

Marian Anderson as Cold Warrior: African Americans, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Marketing of Democratic Capitalism

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In an effort to bolster their image abroad, from September to November 1957, the U.S. State Department sent Marian Anderson on a tour of East and Southeast Asia. Under most circumstances, it would have been a tenuous decision to send an African American woman on such a mission, especially since many people across the globe criticized U.S. domestic race relations. However, after the 1939 Freedom Concert, the 1955 integration of the Metropolitan Opera House and the 1956 publication of *My Lord, What a Morning!*, a ghostwritten autobiography, Anderson had symbolic currency evoking the potential success of all people in the United States and the success of democratic capitalism. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) did not present the Asian countries with a familiar face with whom they were enamored but instead presented them with an individual whom the USIA perceived as a known quantity, embodying an already established message of African American success.

The State Department goal was to spread the U.S. democratic ideology throughout the world. Because of events such as the Lincoln Memorial concert and representations such as *My Lord, What a Morning!*, Anderson seemed to be the embodiment of the ideology. Since the use of cultural figures and artifacts was less obviously propagandist, they were more readily welcomed. That Anderson was an African American was a boon to the State Department because of the negative image the international press gave the United States with its history of racism. This became increasingly important during Anderson's tour

because while she was away, Orval Faubus, the governor of Arkansas, committed well-publicized racist resistance to desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas. Anderson, as a State Department emissary and an African American woman, needed to navigate challenging terrain. The stakes were even higher because the tour was the subject of a CBS documentary *See It Now* episode titled “The Lady from Philadelphia,” which would be distributed both domestically and internationally.

The tour was deemed a success by the State Department, which claimed that it bolstered both international goodwill and domestic pride for the United States. The State Department used the already established symbolism to their benefit, allowing them to circumnavigate the clear issues of civil rights abuses and resistance. In the *See It Now* episode, they further downplayed issues of race by nurturing a highly passive gendered image—despite the fact that issues of race were actually at the forefront of the political and ideological agendas worldwide. At the same time, what was significant and different about Anderson’s role as emissary is that while other USIA tours focused especially on exporting what they considered to be true American products—such as jazz—presumably because of the already established symbolism, they supported Anderson’s tour to perform Western classical music. Although their intent was to present a vision of an American success based on the contemporary status quo, they overlooked Anderson’s practice of including spirituals in each concert. The spirituals contained an inherent critique of the racial hierarchy that permeated U.S. society. While jazz demonstrated innovation (thus supporting entrepreneurship and capitalism), the spirituals would critique it all. In this article, I focus on the State Department’s motivations for sending Anderson, their efforts at propaganda, the depictions of Anderson in “The Lady from Philadelphia,” and the State Department’s evaluation of the tour.

Anderson’s symbolic currency was established through the Easter Sunday concert at the Lincoln Memorial. This concert provided some resolution to a public act of discrimination. In 1939, Marian Anderson, world-renowned contralto, was scheduled to sing at Constitution Hall, which was owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). Because of their discriminatory policy allowing only white performers, she was barred from singing in the hall. Marian Anderson was African American and did not meet the DAR’s criteria. Through a much celebrated controversy, the DAR’s policy was put under national scrutiny, and in 1939, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt covertly facilitated a performance by Anderson on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in an Easter Sunday concert. Seventy-five thousand people were in attendance, and at that moment, Marian Anderson became an important symbol demonstrating simultaneously the need for African American empowerment and the ability of African Americans to attain a significant level of success within the U.S. culture.¹

The symbolism associated with Anderson was important to many and was used in various ways throughout mid-century. It was particularly nurtured in a ghostwritten autobiography, *My Lord, What a Morning!*, which translated her

story into a narrative of the myth of U.S. success. Anderson, despite trials and tribulations, including but not limited to racial discrimination, was able to rise to high levels of success and celebrity.² She sang at the Lincoln Memorial. She integrated the Metropolitan Opera. She demonstrated that racial hierarchy and racism was not limiting but rather limited. This symbolism was particularly important in a Cold War culture especially because Anderson's autobiography was not only for domestic but also for international consumption.

Throughout the Cold War, the State Department tried to win the favor of the rest of the world. African American emissaries had a significant role, and the representation of U.S. society that the USIA sent through the person of Anderson was especially important within the Cold War culture. In *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960*, Brenda Plummer documents the story of U.S. diplomacy after World War II as it related to African Americans and a civil rights agenda.³ The essential story told by the historians of Cold War race relations is that international and domestic race relations fed off of each other in the Cold War context.

After World War II, the U.S. government faced a crisis of international opinion. Earlier in the century in *The American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal outlined how the tension between the status of African Americans and the “America Way of Life” was difficult to navigate internally. After World War II, the “American Dilemma” was extremely problematic externally within the global community. With the move toward decolonization and the establishment of the division between Western capitalist and communist societies, there was a Western belief that self-determination was a precept that identified liberated countries. Further, these newly liberated countries had the option to choose between two models—U.S. Western capitalism and Soviet communism. The United States had an appealing mantra of “liberty and justice for all,” but within the international sphere, the unequal status of African Americans in the United States appeared to be evidence that the U.S. creed of freedom and opportunity was not fully manifested and perhaps impossible to establish within a Western capitalistic system. In order to defend itself against international critique and entice the newly decolonized countries toward the Western world, the U.S. government began to address race relations in a new light. What had been previously perceived as a domestic issue was now crucial within a foreign affairs agenda.

In order to attract the decolonized nations, the U.S. government decided that it needed to rectify the unequal treatment of African Americans. One landmark decision that made the U.S. government more attractive within the international purview was the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. The Supreme Court's decision that segregated schools were unjust was publicized within the international community. Because this decision came from the Supreme Court, foreign countries perceived that the highest echelon of the U.S. government did not sanction either de jure or de facto racism. Thus, after the *Brown* decision, the global community often believed that while the United States had a difficult history marred by racism and racist ideology, its govern-

ment and presumably its citizenry were trying to rectify this tragic, limiting social ill.⁴ Nonetheless, publicized incidents of racism, of which there were many, damaged the reputation of the United States, and thus the U.S. government deemed it strategic to send in African American artists such as Anderson to be U.S. cultural diplomats.⁵

The government sponsored Anderson because she matched the entertainment profile that the public affairs officers believed would be most suitable for USIA sponsorship. In 1957, there was a meeting of the regional public affairs officers of the USIA of Southeast Asia in New Delhi. In the summary of their meetings, they described the three factors that significantly influenced the Southeast Asian perceptions of the United States. One factor was racism. They wrote,

The Mid-East crisis, Little Rock and Sputnik have all been injurious to American prestige. Little Rock makes it harder to talk about American equality, freedom and justice.⁶

While Anderson could not necessarily address the problems associated with the political and economic wrangling over oil or displace views of U.S. technological failure, she could be useful in dispelling the taint on the U.S. ideology regarding “liberty and justice for all.” Moreover, because of her success and professed belief in the U.S. government, she could be both an example of the “good life” and an emissary who could reinforce the goodwill motives of the U.S. government

The public affairs officers listed a number of conclusions that would then govern their strategic plans. They suggested the following program guidelines:

A positive approach is infinitely better than a negative one. . . . [And also c]areful attention must be paid to the extreme sensitiveness which characterized peoples of the area. No condescension, talking down, or taking for granted is permissible. This means among other things that U.S.I.A. exhibits, performances, and output generally must be of first rate, high level quality. It also means that establishing credibility and acceptability while difficult is indispensable to successful operations.⁷

These requirements matched the Anderson image and persona well and were evident in the State Department’s records of the concert tour in general.

The State Department chose Anderson and because of her physical appearance—her obvious dark skin—and her undeniable acclaim in the vocal music world. Anderson was a symbol of black success over racial bigotry. This was established through the “Freedom Concert” of 1939. Solely her presence would be a “positive” example of U.S. democracy in action. Also, as her autobiography represented her, Anderson’s symbolism conveyed that even those



Figure 1: Anderson with the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, 1957. A typical depiction of her with head down and eyes closed. While Anderson was known for frequently closing her eyes while performing, the preponderance of images in this posture is overwhelming and disproportionate. Marian Anderson Collection of Photographs, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

on the lowest rung of the socioeconomic ladder could rise to prominence and celebrity. Anderson would not have to critique any alternative (read communist) ideological system in order to convey that the U.S. democratic system was successful. As further evidence of the success, in 1955, Anderson integrated the Metropolitan Opera. Moreover, Anderson had a long and noteworthy career. She would not be considered a condescension. People would be drawn to her simply because of her international celebrity.⁸ She would be able to destabilize the antiegalitarian assumptions people had about the United States. While this could be undercut quickly if Anderson spoke out against U.S. race relations, the State Department could count on her tradition of withholding public comment. However, even if Anderson had spoken out against the U.S. government, the State Department could point out her fame and class privilege. These would contribute to a rebuttal to any accusations of racial bias.

While Anderson was a fine manifestation of the State Department's requirements, none of this would matter if Anderson and the State Department could not convince the peoples of the various Asian countries of this fact. The

State Department needed to prime the prospective Asian audiences as to who Anderson was and why she was an appropriate representative of the republic. They did this through a powerful publicity blitz. They printed publicity posters; they distributed free translations of *My Lord, What a Morning!* They sponsored contests in schools and gave school children prizes for reading *My Lord, What A Morning!* They aired previous concerts on the radio, planted newspaper articles, presented a USIA film titled *Marian Anderson*, held free workshops on “Western classical music,” constructed educational exhibits about the Lincoln Memorial concert, and conducted radio interviews that featured Anderson. They also distributed free wallet-sized pictures of Anderson, and a six-month calendar featuring Anderson, and some outposts even arranged to stamp a reminder of the upcoming concert on department store receipts.⁹ All of these efforts combined to encourage the Asian public to attend the concert, convince them of Anderson’s celebrity status, and stress that while Anderson had confronted racism, she still had reached success. As I discuss below, it should be noted that there was a perceived need to help people understand and appreciate the Western classical music that Anderson sang. This was something—despite colonial histories—that was perceived to be outside the realm of personal experience. In any case, the publicity efforts did not go unrewarded.

The concerts themselves drew significant crowds. In many of the Asian countries, the embassy officials declared the Anderson performance to be the most successful venture ever sponsored in terms of appeal and attendance. In India, they even broadcasted her concert to a football (soccer) stadium to handle the overflow. The audience was so entranced with Anderson’s performance that they behaved as if they were in the presence of the artist herself. For example, they applauded at the end of each selection as if she were there to hear them.¹⁰ Given the fact that the majority of the population had previously been unaware of Anderson and were unfamiliar with Western classical music, this indicated that the publicity efforts were effective.

There was a sense of consternation among some of the officials in response to the difficulty of presenting highbrow Western music. They remarked that while they appreciated Anderson’s concert and that overall it was a success, they would prefer in the future for the State Department to send more lowbrow musicians who would have more accessible material. Nonetheless, at none of the embassies was there a sense that the public did not appreciate the presentation. Given the obstacles of language and aesthetics, this connotes that the publicity efforts were successful.¹¹

The distinction between lowbrow and highbrow music is interesting and significant. In *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, Penny Von Eschen aptly demonstrates that the USIA sent many jazz musicians on tour especially because their music was more accessible and interesting to the people in decolonized/decolonizing areas. There was the perception that the music was not tainted by colonial overtones. Simultaneously, artists such as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and David Brubeck were frustrated

at points because the majority of the people in the countries they were touring were unable to gain access to their shows—the seats were reserved for dignitaries. In contrast, while Anderson was singing some highbrow music (with significant colonial overtones), there was not the same concern about meeting the popular audiences because it seems that the venues might have been bigger. Often, Western concert halls did not exist in the regions she traveled. With that, she ended up singing in larger places—sometimes very nontraditional venues. In fact, much to Anderson’s dismay, she ended up singing in an athletic stadium. Or, as mentioned above, her performance was piped into an overflow auditorium. This is not to say that the audiences represented every echelon of Southeast Asian society. Many of her audiences were comprised of only the elite in society. In *Marian Anderson: A Singer’s Journey*, Allan Keiler notes that Anderson was particularly struck by the socioeconomic disparity found in the countries she toured and experienced the interactions with people outside of the venues and performance context as extremely educational.¹²

There was other evidence that the U.S. propaganda efforts were not in vain. They appeared to have convinced the Asian public that Anderson was exactly who the State Department said she was—a successful African American who had benefited from American democratic ideals. This narrative would have been found in the autobiography if nowhere else. John V. Lund, public affairs officer in Bombay, brought this out particularly well in his report. He wrote,

In Bombay, she lived up to everything that had been spoken or written about her. She was generous with encores, gracious with autograph seekers, and at the reception given in her honor by the Press Guild she swept the group off its feet with the gentle and simple eloquence of her five-minute talk. Press comment concerning Miss Anderson and her performance was extensive and excellent.¹³

While Lund did remark that the propaganda was not the only factor that allowed the press to give “extensive and excellent” remarks in regard to Anderson, Anderson’s own actions supported that which had been written about her. Still, the propaganda that had been disseminated throughout Bombay prior to Anderson’s arrival certainly gave a vocabulary with which to work.

This became particularly clear in the report that Thomas W. Simons, American consul general of Madras, sent to the State Department in Washington, D.C. He quoted the newspaper the *Hindu*. The *Hindu* essentially introduced Anderson with a summary of *My Lord, What a Morning!* The author wrote,

Miss Marian Anderson’s contralto voice has charmed millions of men and women in all parts of the globe but she owes no part of her success to luck or undeserved patronage. Born in a Negro middle-class family in Philadelphia, she has

had to climb her way to triumph step by hard step. She has had to beat down prejudices arising out of colour, class and sex but she has also found men and women ready to recognize her worth and willing to help her. In 1939, the use of Constitution Hall in Philadelphia [*sic*] was denied to her by the Daughters of the American Revolution but the loss was theirs. Mrs. Franklin D Roosevelt, another famous American woman and wife of the great American President, resigned from that organisation in protest and the United States Government themselves offered her the use of Lincoln Memorial for an outdoor concert in Washington. The whirligig of time brings on sweet revenge: in 1942 the Daughters of the American Revolution extended an invitation to her to sing in the very Constitution Hall from which they had barred her three years before.¹⁴

The *Hindu* explained the “Marian Anderson Story” very similarly to the narrative of her autobiography. Although the author did remark that she came from a middle-class family, which was a bit different than the “rags to riches” narrative that came through in *My Lord, What a Morning!*, the overall narrative that Anderson faced great obstacles and overcame them with stunning success and a pleasant personality remained. Further, the story elaborates that the “men and women ready to recognize her worth” were none other than members of the highest-ranked government officials, for they were the people who condemned prejudice and enabled her to sing at the Lincoln Memorial in 1939. This was reminiscent of the symbolism put on Anderson by the European-American public after the concert. Additionally, the U.S. government was able then to present to Anderson “sweet revenge” in that, because of the acclaim that resulted from the 1939 concert, Anderson was able to sing at Constitution Hall a mere three years later.¹⁵

The story was evidence of U.S. propaganda efforts in that the article continued to explain that they received their information not only from Anderson’s personal interactions with the press, but also from the government-sponsored translations of her autobiography. The author of the *Hindu* article explained,

Miss Anderson, as those who have met and spoken to her in Madras and those who have read her autobiography “My Lord, What A Morning,” will testify, has not allowed her earlier struggles to embitter her or her later triumphs to spoil her inborn courtesy, good nature and consideration for others.¹⁶

Thus, from the information garnered from the autobiography, the Indian press was able to understand that she gained victory over racial bigotry. Additionally, success did not “spoil” her intrinsic good nature.

Simon credited the *Hindu's* positive presentation of Anderson to the efforts of the State Department. He wrote,

To have an American artist so received is proof of the good relations which American officials in Madras have maintained with government officials and others, and is symptomatic of the worth of the cultural program. The value of having an outstanding American visit South India from time to time is self-evident.¹⁷

Thus, Anderson's personality and actions were not interpreted as the primary reason for a good cultural event. Rather, he implied that the efforts of the U.S. officials were the most significant reason for the effective performance. While this simply could have been an attempt at self-aggrandizement, Simon's words do indicate that the primary purposes of the concert were to reinforce the good image of the United States and that, through the propaganda efforts of the Madras officials, they were able to convince the Indian public that Anderson was indeed whom the State Department depicted.¹⁸

It also appears that the State Department successfully communicated Anderson's celebrity status and success. Throughout the State Department's records, the constituency referenced the honor they felt as a result of having a celebrity within their midst. For example, the American consul general in Lahore, Pakistan, William Spengle, wrote of the concert,

As the applause died down in the crowded theater on the evening of November 28th, another link in the Pak-American friendship had been solidly welded into place. Miss Marian Anderson, world-famous contralto, had just completed a most successful concert and received a standing ovation. . . . From the moment she walked out onto stage it was obvious that here was an artist of rare talent who had complete mastery of her audience.¹⁹

In this report, Spengle linked both her expertise and her prestige to the successful concert.

Richard S. Barnsley, acting chief public affairs officer of Manila, the Philippines, wrote in his report that "interest in Marian Anderson, as a personality and as a singer was very great, and the press used all the advance material the Embassy and the Impresario were able to give them."²⁰ Here, the recognition of Anderson's star status brought some sort of interest in the performance. Both of these excerpts were taken from the perspective of the consulate officials, but the issue of celebrity was also significant to the people themselves. For example, the *Ceylon Daily News* reported that "Marian Anderson who arrived in Colombo Tuesday night from Bangkok is not only one of the world's best

known and best loved singers, but a fine human person who has carved herself a reputation by her humility, religious devotion and deep dedication to her art.”²¹ Although it is not yet possible to know whether this was an embassy-planted propaganda article, it still gave evidence that her reputation of fine artistry preceded her. Furthermore, it indicated not only that the Ceylonese had heard of her musical prowess but also that they had picked up on the reputation of the steadfast individual, which had gained currency throughout the previous years.

It is important to note that many of these accounts and descriptions of Anderson’s visits focus on her character and her virtues, such as dedication, humility, and devotion. Her biography and other evidence show that Anderson often demonstrated a strong character and many virtues, but I also think that this is one way that the people she encountered addressed her gender identity. Rarely was Anderson’s gender discussed or made note of. This is relatively odd given her career aspirations, which went against the gender norms of the time. Had she been a white woman, undoubtedly she would have been asked about breaking gender norms. Clearly, it is impossible to separate such significant identities—such as race and gender—but it appears that the public culture Anderson moved within did so. This is most clearly seen in the show “The Lady from Philadelphia,” an episode of Edward R. Murrow’s *See It Now* series. “The Lady from Philadelphia” initially aired in the United States on prime-time television on December 30, 1957. CBS ran subsequent reruns, and the State Department distributed it to various posts throughout Asia.²²

Although every other representation of Anderson focused on race and minimized her gender, in the film, Anderson’s gender was emphasized much more than her race. Murrow represented Anderson in the context of the “true woman,” which was not altogether a misrepresentation. At the same time, it also has some association with a 1950 stereotypical representation of a white woman while all the time overlooking the challenges African American women have faced given the intersectionality of race and gender. It also is significant that the representation was a new one and reinforced the positive image of the United States for propaganda purposes.

“The Lady from Philadelphia” opened with a dedication to the children of Asia and to Anna Delilah Anderson, “whose daughter, Marian Anderson, represented her people and our country in Asia.” This opening was instructive. Anderson represented her people—the African Americans in the United States—and “our country.” “Our country” suggests some sense of ownership, but with the differentiation between “her people” and “our country,” it suggests that “her people,” the African American public, could not claim ownership of “our country.” Anderson, as a successful African American woman, was the embodiment of the republic, but the question was, especially given the domestic civil rights issues of 1957, how could that be? Anderson, as a successful African American female political symbol, could have been a very tenuous representative of the republic. However, Anderson rarely took an adversarial position, and the U.S. government, when it sent her, could trust in her history

of nonassertiveness. Nonetheless, Anderson was a successful African American woman. In reality, on this trip, she visited many dignitaries, negotiated press conferences and interviews, and performed many concerts. Anderson met with many important people, both male and female, both adults and children, both Europeans and Asians. But she also was the daughter of Annie Anderson. Even at sixty years of age, she was connected to her mom as a child. While clearly true, the rhetorical choice is not empowering. This foreshadows the remainder of the film. While Murrow could have depicted her in a more independent and activist role, the film manifested a more passive Anderson.

Throughout the film, Anderson was welcoming, smiling, and animated. At the same time, she appeared to be extremely humble and was portrayed as subservient.²³ Except for one instance when she discussed the incident in Little Rock with men, every instance of political discussion was among women or children. The two formal instances of political discussion were with Asian women. For example, she was interviewed by Daw Mya Sein, a female Buddhist scholar in Rangoon. During the interview, Sein queried Anderson on her use of the words “we” and “one” when referring to herself. The scholar wondered why Anderson so rarely used the word “I.” Anderson replied that “possibly because we realize as long as we live, that one realizes there is no particular thing that you can do alone.” Anderson continued to describe that even in a concert setting, there were those who wrote the music, the people who made the pianos, and the accompanist who supports the singer. She said that “everything you do is not of your doing. The ‘I’ is very small after all.” Throughout the entire discussion, Anderson averted her eyes from the interviewers and often looked down at the table in front of her. It gave the appearance of self-effacement. Thus, Anderson, while she realistically explained that human beings are interdependent, still did not take any credit as an individual. Further, by consistently looking down, she displayed a subordination that was perceived to be humility.

Murrow similarly portrayed this in a discussion between Anderson and an Indian radio personality Terra Ali Bay. The narrator introduced the segment by explaining that Anderson was a “special sort of American and the questions asked of her were of a special interest to Asians. The questions ranged from Atom Bombs, baseball, to the 1939 concert at the Lincoln Memorial which the U.S. government made available to Anderson.” Picking up on the theme of the Lincoln Memorial, Murrow then filmed Bay, asking about the Lincoln Memorial concert. She said, “In reading your autobiography, you’ve been a trailblazer in many things. You acted as a symbol at the Lincoln Memorial, is that correct?” Anderson responded, “I didn’t talk much about the incident then.” She continued that she “felt no bitterness then or now because we look for bigger things. If you’re all right on the inside you don’t have to worry about such things because they will take care of themselves. There is a divine pattern and there is no one person who can stop it.”

Bay then suggested that she did not understand the concept of racial prejudice because skin color seemed irrelevant to her.²⁴ She continued to say that

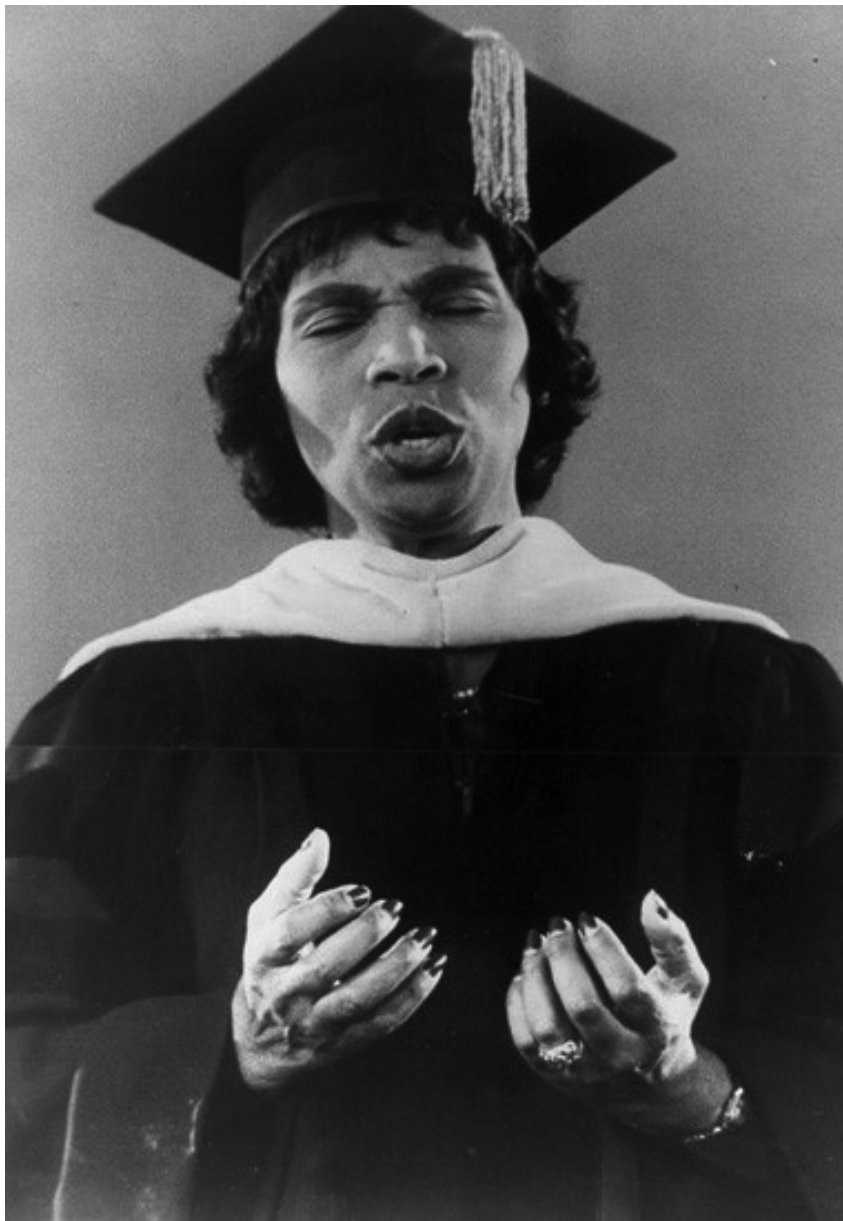


Figure 2: In 1957, after being awarded an honorary degree by EWha University in Seoul, Korea, Anderson sang in the graduation ceremony. This event was recorded and presented in “The Lady From Philadelphia.” Marian Anderson Collection of Photographs, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

she understood that this prejudice was isolated in specific areas, presumably in the South. Then she asked Anderson whether when Anderson referred to “my people” she was referring to the colored peoples in the United States. Anderson responded with a rather lengthy monologue. Throughout her speech, she consistently averted her eyes. Anderson explained that the assumption that “my people” referred to the colored people of the United States occurred frequently. However, she wanted to clarify that “not all Negroes are relegated to a particular section.” She did remark, however, that “there are those about whom we are concerned.” She explained that her concern focused also on the nation. She said, “It is so true that no matter how big a nation—it is no stronger than their weakest people. As long as you keep a person down, part of you must be down. This won’t let you soar. Regardless, the whole of the nation is dependent on how it treats the weakest member. The fact that we could come over for the State Department for which I’m thrilled with this honor and opportunity. It gives us an opportunity to speak for the only land we know.” She continued, “My land, my country, and my allegiance is to America.”

The interviewer then remarked that everybody has difficulties and crossroads. She asked, “What is the basic faith you come back to?” Anderson explained that as the daughter of Anna Anderson, she returned to the faith of her mother. She was a “believer” in the Judeo-Christian faith of her mother and that every day and in the “extremities,” she went back to this faith. She believed that faith “gives understanding of fellow men even when they behave so poorly. If the Supreme Being is just, if things happen along the way, one thinks of faith and goes back to the well to be replenished.” The interviewer then asked, “Does it sum it up to say ‘See it through to the end?’” Anderson responded positively and said that it reminded her of a spiritual. The lyrics were “I open my mouth to the Lord and I never will turn back. I will go, I shall go, to see what the end will be.” At this point, the film narration interrupts Anderson and the Indian woman, and the narrator remarks, “A French poet once said that ‘If you wish to influence Indians, rather than send 1,000 missionaries, send one saint.’ The United States sent Miss Anderson.”

This scene represents a number of important themes throughout the film. First, Anderson was speaking with an Indian woman. This was important because while there were obvious cultural differences between the two, to a racist society, a woman of color speaking with another woman of color was perfectly acceptable. Second, Anderson consistently looked down throughout the interview. Thus, in the interview, she presented an air of humility and subservience. Third, Anderson, in reference to the Lincoln Memorial incident, said that she was not angry, nor did she need to act on anything (e.g., race issues). She reinforced a posture of passivity under the assumption that divine intervention would resolve it. Fourth, she minimized individual power and significance. When discussing prejudice and racism, Anderson did say that the unfair treatment that did exist worried her. However, this worry stemmed from the fact that the country was being hurt. This demonstrated that she was a patriot, not

a disloyal individualist (the only time individualism would be considered disloyal). Fifth, she often invoked spirituality—a particularly feminine trait associated with True Womanhood. Anderson explained that the Supreme Being would ensure justice.

The film reinforced Anderson's apparent passivity when it presented a press conference that was focused on Little Rock. A male reporter asked Anderson whether she would sing for Faubus. Anderson replied, "If I could help at all, I should be very delighted to. If Governor Faubus would be in the frame of mind to accept it for what it is, for what he could get from it, I would be very delighted to do it." Essentially in this statement, Anderson was pleasant and showed nothing of what she thought—she did not explain the content of "what it is" or what Faubus "could get from it." While I believe that Anderson thought that the spirituals she sang and their history gave evidence of a proper mode of behavior and a vision of human equality, she did not spell this out. The reporter then asked her what she believed would promote understanding between peoples. She responded that "to contribute to the betterment of a cause . . . you can do it best in the medium you use most easily." She suggested that the reporter was a good writer, that other people were good speakers, and that she was a singer. She explained, "My singing means more to my people than my writing would."

Anderson gave an interesting response in this instance. I think that what she thought was that her singing could help transform U.S. society from racism. Yet she did not elaborate on how the singing was educational or instructive. She minimized her more radical assumptions. Consequently, she appeared to sidestep any direct answer. She explained that each person should do what they do best. She promoted relatively radical individualism. However, she also proposed a stereotypically gendered suggestion. She suggested that she was not able to speak—that was not her form. Further, she was not able (read unwilling) to explain her views. Instead, she wanted to entertain. While this can be understood as laudable, it still suggested that she was without thought and that her voice was the voice of the songstress, not the oppressed. This established her as a good woman.

In many ways, Murrow's portrayal of Anderson invoked the tradition of "respectability politics" common to many African Americans from the turn of the twentieth century through the Progressive era. As Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham wrote in *In Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*, African American women frequently used the values and practices of temperance, cleanliness, thrift, polite manners, and sexual purity to demonstrate "respectability" in an effort to encourage (Booker T.) Washingtonian uplift to the African American community and to demonstrate already attained status to the European-American community. This also dovetailed nicely with the nineteenth-century "True Woman" ideal in which proponents argued that women embodied the moral high ground and, in fact, embodied the republic in ways that men, because of their essential physical

nature and interaction with the dirty industrial world, could not. While in the nineteenth century African American women were not often associated with True Womanhood because of racist attributions of animalistic behavior, in the twentieth century such leaders as W. E. B. DuBois defended African American women against such racist essentialist arguments demonstrating that European American men were actually the base, sexual beasts and that in many situations African American women were under their control. According to Anne Stavney in “‘Mothers of Tomorrow’: The New Negro Renaissance and the Politics of Maternal Representation,” out of this defense, in the early twentieth century, there was the birth of the True Black Woman, which focused on the role of the black mother as social contributor. At the same time, while the role of mother was lauded by both African American and European American communities, it was often undercut by the reality that African American women often, because of economic dictates, needed to work. While their work often was within the domestic sphere, it was not with their own children. The ideal set up a symbolic tension between the lived experiences of African Americans and the discourse. Subsequently, as Laila Soraya Haidarali describes, the Harlem Renaissance introduced the New Negro Woman. The New Negro Woman was a member of the bourgeois, had significant achievements often outside the home, was not necessarily a mother, and demonstrated respectability. Two things should be noted out of this context. First, Anderson was born in 1897 and would have come of age during all of these different permutations of African American womanhood. They would have been meaningful to her as she grew up and started her career. Second, it is important to note that the trajectory of white women’s symbolic expression during this time was focused on moving away from True Womanhood to New Womanhood and experimental femininity in the iconic images and experiences of the flapper and Rosie the riveter. Many white women were pushing against respectability.²⁵

Further, as Angela Davis details in *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* and Treva Lindsay explains in *Colored No More: Reinventing Black Womanhood in Washington, D.C.*, African American women were pushing boundaries of what it meant to be an African American women by foregrounding social class, sexuality, and individualism, each in heterogeneous ways. With that, Anderson could well have fit in with these independent women.²⁶

At the same time, during the 1950s, the stereotypical representation of white women would have been one that would be passive, patriotic, and conformist. It is important to identify this image as a stereotypically white image because given the modern-day civil rights movement as well as a history of stereotypically negative images of African American women outside of the African American community, this image associated with African American women would not have the same symbolic resonance. Yet it is this symbolism that I think Murrow associates Anderson with in “The Lady from Philadelphia.”

Generally, I believe that the manner in which Murrow defused the explosive situation of having an African American woman as the embodiment of the

republic was to highlight her gender rather than race and associate her with the passivity and conformity that was upheld by impulses of respectability politics. It was not inconsequential that the film was titled the “*Lady* from Philadelphia.” It was important that during the film, the narrator quoted an Indian press article that proclaimed that Anderson was “our fair lady.” The dedication of the film was to her mother and to the children of Asia. This put Anderson squarely in the maternal tradition. The two interviewers who were intellectuals and females brought the discussion to U.S. race relations and issues of decolonization. Anderson responded to their questions by referencing the issues of spirituality and consistently lowered her eyes. As women often are associated with spirituality, this reinforced the high femininity that Murrow produced. By not meeting the journalists’ eyes, Anderson framed herself into a subservient role. When filmed at a press conference and when Anderson was filmed answering difficult questions regarding Orval Faubus and Little Rock, Anderson left political discussion to the all-male press corps, and she claimed that her medium was entertainment—entertainment includes an inherent posture of service.

Murrow’s presentation also depicted Anderson within the context of her symbolic associations. When she stressed that the United States was her country of origin and the country to which she pledged her allegiance, the film attributed all of the symbolic traits she embodied to the condition of the United States. As was Marian Anderson, so was the country. This came through particularly when the narrator explained the State Department’s instructions to Marian Anderson. According to the narration, the State Department officials told Anderson, “You are not a propagandist, just be yourself.” They could say this because the construction of Anderson throughout her history with the dominant U.S. political structures was entertainer, woman, and patriot.

In reality, Anderson was a woman. However, generally, the USIA and the broader U.S. culture focused on the racial and nationalist components of Anderson’s persona, and they often ignored her gender. This could be because at mid-century, the culture at large was generally concerned more with race than with gender. The second wave of the women’s movement would articulate gender issues in the public sphere in the 1960s and 1970s—after Anderson’s involvement with the State Department.

While there was considerable negative public opinion regarding white women’s employment and careers in the 1950s, African American women had almost always worked. Thus, perhaps because of Anderson’s racial status, Anderson was expected to be employed. However, one would also expect that while it may have been anticipated that Anderson would work, it presumably would have been a stretch to the hegemonic cultural assumptions for a woman—especially an African American woman—to have a successful career. Further, while I believe her spirituality sits directly within the context of African American community, empowerment, and resistance, it would not have appeared as such given her rhetorical choices.

It seems that for Murrow, Anderson as an African American symbol of U.S. civil rights advancement, given the Cold War context, was much more tenuous than any fluctuation of what a “good woman” was. With this, he portrayed her as a very passive person by using a stereotypic representation of gender. This is noteworthy especially because other accounts focused on race and Anderson’s response to racial inequality.²⁷

In regard to the tenet of U.S. racial harmony, we see that Anderson manifested the idea of a “positive approach is more effective than a negative one” as the regional public affairs officers suggested in their meeting. Anderson, with the already established message, was a good example of what the United States was trying to convey—that they were struggling with racism, but in the end, freedom and all that is right would prevail. This was evident throughout the State Department’s reports of the concert tour. In general, there were two types of reference to the success of Anderson’s tour within the context of foreign affairs and U.S. race relations. In some instances, they were explicit—that Anderson had directly confronted the issue of race relations with the Asian public and that she had positively deflected negative impressions of U.S. race relations. The other was more implicit—that Anderson had given the Asian countries a glimpse of what a good American was. This still is necessarily tied to race because Anderson’s skin color was part of her composite whole and because of her prevailing symbolism.

Often the State Department official would remark that she handily dissuaded negative visions of U.S. race relations, and the official would reference newspaper editorials or articles as evidence. One of the best examples of newspaper coverage that used Anderson to uphold a pro-U.S. stance came from the report of Richard Barnsley, acting chief public affairs officer of Manila, that he sent to the State Department in Washington, D.C. The Filipino press referenced the issue of Orval Faubus and Little Rock multiple times. Barnsley introduced the press excerpts with the following comment: “Manila music critics and other journalists were unqualifiedly enthusiastic about Miss Anderson’s performance and all of them made special mention of her tremendously impressive personality.” Barnsley then included a number of excerpts from the Manila press. The first article came from the *Manila Times*. The author wrote, “Listening to Marian Anderson sing is an experience rarely come by. . . . Her presence here is a reminder that she looms much larger than the ordeal of Little Rock, which after all will pass, whereas Marian Anderson is of all time.”²⁸ In this statement, the author implied that Anderson was a positive example that was eternal as compared to the temporal state of Little Rock. In part, Anderson could be interpreted in this manner because, with the proximity of their relationship, Anderson had touched her listeners with a more poignant interaction or example than the Faubus incident. The author critiqued Faubus’s actions but did not perceive that they were the embodiment of elevated principles. In reality, this was misguided. The Little Rock incident—as a representative incident of racial discrimination—was more typical in the United States than Anderson’s success.

Presumably, the closer contact with Anderson highlighted African American success, and the distance of Arkansas made racism less real and more temporal. Nonetheless, according to the *Manila Times*, the U.S. dominant society appeared to be on the correct path toward a democratic society.

Similarly, the *Philippines Herald* gave the dominant society in the United States accolades for having the good sense to recognize Anderson's talent. They wrote,

The Filipinos feel proud and greatly honored by the presence in their country of Miss Marian Anderson. . . . Miss Anderson's success is eloquent reassurance that personal merit and character transcend all barriers, even those of racial prejudice. The American people were the first to recognize the great artist in Miss Anderson and were almost one in taking her into their hearts.²⁹

The *Herald* reinforced the intended message of Anderson's trip in that the author implied that racial prejudice, although a negative trait of the United States, was not so far reaching as to deny those who were deserving of a higher place in U.S. society. The *Herald* gave the United States even more credit by stating that the American people recognized Marian Anderson's talent and embraced her. While this definitely gave the U.S. society a great deal of credence, it misrepresents the reality of the situation. For, as stated previously, Anderson was not welcomed onto U.S. concert stages initially. Indeed, she, as did many African American artists, went to Europe, where racial prejudice would not be such a determining factor in reaching high status within the art world.

Finally, Barnsley included an excerpt of the *Manila Chronicle* in his report. The *Chronicle* described Anderson's visit:

She comes here as a cultural ambassador of her country, and her visit is intended to acquaint the Filipinos with the little known fact that America is not all jukebox. We can hardly think of an American artist who is better qualified to accomplish this necessary mission. . . . For she is one of the noblest of music's creatures. . . . Bringing Miss Anderson and her voice to our part of the world is making up for Orval Faubus. He is the barbarian and . . . a rustic disgrace, because the real America, as well as the rest of the good world, hails Marian Anderson.³⁰

The reference contrasting Anderson's performance to "jukebox" music was interesting in that so many of the embassy officials had a greater desire for more accessible talent—popular celebrities—to represent the United States as cultural emissaries.³¹ In the *Chronicle*, the author lauded the mission particularly

because it was not popular but rather part of European high-art tradition. This correlated I think to the guidelines of State Department programming outlined above that fame and “no condescension” were important components to the State Department’s propaganda tours. The *Chronicle* article suggested that the classical music raised the status of U.S. culture. Further, when the author mentioned Anderson as a contrast to Faubus, part of the State Department’s message came through clearly. While there was a race problem in the United States, the problem was in the South.³² This was denoted by the term “rustic” in relation to Faubus. The United States in its totality did not sanction racism; instead, like the rest of the world, it focused on democratic freedom.

While the following excerpt from the *Bangkok World* was less explicit as to how Anderson’s visit impacted Thai views of U.S. race relations than some of the articles in the Filipino papers, Henry F. Arnold, public affairs officer from Thailand, included the following excerpt in his report:

[It is] the sincere hope of all her admirers in Thailand that she continues to be blessed with the happiness and success as she brings to all peoples of the world the beauty of music through her God-sent voice. She stands as beckon [*sic*] light to all, a true daughter of America and a most fitting representative of her people.

Arnold contextualized the excerpt when he stated,

A return visit of Miss Anderson to Bangkok would be an extra-ordinary event for Thai music lovers. She has done much to increase the prestige of the United States in Thailand and has served as a living demonstration of the opportunities in America. The Mission strongly recommends a future visit of Miss Anderson to the Far East under the President’s Fund Program.³³

The author of the *Bangkok World* article noted that Anderson had enjoyed happiness and success in the past, and thus he or she hoped it would continue. The author credited the United States with the birth of Anderson (a good daughter). Further, the author racialized Anderson with the additional distinction of representing her people well. This designation was different than the generic, far-reaching title of “American.” Thus, the pro-U.S. sentiment came through in that the United States recognized Anderson’s greatness and encouraged her to use her gifts even though African Americans traditionally held a less valued status in U.S. society.

This was reinforced by Arnold’s report. While he did make special mention that a repeat performance by Anderson would heighten the Thai music lover’s pleasure, he focused on what such a performance would do for Thai–U.S. rela-

tions. His remark that Anderson's performance/visit had heightened the U.S. status within the Thai culture because she served as an example of the U.S. success mythology gave evidence that Anderson's actions as cultural emissary furthered the State Department's agenda.

Many of the reports specifically mentioned the Little Rock incident from the perspective of the State Department officials. For example, Edmund H. Kellog, the chair d'affaires of Cambodia, wrote,

Many Americans and Cambodians were brought together both before, during and after the performance. More than anything, Miss Anderson proved to be one of the best arguments in favor of American culture ever offered here. She also stood as a refutation of the Little Rock and segregation items that were so recently played up in the press.³⁴

Kellog described the Anderson tour as one that brought a shared sense of community between the Cambodian public and the U.S. citizens in Cambodia. Additionally, reminiscent of the report from Thailand, Anderson's concert was enjoyed by the Cambodian people, and thus the Cambodian people became more interested in U.S. culture. Finally, Anderson stood as a "refutation of Little Rock" and other "segregation items" that had recently been publicized within Cambodia. The term "refutation" in this context did not erase Little Rock and the U.S. practice of segregation; rather, because Anderson was successful, the Cambodian public could see that African Americans could have a pleasant life within the United States. This was interesting insofar as Anderson's life was not the norm. However, because of the closer contact between Anderson and the Cambodian people than, for example, the children in need of armed protection in Little Rock, the visit allowed the Cambodian people to focus on Anderson rather than the more frequent instances of bigotry-related discrimination.

Further, Anderson's willingness to tour under the auspices of the U.S. government seemed to sanction the U.S. government and imply support for its intentions in regard to race relations. This was particularly important within the context of Little Rock. As should be obvious by now, the government had specific aims in mind when sending African Americans abroad. They wanted the emissaries to speak well of the United States, and in regard to race relations, they were to explain that the United States was trying to undo years of history. Not all artists were willing to do so, and thus they were either omitted from the State Department tour lists or dismissed. One good example of this was Louis Armstrong's experience. He was supposed to go on a State Department-sponsored tour to the Soviet Union also in 1957. After Little Rock, he canceled the tour. Dudziak explained,

Armstrong said that "the way they are treating my people in the South, the government can go to hell." Were he to go

to the Soviet Union, “The people over there ask me what’s wrong with my country, what am I supposed to say?” Armstrong later added “The government could go to the devil with its plans for a propaganda tour of Soviet Russia.”³⁵

Because of Little Rock, Armstrong was not able to give the State Department the support that it wanted. While Armstrong pulled himself out of the tour, it is not clear whether the State Department would have allowed Armstrong the option of going anyway. In fact, as Dudziak showed, there was public outcry against Armstrong, and while his passport was not seized (as others’ had been), the FBI monitored his actions. Von Eschen also demonstrated that Armstrong was too important as a U.S. ambassador to blacklist or shelve. He ended up going on a State Department tour to South America later in the same year.³⁶

Since the incident at Little Rock occurred while she was on tour, Anderson did not have the option of canceling the tour before it started. However, because Anderson, unlike Louis Armstrong, did not cancel the tour, nor did she speak out angrily about it, she seemed to be giving support to the U.S. government in general. It did not go unnoticed. In the report from the deputy chief of mission from Taipei, Taiwan, James B. Pilcher told the State Department, “At the airport press conference, she impressed the local reporters with her polite and cordial attitude, while at the same time passing off in a most friendly way all questions about Little Rock and Louis Armstrong.”³⁷ While we do not know what Anderson specifically said or how she “passed off” questions about Little Rock, Pilcher maintained that Anderson’s presence and her unwillingness to publicly condemn white society in the United States helped the U.S. government’s image by impressing the reporters.³⁸

In any case, the majority of the reports gave a resounding “yes” to Anderson’s effective intercessions in regard to issues of domestic race relations. A number of officials made mention of this fact. For example, Everett F. Drumright, the consul general of Hong Kong, wrote, “Her presentation to the Hong Kong public at this time provided an excellent contribution toward our objectives of counteracting recent detrimental news about U.S. racial problems and won new respect for U.S. cultural achievements.”³⁹ Drumright’s report underscored the importance of Anderson’s visit to U.S. race relations, especially at the time of the problems in Little Rock. Thomas D. Bowie, counselor of the embassy for political affairs in Vietnam, wrote, “The Anderson personality and the charm of the entire party were felt wherever they appeared, whether it was at a diplomatic reception or a refugee camp, and they presented their side of America in the best imaginable way.”⁴⁰ The Anderson party represented the prosperous, happy American. Additionally, James Magdanz remarked, “The Department of State believes that she made a splendid contribution to the furtherance of international understanding both in her concerts and in her more informal activities.”⁴¹ Anderson presented the United States as a viable and healthy institution. Anderson’s concert tour accomplished what it was intended to do.⁴²

The State Department chose well when it sponsored Anderson's concert tour throughout Asia. Through the concert at the Lincoln Memorial in 1939, Anderson became symbolic of American democracy and the ability of African Americans to succeed within it. In *My Lord, What a Morning!*, Taubman reinforced the association. Through the USIA's propaganda efforts, Anderson's image of the African American success story circulated throughout the countries she toured. On meeting her and attending the concerts, the different Asian populations embraced her and her symbolic currency. Anderson left the Asian public with the belief that her success was equally possible, if not more probable, than the acts of discrimination, such as in Little Rock.

This was significant because, as Brenda Plummer explained, the newly decolonized Asian countries were suspect of a U.S. model of government especially because of its discriminatory racial practices.

Because of "The Lady from Philadelphia," the influence of Anderson's Asian concert tour was not limited to Asia, nor was it limited to the fall of 1957. That the film highlighted gender instead of race in an effort to be more appealing is interesting. It is noteworthy that Anderson's symbolism—in this one instance—veered from the race narrative to a gendered narrative. How this translated transnationally is worth thinking about further. Perhaps it was a method by which they could focus on commonality rather than conflict. Perhaps it indicates that women's rights were so far from consideration that the portrayal was not threatening. Perhaps, because the conversations filmed were often between two professional women of color, revolutionary in themselves, they felt that they needed to demonstrate passivity. At the same time, had they delved deeper the gendered narrative of Anderson as international celebrity and independent career woman also would have challenged the traditional norms. Instead, they painted a passive, stereotypic figure.

At the same time, the question must be asked: was Anderson as individualist and apolitical as she was presented? Many reviewers thoroughly critiqued her tour and "The Lady from Philadelphia" as entirely too accommodationist.⁴³ I think that her symbolic story is incomplete. In "When Malindy Sings: A Meditation on Black Women's Vocality," Farah Jasmine Griffin wrote about the symbolism of African American women's musical voices. She describes how they have been used both to signal a crisis within the U.S. culture and to soothe the culture in a time of crisis. She directly references Marian Anderson's 1939 Freedom Concert as a time in which, despite a context of historic injustice, music brought the image of a "peaceful interracial version of America."⁴⁴ This would suggest that the more accommodationist vision of Anderson is true. Yet I find Griffin's "meditation" interesting because while she explores the historical meaning of the spirituals from within the fields to within DuBois' *The Souls of Black Folks* and jazz from its inception to the present (including Cold War exportation), there is no exploration of an artist who introduces the folk songs of resistance, faith, and justice into classical music halls throughout the world.

Given the sociopolitical structures in which she was forced to operate, this was a significant point of symbolism that Anderson could control. Anderson perceived herself as an artist and believed that she was destined to impact the world primarily through song. Her performances and the music she included were of utmost importance to her. As referenced earlier, her inclusion of African American spirituals in every concert puts her squarely within the African American community and religious tradition where God will bring a righteous justice against those who oppress. Her songs worked as facilitators of community and empowerment. Yet she is not often given credit for this important contribution, which has had a lasting legacy. At the same time, it appears that the answer Anderson gave when questioned about whether she would sing Faubus rings true for the U.S. government as well. "If [they] could take it for what it is, for what [they] could get from it, I would be happy to." While I do not believe that the U.S. government took Anderson's music and person for what it was, I do think that it took it for what it could get from it.

Notes

1. For an extended outline of the controversy before the concert and the symbolism of the 1939 concert, see Sharon R. Vriend, "*My Life in the White World*": *The European-American Representation of Marian Anderson, 1939–1957* (PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 1999), 19–88. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the Freedom Concert and the meaning of the Lincoln Memorial, see Scott Sandage, "A Marble House Divided," *Journal of American History* (June 1993): 135–67.

2. For an in-depth discussion of this, see Sharon Vriend-Robinette, "*My Lord, What a Morning!*: A Representation of Marian Anderson in an Intercultural, Cold War Context," *Interdisciplinary Humanities* (Spring 2010): 57–69.

3. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Mary Dudziak, "The Little Rock Crisis and Foreign Affairs: Race, Resistance, and the Image of American Democracy," *South Carolina Law Review* (September 1997): 1645–716. Plummer and Dudziak represent a group of historians who attempt to bridge domestic policy and foreign policy. They also incorporate cultural events and figures into their understanding of foreign policy studies. They and I have also been informed by Emily Rosenberg for her study on how the U.S. government worked to export the American Dream. The American Dream was also a component of a broader U.S. ideology of liberty that Michael Hunt explains. He also insists that race and especially racism has consistently informed U.S. foreign policy. Finally, Akira Iriye suggests that the export and import of culture and cultural icons has impacted foreign policy and posits that this should be considered in foreign policy study. See Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987); and Akira Iriye, "Culture and International History," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed. Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For scholarship that addresses issues associated particularly with cultural ambassadors, see Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.) Further connections between the United States and decolonizing countries can be seen in Robin D. G. Kelley, *African Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

4. This was delineated by Dudziak, "The Little Rock Crisis and Foreign Affairs," 1997.

5. One study that discusses this phenomenon is Mary Dudziak, "Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War," *Journal of American History* (September 1994): 543–70.

6. "Summary of Discussion and Conclusions Reached at the Regional Public Affairs Officers Meeting New Delhi, India, November 11 and 15, 1957," 2 (National Archives, Record Group 59, Department of State, 1955–1959 Central Decimal File 320/8-3158, Box 1264; (hereafter referred to as "Regional Public Affairs Officers Meeting"). It is important to note that this meeting was convened during Anderson's concert tour; thus, this statement and the guidelines that followed were not the guiding principles for the State Department when it chose to send Anderson. Further-

more, the incident in Little Rock also occurred during Anderson's Asian concert tour. Thus, the specifics of this statement were not applicable to Anderson per se. However, the policy as stated in the report was not a radical ideological break from USIA policy, and Little Rock, while an important blow to the egalitarian image the United States desired, was not the only instance of U.S. racism. Thus, it does not seem inappropriate to use this document as a guide for foreign policy in Asia. See Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 121–50.

7. "Regional Public Affairs Officers Meeting," National Archives, Record Group 59, Department of State, 1955–1959 Central Decimal File 320/8-3158, Box 1264.

8. Dudziak documents how the State Department was more than willing to counter any critique of the state of African Americans in the United States. She credits Josephine Baker's eventual poverty to the U.S. government's interference with venues. Baker was outspoken and with Anderson's hesitance to harshly critique the government the State Department probably did not worry about this too much. See Dudziak, "Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War," 1994; For information on Paul Robeson see Martin Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Knopf, 1988), and Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 303–58. The combination of Anderson's history of avoiding public critique and the symbolic associations of Anderson with Americanism and African American success should not be underestimated. Anderson had many qualities similar to a person such as Paul Robeson, who was in fact harassed by the U.S. government instead of sponsored by it. Anderson and Robeson rose to prominence from limited means. Each had lived in Europe. Both used and popularized spirituals in an attempt to educate their audiences and to connect with an African American understanding of life and liberty. In the late 1930s through the 1950s, their paths diverged, and Anderson maintained distance from formal political activism that Robeson engaged in with full force. (In fact, Robeson publicly associated with the Communist Party USA and had connections with the Soviet Union.) Anderson was branded a patriot and Robeson a subversive. Anderson went to Asia under the auspices of the U.S. government, and Robeson's passport was revoked. It is instructive that prior to a UN appointment, the government itself made direct inquiries on Anderson's affiliation with Robeson. It is clear in Anderson's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files that they asked many associates of Anderson whether she had any affiliation with or sympathies to Robeson. They all denied them. See Marian Anderson, File Number 77-9562, FBI, and Marian Anderson, File Number 77-3643, FBI.

9. While the State Department did not use all of these methods at each city, all of these methods were used in anticipation of Anderson's arrival at various cities. See venue reports in Anderson, Marion [sic], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

10. Ibid.11. Ibid.

12. Anderson was pleased that she met the people who were not able to attend the concerts—especially within their own contexts. At the same time, she would point to the nonmusical interactions and appearances as stressors—interactions that took a great deal of energy that could detract from her performances. Nonetheless, whether at a concert or at a market, Anderson interacted with a great number of people on her tours. See Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, and Allan Keiler, *Marian Anderson: A Singer's Journey* (New York: Scribner, 2000), 280–88.

13. Anderson, Marion [sic], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

14. Ibid.

15. This presentation was not totally accurate. Marian Anderson did sing at Constitution Hall in 1942, but it did not reflect a change of policy. Anderson sang for a benefit performance for U.S. servicemen and was not under professional contract. The DAR continued to ban "nonwhites" from professional contracts and paid performances. See Peggy Anderson, *The Daughters* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), 133–35.

16. Ibid.

17. Anderson, Marion [sic], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

18. For an additional example of how Anderson's narrative as presented in *My Lord, What a Morning!* was used as an Asian representation of Anderson, see *ibid.*

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. All references to the television program come from Edward R. Murrow, "The Lady from Philadelphia," *See It Now* (New York: CBS News, 1957), videocassette.

23. While it was true that during 1957 an African American woman would have to be subservient in many contexts, Anderson was the star of the show. While she may have closed her eyes during concerts to block out the audience, she was an obvious presence and not subservient at all. Thus, this is significant for this portrayal.

24. Granted that an Indian woman, with intimate knowledge of a caste system, would ask this question is extremely ironic.

25. For a discussion of respectability politics, see Higginbotham. For other issues of respectability and representation, see Anne Stavney, "Mothers of Tomorrow": The New Negro Renaissance and the Politics of Maternal Representation," *African American Review* 32, no. 4 (1998): 533–61, and Laila Soraya Haidarali, "Browning the Dark Princess: Asian Indian Embodiment of 'New Negro Womanhood,'" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 32, no. 1 (2012): 24–69; for an extended discussion of what True Womanhood meant in the nineteenth century, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74.

26. For excellent studies that delineate how black women pushed boundaries of social expectation regarding race and gender, see Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), and Treva Lindsey, *Colored No More: Reinventing Black Womanhood in Washington, D.C.* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2017).²⁷ At the same time, despite its conservative to moderate tone and narrative, the film was blocked in some U.S. regions because it was seen to be too negative about the South and too radical in terms of race relations. See Keiler, *Marian Anderson*, 287.

28. Anderson, Marion [*sic*], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Mary Dudziak maintains that the international community often perceived that racism was a regional issue. Mary Dudziak, "Little Rock Crisis and Foreign Affairs," 1699–703.

33. Anderson, Marion [*sic*], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Mary Dudziak, "Josephine Baker and the Cold War," *Journal of American History* (September 1994), 568. See also Laurence Bergeen, *Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life* (New York: Broadway Books, 1997), 471–73, and Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 64.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Anderson, Marion [*sic*], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

38. Of course, we also do not know whether Anderson secretly wanted to join with Armstrong and tell the government to go to hell, but, although perhaps only good manners may have restrained her, she did not. Keiler maintained this was because of her belief in the idea of the United States. See Keiler *Marian Anderson*, 283–84.

39. Anderson, Marion [*sic*], File 032, Central Decimal File 1955–1959, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. One could question the veracity of the overwhelming support of this tour by such diverse cultures as Vietnam, Korea, India, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. While the State Department reports were bolstered by English-language press accounts in addition to some translated press excerpts, all the descriptions, except for the issue of artistic choice, were positive. It may be that the report writers of the USIA were focused on a general outcome rather than tour specifics. When Eisenhower came to office, he established the USIA as an almost autonomous Cold War agency with a direct line to the executive office. Eisenhower, along with his advisers, decided that propaganda would be a priority and that all propaganda coming out of the USIA would be positive and uniting. They believed that overt propaganda should be positive and aspirational and that it should enable all people—both domestically and globally—to find commonality within U.S. values. So when the USIA officials were reporting out, they may not have had too high a bar to reach. It also would be in their best interest to focus on the positive. Shawn J. Pary-Giles, "The Eisenhower Administration's Conceptualization of the USIA: The Development of Overt and Covert Propaganda Strategies," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Spring 1994): 269.

43. This was particularly true in African American papers. For example, see Ralph Matthews, "Thinking Out Loud," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, January 11, 1958, 5, and "Miss Anderson in Asia," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, January 18, 1958, 4.

44. Farah Jasmine Griffin, "When Malindy Sings: A Meditation of Black Women's Vocality," in *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*, ed. Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).