the 1960s, this focus on technical assistance and support continued to grow.

The 1960s and Increase of US Department of State Support

The 1960s, or "Decade of Development," also saw the creation of USAID, the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, and the increased support for women's programs and family planning initiatives. Diplomatic wives engaged with and supported all these initiatives; by doing so, they directly supported US government programs and policies, and particularly State Department priorities. While technical assistance abroad continued and American Women's Groups expanded their outreach, the main difference between the 1950s and 1960s was the support and direction of wives' volunteer activities by State Department officials. This expanded volunteer activities that directly related to foreign policy objectives. In 1963, the American Association of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) opened an exhibit organised by Margaret Morgan at the main State Department building, titled: "Showcase of American Women Around the World." The exhibit stated that community activities of diplomatic wives abroad fell into three categories.⁸⁷⁴ The first was welfare services, "designed to relieve human suffering," which included working with orphans, youth, sick, blind, aged, and victims of natural disasters. The second was "self-help" training and projects, including infant care, hygiene, preparing food, and providing scholarships. The third category was cultural exchange, detailed in chapter four. The first two types generally fell under social work, health, aid, and development, and were both equally important as public diplomacy activities in this period. Throughout the 1960s, State

⁸⁷⁴ "1963 AAFSW Exhibit" Description, ABP, Carton 4, Folder 105.

Department began actively supporting wives' volunteer activities, primarily through political appointee Katie Louchheim, who served in the department for the majority of the decade.

Katie Louchheim, then deputy assistant secretary for Public Affairs, called the wives and their work the US's "strategic diplomatic resource," and advocated for wives to access to language training to increase the effectiveness of their volunteer activities.⁸⁷⁵ In an undated speech, she noted that American women's volunteer work abroad built up international trade, promoted understanding of the US, and provided foreign countries with skills "they need to help themselves," while helping to forward US foreign policy objectives. She added that American women realised "that they are in a foreign country as guests, and guests in a strange house do not try to rearrange the national 'furniture' except with and at the request of their hosts."⁸⁷⁶

Louchheim's speech indicates how the government's belief in technical assistance continued, even as the US began sending a more diverse set of aid, including direct economic and food aid, to developing countries. Most importantly, it highlights how wives were determined not to be perceived as "Lady Bountiful," and instead to show off the best of the American volunteer spirit.

Both the State Department and high-ranking diplomatic wives understood the great power American women's volunteer efforts could have. Margaret Morgan called the phenomenon "one of our most exciting exports," while Katie Louchheim noted that wives were a "credit to the American voluntary tradition".⁸⁷⁷ As Helen Laville has noted, the Cold War saw the mythology of American voluntarism grow to advocate for democratic traditions.⁸⁷⁸

Louchheim understood this clearly, later saying that "simply by doing what comes naturally,

⁸⁷⁵ Morgan, "1963 AAFSW Exhibit" Essay, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷ Morgan, "The Foreign Service Wife Serves Her Country Well," *State Department Newsletter*, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5 and KL Speech to Junior League, "The Voluntary Spirit in the Foreign Service," KLP, Box 51, Folder 18.

⁸⁷⁸ Helen Laville, *Cold War Women*, 1-9.

they [diplomatic wives] are a living demonstration of that basic component of democracy, citizen initiative, and action.”⁸⁷⁹ Louchheim eluded to say why the State Department promoted the work wives did abroad throughout the 1950s and 1960s, but it was implied that it was part of American diplomacy, and given the nature of the work, most likely public diplomacy.

These stories of women volunteering at well-baby clinics, assisting refugees, and so forth were a form of advocacy for the US. Using Nye's metric of soft power, they represented the best of American cultural ideals, lived up to American political values, and legitimised the US as a moral authority.⁸⁸⁰ The sight of wives working alongside foreign citizens on tough subjects sent the message that these women were not like trope of wives of foreign colonial officials, refusing to socialise with locals. This was another reminder by US government that, while the US was a wealthy superpower, they did not consider themselves an empire. In fact, the US' founding myth was anti-imperial, and the US was keen to continue this rhetoric during the Cold War to set itself apart from the previous European empires and from the growing Soviet one. Instead, as Laville explains, wives were exporting American democratic institutions, including women's groups. This analysis leaves out the important point that America was/is a cultural imperial power and has excelled at using soft power to create ties to foreign nations, as Daniel Immerwahr's chapter on how the US exported the English language has articulated.⁸⁸¹ Diplomatic wives recognized this balance, especially given the US occupation of Germany, Japan, and other countries after World War II, and were careful to ensure they were distinguished from the previous colonial governments when volunteering in formerly colonized nations.

⁸⁷⁹ Louchheim, "The Voluntary Spirit in the Foreign Service," Speech, KLP, Box 51 Folder 18.

⁸⁸⁰ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 11.

⁸⁸¹ Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the Greater US* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019), 318.

Louchheim was especially attuned to the situation for women in developing countries. When she was made special advisor for women's affairs, she noted that Kennedy "recognised the growing influence of women around the world and their crucial role in social and economic progress, especially in developing countries."⁸⁸² Louchheim was the lynchpin between White House and State Department's leaders on one side and diplomatic wives on the other, writing that Kennedy "recognised too that American women's organisations are playing an increasingly important role in international development programs" before detailing specific examples of diplomatic wives' social welfare volunteer projects. Louchheim truly believed that sharing examples of diplomatic wives' community service activities could shape the Cold War:

If we can share both the techniques and the basic democracy of these organisations with the women of other countries, they too will demand something other than poverty and hunger, and something more substantial than propaganda.⁸⁸³

She believed that diplomatic wives were the perfect examples of democracy and true advocates for the US and the American way of life, and a channel for technical assistance.

As a woman who had lived through World War I and World War II and had later worked for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Germany, specifically with displaced persons camps, Katie Louchheim had witnessed war. She wanted to create a more peaceful world through public diplomacy, and she thought women had the skills to do so, and she played up the conventional viewpoint that women were more peaceful naturally.⁸⁸⁴ This is

⁸⁸² Katie Louchheim, "Why a Consultant on Women's Activities" Essay, KLP, Box 51, Folder 16.

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ Katie Louchheim, "The Challenge," Essay, KLP, Box 51, Folder 16.

similar to the policy framework of "women, peace and security," (WPS) which believes that women must be critical actors in peacebuilding activities to create sustainable international peace.⁸⁸⁵ It is unknown if Louchheim believed women were more peaceful, but many women of her generation did: Laville argued that many women's organisations in the Cold War had aims of peace and international understanding because women were seen as morally superior in the international sphere in virtue of their maternal benevolence. International understanding is another synonym for mutual understanding, the core tenant of public diplomacy. Louchheim believed that American wives' work with foreign women would bring the American dream to developing nations and, therefore, contribute to creating peace through mutual understanding and building stronger countries and economies.⁸⁸⁶ As one of the highest-ranking women in the US government, her perspective was that of a representative woman, and like Wald, she was willing to stereotype women as natural carers to accomplish her political objectives.

In one of her first roles at the State Department, Louchheim started the office of Community Advisory Services (O/CAS), which became an important support mechanism for wives' volunteer work. Its goal was to "broaden recognition of the inter-cultural activities of FSO wives and to interest American women's organisations in aiding this group in their overseas welfare and educational projects."⁸⁸⁷ Louchheim and her team's role was to collect requests for funds and goods from Foreign Service wives and then work with local communities, women's groups, non-profit organisations, other government agencies, and companies in the US to fulfil their requests. Here Louccheim relied on both humanitarian aid and corporate philanthropy. One

⁸⁸⁵ "Advancing Women, Peace and Security," US Institute of Peace, accessed 18 April 2022, <https://www.usip.org/programs/advancing-women-peace-and-security>.

⁸⁸⁶ Katie Loucheim, "The Challenge" Essay, KLP, Box 51, Folder 16.

⁸⁸⁷ Lorraine O'Grady and Constance Pierson, "Policy Research Study: US Govt Exchange and Training Programs for Foreign Women," CU, Box 104, Folder 14.

example of this is the donation of medical supplies from the Women's Hospital Organization for several projects in Africa, while another is the donation of braille watches for the blind in select countries from Zale's jewellery store.⁸⁸⁸ Through O/CAS, during the 1960s, watches were sent to over forty countries. Louchheim wrote that her team "sends them to American Embassies in all parts of the world as instruments of goodwill between the people of the US and the countries where our embassies are located."⁸⁸⁹ Many times, Louchheim directly sent them to diplomatic wives like Naomi Mathews, the wife of the US ambassador to Nigeria, who then distributed them to the Federal Nigeria Society for the blind.⁸⁹⁰ Mathews understood the importance of this volunteer work, explaining how much of the work she did was an extension of government policy at the time, including supporting Peace Corps and USAID.⁸⁹¹ Many of the O/CAS-supported projects were in public health, including projects aimed at creating a reference library on nutrition, sanitation, and education in Togo, or courses on sanitation in Nepal.⁸⁹² India was a priority country for USAID and for several development and foreign aid organisations in the 1950s and 1960s due to its large growing population, geographic position, and potential. A fair number of diplomatic wives, including Frances Adams, Yetta Weisz, Margaret Rau, and Muriel Hanson, started or supported aid programs in India. Weisz volunteered with a tuberculosis clinic and a leprosy clinic, but her most impactful project was working with disabled children at hospital schools and helping to create the Children's Guidance School. Just after she arrived in India, the American Women's club received a letter from a school of disabled children asking for help with training teachers and supporting students with learning disabilities, while another

⁸⁸⁸ "Examples of Foreign Service Wives Activities" Typescript, KLP, Box 47 Folder 2.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁰ Letter from Naomi Mathews to KL, 24 June 1965, KLP, Box 26, Folder 7.

⁸⁹¹ "Naomi Mathews", ADST, Interview transcript, 18-19.

⁸⁹² Letter from Mrs Leon Poullada to Margaret Morgan, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

diplomatic wife, Carolyn Costanza, a trained nurse, did physical and occupational therapy with the children to help them heal.⁸⁹³ Recognising the public relations use of their work, they both were interviewed by Voice of America on their work for radio stations in India, disseminating recognition for their work around the country. While the Children's Guidance School focused on educational aid, a subset of foreign aid, it also led Weisz to other projects in the health field. After news of her work spread, she was asked to come to multiple hospitals to help set up schools, including hospitals funded by the Rockefeller and Ford foundations. After helping these “rich” hospitals, a working-class hospital asked her for help setting up a “visiting instruction corps” that trained Indian teachers to travel from village to village tutoring disabled and sick children.⁸⁹⁴

Children’s hospitals and orphanages were a frequent target of diplomatic wives’ support. This is not surprising. First, given gender norms in the US during the Cold War, it was expected that women were wives and mothers and, therefore, interested in helping children. The US government in the 1950s and early 1960s often focused on diplomatic wives as representative American women, as discussed in chapter two. Maternalism has also long been both a reasoning and a problem within social work, given women’s traditional gender roles in the US.⁸⁹⁵ Second, children were an important constituency within the US' foreign policy and public health advocacy groups. Packard argues that America's contributions to UNICEF reflected the power children had for attracting financial support from private donors and the US Congress.⁸⁹⁶ Margaret Sullivan found herself as the informal UNICEF representative in Manila when she

⁸⁹³ “Yetta Weisz”, ADST, Interview transcript, 16.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-18.

⁸⁹⁵ Laura Abrams and Laura Curran, “Between Women: Gender and Social Work in Historical Perspective,” *Social Service Review* 78, no.3 (2004): 425-434.

⁸⁹⁶ Packard, *History of Global Health*, 126.

posted there from 1971 to 1974.⁸⁹⁷ Other wives funded and supported education projects, like Betty Bernbaum who was a part of the Alliance for Progress, or worked with children directly like Muriel Hanson, a trained social worker who volunteered with orphanages in numerous countries she served in.⁸⁹⁸

Sometimes, State Department officials also got involved, often bringing the donated goods on their travel to the target region. The State Department even officially directed wives to participate in community activities, including volunteering for social welfare projects through a Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM) cable.⁸⁹⁹ In a speech to the Junior League that further highlights the tight link between wives' activities and US government, Louchheim cites women's clubs and volunteer groups from American cities in Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, Texas, and Indiana donating materials to Ecuador, Pakistan, Liberia, Tunisia, and more:

This support from the grassroots gives our Foreign Service wives a comforting assurance that people at home are interested in what they are doing on the other side of the equator or halfway around the world. To the people of the host country with whom they work, it is another demonstration of the indomitable American voluntary spirit.⁹⁰⁰

O/CAS matched diplomatic wives' welfare work with American donors in three ways. The first was publishing a directory of US women's organisations with international programs, sent to every Foreign Service embassy and consulate worldwide.⁹⁰¹ Women then could look up an organisation that might be able to help them and apply for help directly. The second way was

⁸⁹⁷ Sullivan, *Fragments*, 210-211.

⁸⁹⁸ "Activities of American Women in US Missions Abroad" Typescript, KLP, Box 30, Folder 7; Bernbaum, *Adventures in Latin America* 96; "Muriel Hanson", ADST, Interview transcript, 16.

⁸⁹⁹ FAM No.304, 28 April 1965, KLP, Box 25, Folder 5.

⁹⁰⁰ Louchheim, "The Voluntary Spirit," Speech, KLP, Box 51 Folder 18.

⁹⁰¹ "Women's Activities Advisor", CU, Box 286, Folder 43.

through direct appeal and connections. Louchheim often created form letters listing the materials and funds diplomatic wives needed for clinics, schools, and other projects, and then send them to donors she knew personally, such as Ethel Kennedy, or to corporations.⁹⁰² The third way was through publicity. Louchheim and her staff pitched stories of wives' work to newspapers, magazines, through speeches to organisations, and through press releases.⁹⁰³ Overall, Louchheim was extraordinarily successful with her outreach, and numerous wives cited her office's support for helping with the success of their projects.⁹⁰⁴ By gaining support from American women's groups and grassroots organisations, Louchheim created a new type of citizen-based public diplomacy. Public-private partnerships have long been an important tool in the history of public diplomacy, and Louchheim's work is a perfect example of this.

With the help of Katie Louchheim and O/CAS, diplomatic wives' work went from being small grassroots efforts to large-scale international programs. Similar to Peace Corp, wives volunteered with a range of social welfare projects, with a high percentage in global health initiatives, meeting people of all socioeconomic classes and gaining new friends and goodwill for the US. This was successful because they worked alongside local residents, helping them with established projects or non-profits, and playing a supporting role, but also because of the State Department support they received.

⁹⁰² Stock Letter drafted by KL, KLP, Box 24, Folder 9.

⁹⁰³ Katie Louchheim, "Our Unsung Distaff Diplomats" Essay, KLP, Box 51, Folder 16.

⁹⁰⁴ "Help from Home" Typescript, OWN, Box 2. See also Projects Abroad Undertaken, Supported or Recommended by Wives of American Mission Personnel, KLP, Box 30 Folder 17.

Conclusion

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, many diplomatic wives continued their social welfare work, even when made private citizens by the State Department. Thanks to funding from the local American Women's Group in Kathmandu, Martha Rau helped run a health clinic in Nepal for low-income residents, later supported by USAID.⁹⁰⁵ In 1975, she was one of the nurses selected to evacuate orphans during Operation Baby Lift during the fall of Saigon. Pat Chatten worked with refugees in the 1970s in Bangkok, while Martha Caldwell volunteered at leprosy hospitals in Ethiopia.

Some wives, like Jeanne Foote North, found entirely new careers. When she came back to the US in Spring 1972, she was hired by USAID. She also convinced the US Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to credit her advanced degrees in Social Work and to recognise her unpaid social welfare work abroad as work experience. This led to her become a civil servant as USAID at the GS-13 and GS-14 levels, the third and second-highest ranking. Between 1973 and 1990, she managed programs in the Public Management Office and the Global Technical Bureau, which provided technical assistance to fifty international development programs. She had started her Foreign Service career working with Point Four in the early days of technical assistance during the Cold War. It is only fitting that she ended her career in the same field, except this time being paid and a recognised USAID employee.

North was not alone in her desire for recognition of her volunteer work. A group of Foreign Service wives also asked for recognition and financial support through a spouse compensation allowance program in a proposed amendment to the Foreign Service Act of

⁹⁰⁵ "Martha Rau," ADST, Interview transcript, 10.

1980.⁹⁰⁶ They argued that spouses who taught English; gave interviews in local languages; participated in educational, health, and social welfare organisations; and arranged cultural events to help foreigners better understand American values were active players in US foreign policy and diplomacy. They also cited that a number of members of Congress had commented upon the positive and influential role of spouses overseas. They understood their value, as did their husbands, and they wanted to advocate for more support and recognition as a new Foreign Service was being created. In this, they had been inspired by the wider societal changes brought about by the feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

The period of 1945-1972 saw a number of changes in wives' volunteer work, which corresponded to changes taking place in foreign and humanitarian aid. The Foreign Service's attitude to wives' community service shifted from ambivalence or hostility to not only acceptance but also outright encouragement. The 1940s saw some of the earliest forms of global health diplomacy amongst diplomatic wives during World War II, and the example of cases like Berle and Dreyfus demonstrate the generalized feeling of acceptance the women received for this work. As the Cold War increased in the 1950s, and therefore Cold War rhetoric shifted towards democratic values, wives were careful to avoid Lady Bountiful stereotypes, and instead focused on technical assistance, in line with US foreign policy at the time. This TA work would continue throughout the 1950s and 1960s as wives worried about leaving unfinished projects in host countries when they moved posts. Instead, State Department and senior wives encouraged diplomatic wives to work together with local citizens on social welfare, education, and public health projects, which also created stronger partnerships. Many of the women cited in this

⁹⁰⁶ Jewell Fenzi, AB Notes, FADST.

chapter will not be found in the history of public or international health, but as early examples of global health diplomats, they worked to create closer ties between the US and foreign countries.

While this thesis has discussed just a few samples of the health and social welfare work carried out by diplomatic wives, there are hundreds more in ADST oral histories and memoirs. It is also essential to understand that diplomatic wives rarely had ulterior motives for their work. While they knew their work would help further relations with the foreign country, many wives, like Margaret Sullivan and Dorothy Irving, viewed it as a chance to get to know local communities and make friends, similar to listening activities described in chapter three.⁹⁰⁷ Some also did it because they were bored or had always worked before joining the Foreign Service, like Frances Adams.⁹⁰⁸ Others, like Muriel Hanson, volunteered because the need was too great not to volunteer.⁹⁰⁹ Then there are women like Jane Hart who did it for all three reasons. She noted that it helped her get to know people. It also made her very happy, while gaining her trust in the local community at the same time: "people would not have come to me as freely as if I had not gone all afternoon in the orphanage."⁹¹⁰

On the other hand, Hart believed that the most considerable American influence abroad was not through Foreign Service's social activities but instead through people-to-people initiatives like Peace Corps, foreign aid, universities, health clinics, and missionaries. Diplomatic wives represented the American volunteer spirit and America's penchant for community relations, while engaging with every facet of public diplomacy. These women learned about local communities and cultures through direct contact and through finding out what help was needed, while also sharing American culture, both deep and surface. They worked on educational

⁹⁰⁷ Irving, *This Too is Diplomacy*, 153.

⁹⁰⁸ *This Worked for Me* draft, 82, OWN, Box 1.

⁹⁰⁹ "Jane Hart", ADST, Interview transcript, 25; "Muriel Hanson", ADST, Interview transcript, 4.

⁹¹⁰ "Jane Hart", ADST, Interview transcript, 36.

aid projects and exchanged knowledge with foreign nationals, and they even worked in international broadcasting. These community service and social welfare projects primarily focused on public health projects and supported US foreign aid objectives. In every way, their work should be considered public diplomacy, as defined by Nicholas Cull. The fact that they were women and did this on a smaller scale than normal public diplomacy does not mean it should be erased or overlooked. These diplomatic wives should be written into not just the history of public diplomacy but also public health, global health, and social work. The definition of foreign aid also needs to include grassroots efforts like these American women's groups.

Conclusion

After 1945, American diplomatic wives actively participated in public diplomacy, often at the encouragement of the US Department of State, yet did this work on an unpaid basis. These women were able to have this official, yet unofficial, role because of the Cold War, which increased the need for soft power. Simultaneously, changing gender roles during this period gave women more opportunities for public diplomacy and it is impossible to understand how and why wives conducted public diplomacy without understanding the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s or the changes to women's education, career, and family life. Combined, the need for more soft power diplomatic actors and the growing influence of women around the world after World War II led to the State Department encouraging, supporting, and promoting diplomatic wives' volunteer work. As this dissertation has argued, wives' participation in public diplomacy took five main activities: representational entertaining and advocacy, listening, cultural diplomacy, education and exchange diplomacy, and humanitarian aid and global health diplomacy.

After World War II and the implementation of the GI Bill, the socio-economic background of incoming Foreign Service Officers and their wives shifted from the upper class to the middle and upper-middle class. The 1940s still saw a mixture of diplomatic couples from both backgrounds, with a higher percentage of senior wives coming from upper class backgrounds. Overall wives in the 1940s and early 1950s were more diverse than their 1930s counterparts, with more couples joining from minority backgrounds such as African American, Jewish, and other immigrant populations. No matter their ethnic, religious, racial, or socio-economic background, together the wives were meant to present a specific image of the US that was critical amid the Cold War- one of a traditional gender roles and American democratic and

moral values that is often associated with the 1950s- even if this did not accurately represent the US.⁹¹¹

Wives in the 1940s were at the forefront of a new Foreign Service and worked hard to professionalize representational entertaining work, ensuring that it clearly advocated for the US and US foreign policy priorities. Many wives used their personal charm, backgrounds, and expert hostessing skills to create the perfect atmosphere for their husbands to conduct diplomacy. Cynthia Enloe has illustrated how this congenial environment is so necessary to diplomacy, and diplomatic wives were attuned to it.⁹¹² Chapter one supports this thesis but expands to review how the upper-class upbringing of many diplomatic wives in this time period directly influenced the organization and execution diplomatic functions. While it is easy to stereotype these women as hostesses with few serious interests, their backgrounds are far more complicated. Some wives received law and medical degrees in the 1930s and had trailblazing careers of their own before they married their husbands. Yet, almost all, with the exception of Beatrice Berle, gave up that work to support their husbands' career, becoming the "right" kind of diplomatic wife in the process: intelligent, picture-perfect, traditional, and managing social obligations with an enviable ease. Through these social events, wives continued collecting information and making contacts with valuable local citizens. Diplomatic information gathering occupies a gray space between gossip and intelligence gathering, and wives were careful to stay in that zone, with the department encouraging a useful form of gossip while preaching discretion.⁹¹³ In this decade, wives' information gathering shifted from the gossip of the 1930s that they collected alongside their husbands at social obligations to creating their own contacts independently.

⁹¹¹ See Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

⁹¹² Enloe, *Bananas, beaches, and Bases*, 184.

⁹¹³ For further reading on this, see Wood, "Diplomacy and Gossip".

The 1940s also saw extensive changes in cultural, education, and global health diplomacy. Wives engaged in all three, albeit informally, as the US began to integrate more of these activities into their foreign policy. Many wives continued their own cultural pursuits but with added promotion from the State Department, such as Betty Berbaum's art exhibit hosted by USIS in Nicaragua. This took place in the same period as the US government discovered the benefits of art exhibits as soft power diplomacy. Often these wives, who had worked during the war, pursued cultural interests as intellectual escapes from their new roles as homemakers. Other wives continued their interests in education, but often faced censure from US embassies and Ambassadors who discouraged wives working outside the embassy. Some, like Berle, found international health projects that used their education and skills, while gaining friends for the US. What all three of these activities have in common is how informal they were- with little arrangement and on an ad hoc basis- similar to US cultural, educational, and global health diplomacy at the time. This would change drastically in the 1950s with the growth of the Foreign Service.

The 1950s oversaw a period of extreme growth in the Foreign Service. This occurred through larger intake of new FSOs but also through Wristonization. In order to cope with the number of new diplomatic wives accompanying their husbands, the State Department created a number of print materials and pamphlets to instruct wives. They also started the "wives' course" at FSI to provide even more training in their effort to standardize diplomatic wives' efforts. This was possible due to the changing of diplomacy in the Cold War, which increased the role wives could play. Wives became representative Americans, representing the American way of life and an idealized version of American womanhood. This was especially important as the Foreign Service was a frequent target of McCarthyism during the Lavender and Red Scare. While they

still managed the representational responsibilities, many wives in the 1950s began to immerse themselves in local cultures and society, getting to know a wider swath of the foreign population than their husbands. Their engagement with the local language, society, and people, which are the backbone of listening activities, became a pillar of American public diplomacy. No longer were diplomats just talking at locals, instead they engaged with them to learn more about their country in an effort to create closer ties.

While listening concentrated on the creation of closer ties, the US understood the importance of attraction in generating soft power. One of the ways USIA/S managed this was through film and music and general representation of American culture. Diplomatic wives such as June Hamilton and Frances Adams found ways to support US efforts in film, in line with State Department and USIA/S objectives during the Cold War. Other wives used education to create these closer ties and attract locals to American English, who knew that learning English meant they could enjoy American films and magazines. While often overlooked in public diplomacy scholarly research, the number one volunteer activity for diplomatic wives was teaching English. This was primarily due to two reasons. One, the US government understood that the export of English would support US interests and needed to scale up English language teaching around the world.⁹¹⁴ The second was that teaching was very much considered “women’s work” at the time. By encouraging wives’ involvement in English teaching, they were able to increase the reach of English language instruction at a fraction of the price as wives worked for free or for local staff’ salary. Teaching generally was a portable career wives could take from post to post, giving them some resemblance of a separate identity from their husband, children, and the Foreign Service. Wives also gained a wider and interested audience to teach about the US through much of their

⁹¹⁴ Rugh, *Frontline*, 136-137.

teaching work. Other wives in the 1950s chose to dedicate their time to the growing field of technical assistance, and many wives with social work or health backgrounds contributed to US foreign aid through this work. By converting to technical assistance, just as US foreign aid was at the time under Eisenhower, wives found ways to contribute to countries without the fear of the work ending when they transferred posts by working with local organizations. Most importantly, by engaging as equals with locals, they no longer could be considered “Lady Bountiful” as earlier wives were and which had a negative connotation in the Foreign Service for its maternalism.

In the US, the 1960s were a time of mass change, especially for women. While abroad, they had little interest in the growing women’s movement, but while on home leave in the US, many read the *Feminine Mystique* and started to think more seriously about their role in the Foreign Service. Younger wives who had either just come from university or worked independently for a few years in the US, became more frustrated with embassy hierarchies and less tolerant of archaic social obligations like calling. This led to an increase in wives finding fulfilling work outside the Embassy walls and took many forms. Many of the required social obligations shifted from meeting government leaders and their wives but also average foreign citizens. Wives were also encouraged to create closer ties with local women and other non-traditional contacts. As women worldwide increased their engagement in politics, wives were able to make new friends while also gaining knowledge of their views and role within society. The State Department now needed to have a better comprehension of gender roles in each country and wives had more access to these populations than their husbands.

The updated wives’ course of the 1960s covered topics such as “answering the critic” as foreign nationals criticized the US for race relations and the Vietnam War, but also had sessions

on American culture, teaching English, and social welfare- all activities that grew during the decade. While film and jazz retained their importance in American cultural diplomacy, art began to take on a larger standing. The Arts in Embassies program, which was started by a group of diplomatic wives in the 1960s, became a pillar of American cultural diplomacy in the late twentieth century. Similarly, the 1960s saw the increase of US support for exchange programs. The US had steadily grown its exchange programs, such as Fulbright Program and IVLP, and the 1960s saw an increased interest in the participation of women in these activities. Due to their gender, it was assumed that diplomatic wives and female FSOs could best support and select female participants and led to the creation of the Women's Activities Officer position being established in a few larger posts such as Tokyo. In less wealthy posts, diplomatic wives continued to take on these responsibilities. While in the US, wives found ways to volunteer in Washington by teaching American children about countries and cultures they had lived in, and actively made them exchange participants.

The largest shift in the 1960s was the support State Department provided wives in their volunteer activities- whether it was cultural, educational, exchange programs, health, or social welfare. With the creation of the Office of Community Advisory Services and the appointment of Katie Louchheim to a number of different positions around the State Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administration, the State Department found indirect ways to provide financial and material support for wives' efforts while also promoting them abroad and in the US. No longer were wives' activities discouraged or informal as they were in the 1940s, but now they were celebrated by the State Department and Foreign Service. Like the Pendulum Theory in politics, the enthusiasm for wives' activities drastically swung throughout the decades. The same could be said for wives' own relationship with the Foreign Service. While most earlier wives

found strength and an identity in the two-person one-career model that allowed them to be active participants in their husbands' career instead of solitary housewives stuck at home, wives that joined in the late 1960s and early 1970s felt the opposite. Instead, they felt taken advantage of and the phrase "two for the price of one" began to feel more like a noose than a steppingstone. This led to the eventual 1972 directive which decreed wives as private citizens, no longer able to be forced by senior wives into volunteer or representational undertakings. Some wives continued their cultural inclinations, while others found paid work with the US embassy, USAID, USIA/S, American or international schools, or other international non-profits while at Posts. A few wives who had previously been Foreign Services even rejoined, becoming tandem couples, while others who had never served, like Judith Heimann, took the Foreign Service exam and became diplomats in their own right. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, wives fought for the right to work, pensions, and more support from State Department- which led to the creation of Family Liaison Officers (FLO) and Community Liaison Officers (CLO)- a new role for wives to support other spouses at posts with finding house or jobs, but also things like mental health support.⁹¹⁵

Overall, this dissertation has illustrated how much of diplomatic wives' work in the Cold War constitutes public diplomacy by engaging with the theory and historiography of the growing field. In doing so, it has illustrated the role wives played in US foreign relations in this period and shed light on their influence. This work has filled an important gap in the literature on diplomatic wives in this era, examining their daily lives and work to see their direct contributions to diplomacy. As diplomacy changed in the Cold War, so did these women's lives and their contributions should not be overlooked in the historical narrative. Hopefully this work will

⁹¹⁵ "Mette Beecroft", ADST, Interview transcript, 1-19.

encourage other scholars to view them as partners in diplomacy and pioneers in public diplomacy instead of afterthoughts in the biographies of male diplomats.

There are a number of future projects on related topics involving diplomatic wives and gender studies that would greatly enhance the body of scholarly work. The period of 1970-1985 deserves considerable attention to better understand how the State Department made the decision to make wives private citizens, including the contribution of senior wives, and how challenging the transition was. This should include how wives found their own outside careers during the period and how they continued to contribute to diplomacy, as well as the friction between the old guard and the new. It would also be beneficial to compare the movement for wives' recognition with the movement within the State Department by female Foreign Service Officers against discrimination as they are deeply intertwined. Another possible study would be of the hierarchy within the Embassy, especially the connotations of terms such as "Dragon Ladies" in better understanding the role and stereotyping of women in this era. Similarly, research on how foreign-born diplomatic wives were treated in the mid-twentieth century, starting with the 1920s or 1930s and ending with an examination of Haru Reischauer could add additional insight into understanding gender, immigration, American foreign policy, twentieth century, geopolitics, and who was permitted to represent the US.

While this dissertation has utilized research into about eighty different diplomatic wives, this is just two thirds of the repository of the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training oral history project on spouses and a smaller percentage of the number of wives' papers in archives around the US. While most of these were reviewed in the process of researching and writing this thesis, except those archives inaccessible due to COVID-19 restrictions, there are more stories to be told. Many of these women, including Beatrice Berle, Caroline Service, Marvin Patterson,

Margaret Morgan, and Ruth Bond, would make particularly interesting case studies of women in the era, especially with an interdisciplinary approach to women's biographies.

In researching this dissertation, the gap in the literature on Black diplomats and their families in the mid-Twentieth century was particularly frustrating and could use a fresher body of work. It would especially be useful to better understand the history of Black diplomats, the "Negro Circuit" and barriers, and how the Service used Black diplomats to counter arguments of racism in the US during the Cold War. Understanding how the Foreign Service selected posts for Black diplomats would be particularly interesting, as would how they selected posts for female diplomats. A comparison of their experience with other minority groups in the Foreign Service, especially Jewish and naturalized Americans would greatly add to the literature on American diplomacy. Max Bond wanted to greatly understand if racism cost him his career in the Foreign Service and without the review of his personnel record, it would be impossible to understand.

This leads to the most important analysis to be done: investigating further how State Department reviewed diplomatic wives in the twentieth century, with a particular review of the efficiency reports used to evaluate diplomatic wives' work before 1972 to truly understand the "Two for the Price of One" policy. Many of these records were destroyed in the mid-1970s, but some may still be held in the National Archives. As they are within their husbands' personnel records, a FOIA request is needed to access them. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the National Archives ceased reviewing FOIA requests, and so these records were not available for this body of research. This greatly limited the insight this work was able to gain into how the State Department assessed diplomatic wives and what they felt was their role and responsibilities. This

also limited the understanding of what made a good diplomatic wife and how wives' activities directly impacted their husbands' careers.

While hopefully this dissertation can lead to a wider literature that incorporates diplomatic wives, it must be noted that this work has shown that these women were not mere silent partners in diplomacy. They may have been quiet, choosing to use soft power in order to achieve US diplomatic objectives, but they did so by being engaged and present. They spoke often and as equals. They represented the US, but they also explained it to foreign audiences. They exchange cultures and knowledge, sharing what they knew and learning about new cultures and skills. Their experiences drastically changed based on their posting, their husbands' position, and their level in the strict hierarchy, yet most did not let this deter them, adapting as quickly as possible. Like their husbands, they were on the frontlines of diplomacy, and most were just as dedicated to their jobs as their spouse. Many had similar (and in some cases superior) educations to their husbands, but due to strict gender norms at the time, they were never given the opportunities to have both a career and a family. In so many ways, they were "Two Price of the One" and their contributions to public diplomacy in the Cold War deserves more recognition and critical analysis than it has received previously. Their husbands greatly understood this, which is why the majority of diplomatic memoirs are dedicated to their wives with inscriptions like "To Steb who contributed the Most".⁹¹⁶ Ambassador William Phillips dedicated his memoir "To my wife, my partner, companion and helpmate in life's ventures," showing how much he valued his wife, not only as a companion but also as an added helpmate in his career.⁹¹⁷ But as this

⁹¹⁶ Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, i.

⁹¹⁷ Phillips, William. *Ventures in Diplomacy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), acknowledgements page.

dissertation has shown, these women were so much more than their husband's partners. They had their own career, their own identities, and their own impact.

This dissertation has provided numerous examples of the wives' engagement with everyday citizens in advocacy, listening, cultural exchange, education, and social welfare, demonstrating the diversity of their involvement, and also the potential for their impact. The value and impact of public diplomacy is challenging for practitioners and scholars to assess, but as the State Department went out of their way to train, educate, support, and promote diplomatic wives, including financially in some cases, it was evidently felt they could make an important contribution to US diplomacy. This dissertation has shown how diplomatic wives contributed not just to public diplomacy efforts during the Cold War but also to how women in diplomacy were seen, engaged, and moulded by the US Department of State, and how these quiet diplomats changed the face of US diplomacy during the Cold War.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Case Studies' Biographical Information

Background- Part 1- Biographical Information

Last Name	Name	Husband's Name	Political Appointee	Foreign Service	State, USAID, USIA	Year Born	Year Entered Service	Year Left Service	Years in the Service	Worked in Foreign Affairs or Degree in It	Husband's Rank Reached	Socio-economic status	Home Town/ State	Key
Adams	Frances McStay Adams	J. Wesley Adams		X	State	1914	1943	1970	27	X	Officer	Working Class	Minnesota	Foreign Born
Allen	Katherin "Kitty" Allen	George V Allen		X	State	Unknown	1934	1960	26	-	Career Ambassador	Unknown	Unknown	Bold = Educated before the War
Atherton	Betty Wylie Atherton	Alfred Leroy Atherton		X	State	1921	1947	1985	38	-	Career Ambassador	Upper Middle Class	Illinois	Private Prep School
Barbis	Patricia Quinn Barbis	George Barbis		X	State	Unknown	1955 (Self)/ 1957 (Marriage)	1989	34	X	Consul General	Upper Middle Class	Iowa/ Nebraska	X = Yes
Berle	Beatrice Bishop Berle	Adolf Berle	X		State	1902	1938	1946	8	-	Political Ambassador	Upper Class	New York	Dash = no or n/a
Bernbaum	Elizabeth "Betty" Hahn Bernbaum	Maurice Bernbaum		X	State	1918	1936	1969	33	-	Ambassador	Upper Class/ Upper Middle Class	Washington, DC	
Bogardus	Virginia Webb Bogardus	George Bogardus		X	State	1918	1941	1969	28	-	Officer	Upper Class/ Upper Middle Class	Montreal, Canada	
Bohlen	Avis Thayer Bohlen	Charles (Chip) Boheln		X	State	1913	1935	1967	32	-	Career Ambassador	Upper Class	Villanova, PA	
Bond	Ruth Clement Bond	Max Bond		X	USIA	1904	1944	1966	22	-	Officer	Upper Middle Class	Kentucky	
Bowles	Dorothy "Steb" Stebbins Bowles	Chester Bowles	X		State	1903	1951	1969	18	-	Political Ambassador	Upper Middle Class/ Upper Class	Unknown	
Briggs	Lucy Barnard Briggs	Ellis O. Briggs		X	State	1903	1928	1962	34	-	Career Ambassador	Upper Class/ Upper Middle Class	New York	
Brown	Margaret "Peggy Ann" Bell Brown	Winthrop G. Brown		X	State	1917	1952 (Wriston)	1972	20	-	Career Ambassador		Arkansas/ Texas	
Bruce	Evangeline "Vangie" Bell Bruce	David K.E. Bruce	x		State	1914	1949	1976	27	X	Political Ambassador	Upper Class	Massachusetts/ Abroad	
Byington	Jane McHarg Byington	Homer Byington		X	State		1932	1973	41	-	Ambassador	Upper Class	New York City/ Washington DC	
Cabot	Elizabeth Lewis Cabot	John Moor Cabot		X	State	1906	1932	1965	33	X	Career Ambassador	Upper Class	Mexico City, Mexico	
Caldwell	Martha Painter Caldwell	Robert W Caldwell		X	State	1916	1943	1979	36	X	Officer	Upper Middle Class	Monroe County, Missouri	
Child	Julia McWilliams Child	Paul Child		X	USIS/ State	1912	1948	1960	12	X	USIS Officer	Upper Class	Pasadena, California	
Constable	Elinor Greer Constable	Peter Constable		X	State	1934	1955	1993	38	X	Amb (Self), Amb (Husband)	Upper Middle Class	Military Family	
Cooper	Lorraine Rowan Cooper	John Serhman Cooper	X		State	1906	1955	1976	21	X	Political Ambassador	Upper Class	Pasadena, California	
Darlington	Alice Darlington	Charles Darlington	X		State	1907	1961	1964	3	-	Political Ambassador	Upper Class	Unknown	
Dillon	Caroline Sue Burch Dillon	Robert S Dillon		X	State	1931	1956	1987	31	-	Ambassador	Upper	Washington DC	
Dreyfus	Grace Hawes Dreyfus	Louis Dreyfus		X	State	1892	1911	1951	40	Unknown	Ambassador	Upper Class	Unknown	
Fenzi	Jewell Redfield Fenzi	Guido Fenzi		X	State	1927	1956	1985	29		Officer	Middle Class	Iowa/ Arizona/ Hawaii	
Green	Lipsenard "Lisa" Crocker Green	Marshall Green		X	State	1924	1942	1979	34	-	Ambassador	Upper Class	Washington, DC/ Abroad	
Hamilton	June Miller Hamilton	Jown Lawrence Hamilton		X	USIA	1910	1949	1967	18	X	USIA Director, Operations	Unknown (most likely Middle)	Minnesota	
Hanson	Muriel Thomas Hanson	Charles Marshall Hanson		X	State	1926	1953	1979	26	-	Consul General	Upper Middle Class/ Middle Class		
Hart	Jane Smiley Hart	Peter Hart		X	State	1920	1949	1969	20	X	Ambassador	Upper middle class	New York	
Heimann	Judith Moscow Heimann	John Heimann		X	State	1936	1958	1992	34		Consul General in her own right	Middle class	New York City	
Irving	Dorothy Petrie Irving	Frederick Irving		X	State	1922	1950	1978	28	-	Ambassador	Unknown	Massachusetts / Rhode Island	
Kirk	Lydia Chapin Kirk	Alan Kirk	x	X	State	1896	1946	1963	17		Political Ambassador	Upper Class	Pennsylvania/ Washington DC	
Lee	Eleanore Cobb Lee	Arimistead Lee		X	State	1914	1942	1967	25	-	Officer	Upper Middle Class	Vermont	

Mathews	Naomi Meffert Matthews	Elbert George Mathews		X	State	Unknown	1935	1972	37	-	Ambassador	Upper Middle Class	Missouri	
Mendenhall	Leone "Nonie" Reiber Mendenhall	Joseph A Mendenhall		X	State		1922	1946	1975	29	-	Ambassador	Upper Middle Class	New York City
Morgan	Margaret Taylor Carter "Peggy" Morgan	George Morgan		X	State		1914	1947	1969	22	X	Ambassador	Upper Middle Class/ Middle Class	Detroit, MI; Pennsylvania; Arizona
North	Jeanne Foote North	William Haven North		X	USAID		1924	1953	1990	37	-	Mission Director	Middle Class	Alabama
Oakley	Phyllis Elliott Oakley	Robert B Oakley		X	State		1934	1957 (Self)/ 1958 Married	1999	42	X	Amb (Self), Amb (Husband)	Upper Middle Class/ Middle Class	Nebraska/ Missouri
Patterson	Mary Marvin Breckenridge Patterson	Jefferson Patterson		X	State		1905	1940	1958	18	X	Ambassador	Upper Class	New York City
Peterson	Esther Eggertsen Peterston	Oliver Peterson		X	Labor Attache		1906	1948	1957	9	X	Officer	Upper Middle Class	Utah
Reichauer	Haru Matsukata Reichauer	Edwin O Reichauer	X		State		1915	1961	1966	5	-	Political Ambassador	Upper Class	Japan
Rugh	Andrea Bear Rugh	William Rugh		X	State		1936	1964	1995	31	-	Ambassador	Upper Middle Class	Missouri
Service	Caroline Schulz Service	John Service		X	State		1909	1933	1962	29	-	Officer (Career paused during McCarthyism when dismissed)	Upper Middle Class	Illinois
Stoltzfus	Janet Sorg Stoltzfus	William Stoltzfus		X	State		1931	1950	1976	26	-	Ambassador	Unknown	Unknown
Sullivan	Margaret Winfield Sullivan	Daniel Sullivan		X	State		1934	1959	1984	25	-	Officer	Unknown	Washington, DC/ Abroad
Vance	Jean Chambers Vance	Shelden Vance		X	State		1916	1942	1977	35	-	Ambassador	Upper Middle Class	Blue Earth, Minnesota
Weisz	Yetta Faber Weisz	Morris Weisz		X	Labor Attache		1916	1952	1971	19	-	Labor Attache	Lower Middle Class	Bronx, New York
Wiley	Irena Brauch Wiley	John Cooper Wiley		X	State		1906	1934	1954	20	-	Ambassador	Upper Class	Poland
Wilson	Leila Fosburgh Wilson	Evan Wilson		X	State		1912	1937	1967	30	-	Consul General	Upper Class	New York City
Woodward	Shirley Rutherford Woodward	Stanley Woodward	X		State		1899	1950	1953	3	-	Political Ambassador	Upper Class	Toledo, Ohio
Number or percent of wives				16%	84%						14			

Appendix B: Case Studies' Education and Work Experience

Background Part 2- Education, International, Work Experience

Last Name	Name	Prep School	Undergrad	Graduate School- Masters	Graduate School- PhD/ JD/ MD	Previous International Experience	Parents' Background	WWII Experience	Previous Work Experience	Where Met Husband
Adams	Frances McStay Adams	Unknown	University of Minnesota, BA 1936	-	-	-	Father (Hardware Distributor) died, single mother she supported	Worked for IAA in Washington and Ecuador while husband was FSO	Director of Research, Leo Burnett Advertising	in Chicago while working
Allen	Katherin "Kitty" Allen	Unknown	Unknown	-	-	Unknown	Unknown	Served abroad while husband FSO	Unknown	Unknown
Atherton	Betty Wylie Atherton	Unknown	Monmouth College	Emerson College	-	-	Boy Scout Executive	N/A- Widowed	Teacher	Through common friends.
Barbis	Patricia Quinn Barbis	Ainsworth High School	University of Washington, Seattle (BA International Relations/Political Science)	LaVerne University, Athens, Greece (MA History)	-	USIA Officer Abroad- Self	State Auditor & CPA, State of Washington (Father), Mother (Telephone Operator)	-	USIS CAO South Korea (1955-1957)	Met while posted in Korea in 1955
Berle	Beatrice Bishop Berle	Brearley School NYC 1919	Vassar College BA 1923	Columbia University MA 1924 NY School of Social Work 1927	NYU School of Medicine 1938	Attended finishing school in France	Stockbroker/ Trust Fund	Served in US Public Health Service	Doctor	Through friends
Bernbaum	Elizabeth "Betty" Hahn Bernbaum	Unknown	Wheaton College	-	-	-	President of Hahn Shoes	-	-	At dinner party
Bogardus	Virginia Webb Bogardus	Weston School	Mc Gill University, transferred Montreal Museum of Art	-	-	Canadian/ American Dual Citizen- born in US to Canadian Parents. Raised in Canada	Investment Banker	-	-	While stationed in Canada
Bohlen	Avis Thayer Bohlen	Unknown	Bryn Mawr	-	-	Studied abroad/ met husband while visiting Brother who was in FS	Shipbuilding engineer	-	-	At Embassy where brother and husband were stationed
Bond	Ruth Clement Bond	Unknown	Northwestern (BA English)	Northwestern (MA English)	Started PhD but did not finish	-	Father: Bishop in AME Church. Mother: first black woman chosen as "Mother of America". All seven of children went to college. My mother was from Providence, Rhode Island.	-	Chair of the English department at Kentucky State College. Designed TVA Quilt Proejct.	While teaching in Kentucky
Bowles	Dorothy "Steb" Stebbins Bowles	Unknown	Vassar College, BA 1924	Smith College School of Social Work in 1926	-	In 1927 she took a trip with a friend, Kay Wharton, around the world, which she documented with her 16mm film camera.	Her father, Harry Stebbins, owned a lumber business in Boston. Her mother, Ada Eloise Stebbins, was an accomplished pianist, composer, and music teacher.	-	Worked as a social worker for 10 years before her marriage in Boston	-
Briggs	Lucy Barnard Briggs	New Rochelle High School	Smith College	-	-	-	Lawyer, Church E. Gates Lumber Co	-	-	-
Brown	Margaret "Peggy Ann" Bell Brown	St Mary's Academy	University of Texas/ University of Missouri	-	-	Worked in London during the war for the American Red Cross	Businessman	Worked in Euope during the war for the American Red Cross	Worked in Euope during the war for the American Red Cross	In London at a dinner (she was in London at the time with the Red Cross before later going to Europe)
Bruce	Evangeline "Vangie" Bell Bruce	Unknown	Radcliffe College	-	-	Lived in 12 countries growing up- father and stepfather in Foreign Services	Father (American Diplomat), Stepfather (British Diplomat), Mother (Socialite)	Served in the OSS in London	OSS Secretary	While at OSS in London
Byington	Jane McHarg Byington	Holton Arms	Bennett College	-	JD- Washington College of Law	-	Father owned coal mine, railroads, and was in US Navy	-	-	Through friends

Cabot	Elizabeth Lewis Cabot	Shipley School	Sorbonne- 1926, Vassar College, 1927			Studied in France; grew up in in Mexico City	Stepfather was manager of the Light and Power Company in Mexico City	-	Worked at Museum of Modern Art in New York, and then as Social Secretary at US Embassy in Mexico City	While working at embassy
Caldwell	Martha Painter Caldwell	Monroe City High School	University of Missouri	-	-	Lived and worked abroad with Foreign Service Auxillary	Businessman	Foreign Service Auxillary, Cryptology- Cairo, Egypt and Athens, Greece	State Department of Education in Missouri a, Foreign Service Auxillary	While stationed in Egypt
Child	Julia McWilliams Child	Polytechnic School; Katharine Branson School for Girls	Smith College, BA History, 1934	-	-	Served in OSS in India, Ceylon/ Sri Lanka and China	Banker- father. Mother's family owned paper company in MA	Served in OSS in India, Ceylon/ Sri Lanka and China	Secretary for W. J. Sloane, a home furnishings company, in New York City.; Served in OSS in India, Ceylon/ Sri Lanka and China	While in OSS
Constable	Elinor Greer Constable	Punahou	Wellesley College	-	-	Grew up in military family stationed around the world	Naval Officer father who came from a poor family, mother came from money (French Mustard grandfather)	-	FSO (started with Management Intern Program)	Met at first day at FSI
Cooper	Lorraine Rowan Cooper	St. Timothy's	None	-	-	Miss Nixon and Miss Sheldon's School in Florence, Italy	Mother was a socialite who later married an Italian Prince	-	She was a volunteer worker for the Inter-American Affairs Council in New York City (1943-1946) and at the first United Nations conference in San Francisco in 1945.	in Georgetown DC
Darlington	Alice Darlington	Unknown	University of Chicago- BA 1929	-	-	Extensive in Europe as wife of Mobil Oil Executive	Unknown	-	Unknown	Geneva, Switzerland
Dillon	Caroline Sue Burch Dillon	Western/ Duke Ellington School	Duke University/ George Washington University BA 1960, University of Virginia- Teaching Certificate 1973	-	-	-	Father- writer, founded Population Reference Bureau. Mother- editor, newspaper reporter	-	Teacher in Virginia	At high school
Dreyfus	Grace Hawes Dreyfus	Unknown	Barnard	-	-	Worked as Nurse for Red Cross in WWI in Europe	Unknown	-	Unknown	Unknown
Fenzi	Jewell Redfield Fenzi	Tuscon High School	UC Berkeley, BA 1950, English Literature and Journalism	-	-	-	Father worked for Veterans Administration	-	Worked for an advertising agency in San Francisco	While at Berkeley
Green	Lipsenard "Lisa" Crocker Green	St Timothy's	None (Debutante)-	-	-	Lived abroad almost exclusively as daughter of diplomat	Father, Ambassador (Edward S Crocker II)	-	-	Her husband worked for her father in Japan and then they met afterwards in the US
Hamilton	June Miller Hamilton	Unknown	University of Minnesota, BA 1932	-	-	-	Unknown	-	Head of International Film Festival, Business and Advertising Manager of the University of Minnesota Theatre	at University of Minnesota
Hanson	Muriel Thomas Hanson	Evander Childs High School	New York University	-	-	-	Father- Realtor	-	social worker for the Children's Placement Bureau in the City of New York	Unknown
Hart	Jane Smiley Hart	Ithaca High School	Cornell University		Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies	-	Father- Doctor/ Medical Administrator	Editor OSS, Cairo	Executive Secretariat of the Department of State under Dean Acheson; English for one year in a public school in Alfred, New York, and became Book Review Editor of the Middle East Institute Journal; Editor OSS, Cairo	In Cairo while working for OSS
Heimann	Judith Moscow Heimann	Hunter College School for Gifted	Radcliffe/ Harvard University, BA Literature 1957	-	-	-	Father was a journalist for NYT. But after divorce, her mother sewed to afford their rent.	-	-	Harvard- married senior year

Irving	Dorothy Petrie Irving	Classical High School	Mount Holyoke	Columbia University MA Education	-	-	Unknown	-	-	In high school
Kirk	Lydia Chapin Kirk	Potomac School/ Miss Porter's	None (Debutante/ Finishing School)	-	-	Studied in France	Father Naval Attache to US Embassy in Paris, mother from wealthy family	She worked for the old Navy Bureau of Censorship and lectured for the Red Cross (while married)	-	In DC
Lee	Eleanore Cobb Lee	Bennington High School	Middlebury College	Mills College	-	-	Businessman/ Farmer, Mother: member of Vermont Legislature	-	High school English teacher	Unknown
Mathews	Naomi Meffert Mathews	Kidder Academy	UC Berkely (Graduated, also attended University of Missouri)	George Washington University	-	-	Unknown	-	-	University of California, Berkeley
Mendenhall	Leone "Nonie" Reiber Mendenhall	Unknown	Vassar College, BA	Columbia University, MA	-	-	Stepfather was a lawyer	-	Teacher and Painter	Unknown
Morgan	Margaret Taylor Carter "Peggy" Morgan	Tuscon High School	University of Arizona, Tucson	-	Started Law School at University of Arizona, and when tried to transfer to Columbia- couldn't because of gender but took international law classes	Born in Canada; she made several trips to Europe, some times earning her way as a tour guide, sometimes attending international student conferences as a representative of the National Student Federation of America. She was elected to the executive board of the International Confederation of Students, and to the cabinet of the International Student Service.	Both parents were doctors but her father fell ill and she worked to support the family in high school	During the war years she also commuted to Washington Saturdays and Sundays to work on UNRRA, FAO and State Department cultural programs.	Director of Education at the Rockefeller-supported International House; Assistant to the Director of the World Peace Foundation; Associate with Raymond Rich Associates, a firm of management and media consultants; Membership, Finance and Programs Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Associate in the Education Department of the Twentieth Century Fund; Chief, Public Liaison Division, Department of State	While working at State Department
North	Jeanne Foote North	Ensley High School	Huntingdon College	Columbia University School of Social Work/ Vanderbilt	-	-	Mother worked as an office manager after her father died- struggled during the depression	-	Social Worker and Teacher	While both lived at the Interantional House in New York
Oakley	Phyllis Elliott Oakley	Brentwood High School	Northwestern University (BA Political Science)	Tufts/ Fletcher	-	-	Rawlings Sporting Goods Company Salesman/ High School Coach/ Teacher/ School Board Member. Mother teacher	-	Foreign Service Officer	Both were Foreign Service Officers together
Patterson	Mary Marvin Breckenridge Patterson	Milton Academy	Vassar College, BA 1927	postgraduate student at the Clarence White School of Photography, University of Berlin, the Catholic University of Lima, the American University of Cairo, and New School for Social Research,	-	Traveled extensively in Europe and Asia for a portion of the year with wealthy parents- attended schools in Europe. Studied abroad in Germany	Trust Fund/ Lawyer/ Goodrich Breckinridge Families	Journalist	Photojournalist, Journalist, Documentary Filmmaker	Both working in Berlin
Peterson	Esther Eggertsen Peterson	Unknown	Bringham Young University, BA 1927	Columbia University Teachers College, MA 1930	-	Bryn Mawr International Summer Program manager,	Superintendent of Schools, Utah	-	Teacher, Union Organizer, Union Representative	At Columbia University

Reichauer	Haru Matsukata Reichauer	American School in Japan	Principia College	-	-	Japanese Citizen	Grandaughter of Japanese Prime Minister and Japanese-American Businessman. Father was statesmen as well. Mother was American of Japanese descent.	-	During the 1950's, she wrote regularly about Japan for The Saturday Evening Post and The Christian Science Monitor.	First met in high school in Tokyo, later introduced by writer James Michener
Rugh	Andrea Bear Rugh	Unknown	Oberlin College- BA Psychology	-	PhD, American University, Social Anthropology	Year as child in Canada	Scientist	-	-	Working one summer in Woods Hole, MA and Oberlin
Service	Caroline Schulz Service	Oak Park High School	Oberlin College, BA 1931	-	-	-	Father Colonel in US Army Corp of Engineers	-	-	Classmates at Oberlin together
Stoltzfus	Janet Sorg Stoltzfus	Unknown	Teaching Degree	-	-	Teacher at Beirut College for Women in Beirut, Lebanon	Unknown	-	Teacher	Met husband while teaching at Beirut College of Women which his father was president of
Sullivan	Margaret Winfield Sullivan	Woodstock School, Mussoorie, U.P. India	College of Wooster	American University	-	Yes- born in China, attended school abroad. Lived in China, Burma and India	Father- Missionary doctor/ USAID, Director of Public Health. Mother- writer, peace activist.	-	-	Parents introduced them
Vance	Jean Chambers Vance	Blue Earth Area High School	Carleton College	-	-	-	Doctor	-	Became a secretary at Harvard when her husband went there for Law School	While students at Carleton College
Weisz	Yetta Faber Weisz	Unknown	Hunter College/ Wilson Teachers' College, DC (BA Education)	-	-	-	I was born in New York City in the Bronx, in what is now, of course, Fort Apache. It was a very happy childhood, as I recall. My parents were loving parents who concentrated on education. My sister and I are (laughing) both schoolteachers because of this. Papa was a garment worker who was also an ardent trade unionist.	-	Social worker, school teacher	In New York
Wiley	Irena Brauch Wiley	French and English governesses	Slade School in London, the School for Applied Arts in Vienna where Gustav Klimt studied, and the Warsaw Institute of Fine Art	-	-	Studied fine art in Warsaw, London and Vienna	Unknown	-	-	Unknown
Wilson	Leila Fosburgh Wilson	Brearley School NYC, Ethel Walkers, Connecticut	Smith College	-	-	Studied abroad in Geneva, Switzerland at Zimmern School	Father- investment banker	-	-	Met at Zimmern School in Geneva
Woodward	Shirley Rutherford Woodward	Unknown	Vassar 1922	-	-	Taught in China	Unknown	-	Taught in China	First met when at Vassar and he was at Yale, then taught in China together
Number or percent of wives										

Appendix C: Case Studies' Posts and Activities

Background Part 3- Posts + Activities			Activities Participated In		
Last Name	Name	Posts Abroad	Cultural Diplomacy	Education/ Exchange Diplomacy	Global Health/ Social Welfare
Adams	Frances McStay Adams	Quito, Ecuador (1943-1944); Cairo, Egypt (1950-1952); New Delhi, India (1952-1955); London, UK (1955-1959); Baghdad, Iraq (1963-1965); Amman, Jordan (1966-1967); Lahore, Pakistan (1967-1970)	X	X	X
Allen	Katherin "Kitty" Allen	Undated postings in Kingston, Jamaica and later in Shanghai, China, Patras, Greece and Cairo, Egypt. Tehran; Iran (1946-1948); Yugoslavia (1949-1953); New Delhi, India (1953-1954); Athens, Greece (1956-1957)	X		X
Atherton	Betty Wylie Atherton	Stuttgart, Germany (1947-1950); Bonn, Germany (1950-1952); Damascus, Syria (1953-1956); Aleppo, Syria (1957-1958); Calcutta, India (1962-1965); Cairo, Egypt (1979-1985)		X	
Barbis	Patricia Quinn Barbis	Seoul, Korea (1955-1957- Self); Chiangmai, Thailand (1959-1961); Bordeaux, France (1967-1969); Brussels, Belgium (1969-1975); Athens, Greece (1975-1979);	X	X	
Berle	Beatrice Bishop Berle	Rio de Janeiro (1945-1946)		X	X
Bernbaum	Elizabeth "Betty" Hahn Bernbaum	Caracas, Venezuela (first time), Managua, Nicaragua (first time) Nicaragua (1959-1960); Ecuador (1960-1965); Venezuela (1965-1969)	X	X	X
Bogardus	Virginia Webb Bogardus	Montreal, Canada (1941-1944); Prague, Czechoslovakia (1945-1948); Algiers, Algeria (1948-1950); Toronto, Canada (1951-1953); Hamburg, Germany (1954-1955); Saigon, Vietnam (1959-1962); Stuttgart, Germany (1963-1966)	X		X
Bohlen	Avis Thayer Bohlen	Moscow, USSR (1935-1939), Tokyo, Japan (1940-1941); Paris, France (1949-1951); Moscow, USSR (1953-1957); Philippines (1957-1959); Paris, France (1962-1968);			
Bond	Ruth Clement Bond	Port au Prince, Haiti (1944-1947); Monrovia, Liberia (1950-1954); Kabul, Afghanistan (1955-1957); Tunis, Tunisia (1957-1960); Freetown, Sierra Leone (1960-1962); Blantyre-Lime, Malawi (1962-1964)	X	X	X
Bowles	Dorothy "Steb" Stebbins Bowles	New Delhi, India (1951-1953, 1963-1969)	X		
Briggs	Lucy Barnard Briggs	Lima, Peru (1928-1930); Havana, Cuba (1933-1937); Santiago, Chile (1940-1941); Havana, Cuba (1941-1944); Santo Domingo (1944-1945); Montevideo, Uruguay (1947-1949); Prague, Czechoslovakia (1949-1952); South Korea (1952-1955); Lima, Peru (1955), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1956-1959); Athens, Greece (1959-1962)			X
Brown	Margaret "Peggy Ann" Bell Brown	London, England (1952-1957); New Delhi, India (1957-1960); Vientiane, Laos (1960-1962); Seoul, Korea (1964-1967)			X
Bruce	Evangeline "Vangie" Bell Bruce	Paris, France as Economic Cooperation Assistance Director (1948-1949); Paris, France as Ambassador (1949-1952); Bonn, Germany (1957-1959); London, UK (1961-1969); Beijing, China (1973-1974); NATO (1974-1976)			
Byington	Jane McHarg Byington	Havana, Cuba (1932-1933); Naples Italy (1933-1939); Belgrade, Yugoslavia (1939-1941); Caserta, Italy (1945-1947); Rome, Italy (1947-1950); Madrid (1953-1957); Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1957-1961); Consul General, Naples (1962-1973)			
Cabot	Elizabeth Lewis Cabot	Mexico City, Mexico (1932), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1932-1935); The Hague, Netherlands (1935-1938); Stockholm, Sweden (1938); Guatemala City, Guatemala (1938-1941); Buenos Aires, Argentina (1945-1946); Belgrade, Yugoslavia (1946); Shanghai, China (1947-1950); Helsinki, Finland (1950-1954); Stockholm Sweden (1954-1957); Bogota, Colombia (1957-1958); Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1959-1962); Warsaw, Poland (1962-1965)			X
Caldwell	Martha Painter Caldwell	Cairo, Egypt (1943-1944); Athens, Greece (1944-1948); Dublin, Ireland (1948-1952); Copenhagen, Denmark (1952-1958); Karachi, Pakistan (1958-1960); Madras, India (1964-1968); Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1972-1976); Ankara, Turkey (1976-1979)	X	X	X
Child	Julia McWilliams Child	Paris, France (1948-1952); Marseille, France (1953-1954); Bonn, Germany (1954-1956); Oslo, Norway (1959-1960)	X		

Constable	Elinor Greer Constable	FS Wife: Vigo, Spain (1959-1961); Tegucigalpa, Honduras (1961-1964); Lahore, Pakistan (1968-1971); FSO: Islamabad, Pakistan (1977-1978); Nairobi, Kenya (1986-1989)	X	X	
Cooper	Lorraine Rowan Cooper	New Delhi, India (1955-1956); East Germany (1974-1976)			
Darlington	Alice Darlington	Gabon (1961-1965)			
Dillon	Caroline Sue Burch Dillon	Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela (1956-1958); Izmir, Turkey (1960-62); Ankara, Turkey (1962-66); Istanbul, Turkey (1970-1971); Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1974-1977); Ankara, Turkey (1977-1980); Cairo, Egypt (1980-1981); Beirut, Lebanon (1981-1984); Vienna, Austria (1984-1987)		X	X
Dreyfus	Grace Hawes Dreyfus	Unknown postings between 1911-1939 in Berlin, Paris, Europe, and South America. Tehran, Iran (1939-1943); Reykjavik, Iceland (1944-1946); Stockholm, Sweden (1946-1947); Kabul, Afghanistan (1949-1951)	Unknown	Unknown	X
Fenzi	Jewell Redfield Fenzi	Rotterdam, Netherlands (1958-1960); Freetown, Sierra Leone (1962-1965); Rabat, Morocco (1965-1969); Curacao (1969-1973); Rotterdam (1973-1976); Recife, Brazil (1979-1982); Port of Spain, Trinidad (1983-1985)	X	X	
Green	Lipsenard "Lisa" Crocker Green	Wellington, New Zealand, (1945-1947); Stockholm Sweden (1950-1956); Seoul, Korea (1959-1961); Hong Kong (1961-1963); Jakarta, Indonesia (1965-1969); Paris, France (1969); Canberra, Australia (1973-1975)			X
Hamilton	June Miller Hamilton	Tehran, Iran (1949-1954); Tripoli, Libya (1954-1957); Baghdad, Iraq (1960-1965); Montreal, Canada (1967)	X		
Hanson	Muriel Thomas Hanson	Monrovia, Liberia (1948-1950); Zurich, Switzerland (1950-1955); Calcutta, India (1956-1958); Trinidad (1961-1964); Lagos, Nigeria (1966-1970); Accra, Ghana (1972-1975); Curacao (1975-1977)	X		X
Hart	Jane Smiley Hart	Dhahran, Saudi Arabia (1949-1952); Cairo, Egypt (1955-1958); Damascus, Syria (1958); Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (1961-1965); Turkey (1965-1968)	X	X	X
Heimann	Judith Moscow Heimann	Forthcoming	X	X	
Irving	Dorothy Petrie Irving	Vienna, Austria (1952-1954); Wellington, New Zealand (1960-1962); Vienna, Austria (1967-1968); Iceland (1972-1976); Jamaica (1978-1978)	X	X	X
Kirk	Lydia Chapin Kirk	Brussels, Belgium (1946-1949); Soviet Union (1949-1951); China (1962-1963)			
Lee	Eleanore Cobb Lee	Toronto, Canada (1942-1943); Dakar, Senegal (1945); Melbourne, Australia (1946-1948); Wellington, New Zealand (1948-1951); Kingston, Jamaica (1954-1956); Reykjavik, Iceland (1957-1959); Brussels, Belgium (1959-1963)	X	X	
Mathews	Naomi Meffert Matthews	Vancouver, Canada (1935-1947); Sydney, Australia (1937-1940); Managua, Nicaragua (1940-1943); Kabul, Afghanistan (1943-1946); Calcutta, India (1946-1947); Istanbul, Turkey (1951-1952); London, UK (1952-1953); Oslo, Norway (1953-1955); Monrovia, Liberia (1959-1962); Lagos, Nigeria (1964-1969)	X	X	X
Mendenhall	Leone "Nonie" Reiber Mendenhall	Istanbul, Turkey (1946-1949); Reykjavik, Iceland (1949-1951); Bern, Switzerland (1952-1955); Saigon, Vietnam (1959-1962); Vientiane, Laos (1965-1968); Tananarive, Madagascar (1973-1975)	X	X	X
Morgan	Margaret Taylor Carter "Peggy" Morgan	Berlin, Germany (1951); Tokoyo, Japan (1954-1958); Abidjan, Ivory Coast (1965-1969)	X	X	
North	Jeanne Foote North	Addis Abba, Ethiopia (1953-1958); Nigeria (1961-1965); Accra, Ghana (1967-1972)		X	X
Oakley	Phyllis Elliott Oakley	Wife: Khartoum, Sudan (1958-1960); Abidjan, Ivory Coast (1963-1965); Paris, France (1967-1969); Beirut, Lebanon (1971-1974). Tandem: Kinshasa, Zaire (1979-1982); Islamabad, Pakistan (1989-1991);	X	X	
Patterson	Mary Marvin Breckenridge Patterson	Berlin, Germany ; Brussels, Belgium (1945-1946); Cairo, Egypt (1946-1950); Montevideo, Uruguay (1956-1958)			
Peterson	Esther Eggertsen Peterson	Stockholm, Sweden (1948-1952); Brussels, Belgium (1952-1957)	X	X	
Reichauer	Haru Matsukata Reischauer	Tokyo, Japan (1961-1965)		X	

Rugh	Andrea Bear Rugh	Beirut, Lebanon (1964-1965); Cairo, Egypt (1965-1966); Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (1966-1967); Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (1967-1969); Cairo, Egypt (1976-1981); Damascus, Syria (1981-1984); North Yemen (1984-1987); UAE (1992-1995)		X	
Service	Caroline Schulz Service	Kunming, China (1933-1935); Peking, China (1935-1937); Shanghai, China (1939-1941); Wellington, New Zealand (1946-1948); New Delhi, India (1950- alone); Liverpool, UK (1959-1962)			
Stoltzfus	Janet Sorg Stoltzfus	Beirut, Lebanon (1953-1954); Kuwait (1954-1956); Damascus, Syria (1956); Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (1956-1959); Aden, Yemen (1959), Taiz, Yemen (1960-1961); Kuwait (1965); Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1966-1968); Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (1968-1971); Kuwait (1972-1976)		X	
Sullivan	Margaret Winfield Sullivan	Kuala Lumpur (Malaya, now Malaysia) (1959-61); Kaduna, Nigeria (1961-64); Jakarta, Indonesia (1967-71); Cebu, Philippines (1971-74); Freetown, Sierra Leone (1974-76); Singapore (1981-1984)		X	X
Vance	Jean Chambers Vance	1942-46 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil 1946-49 Nice, France 1949-51 Martinique, French West Indies 1951-54 Washington, DC 1954-58 Brussels, Belgium 1958-62 Washington, DC 1962-66 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1966-67 Washington, DC 1967-69 Fort Lamy, Chad 1969-74 Kinshasa, Zaire 1974-77 Washington, DC	X	X	X
Weisz	Yetta Faber Weisz	1952-57 Paris, France (USRO, Marshall Plan) 1965-71 New Delhi, India (Foreign Service)	X	X	X
Wiley	Irena Brauch Wiley	Moscow, USSR (1934-1936); Brussels, Belgium (1936-1937); Vienna, Austria (1937-1938); Riga, Latvia and Estonia (1939-1940); Bogota, Colombia (1944-1947); Lisbon, Portugal (1947-1948); Tehran, Iran (1948-1951); Panama City, Panama (1951-1953)	X		
Wilson	Leila Fosburgh Wilson	Guadalajara, Mexico (1937-1938); Cairo, Egypt (1938-1941); Mexico City, Mexico (1942-1943); Tehran, Iran (1947-1949); Calcutta, India (1950-1953); London, England (1954-1957); Beirut, Lebanon (1961-1964); Jerusalem (1964-1967)	X	X	X
Woodward	Shirley Rutherford Woodward	Canada (1950-1953), Chief of Protocol	X		
Number of wives participated in				28	28
					23