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Stolen Victories: Evaluating the War Cult in Soviet Russia

Meghan Riley

It is late spring in Moscow. Column after column of Russian troops march in precise lockstep, accompanied by tank and missiles. Fly-bys by warplanes remind observers that Russian military prowess extends beyond the mass of green-clad men goose-stepping through Red Square. Symbols of Soviet power—the power that crushed the Nazis in the most savage war Europe has ever seen, symbols of the victory celebrated today—adorn the streets of Moscow; some troops carry Soviet-era flags, and a handful of posters of Stalin remind the average Muscovite of the enormous victory the Soviet state facilitated. In the speech he delivers later, the solemn leader who watches the procession praises those who repelled the Nazi invasion with "resistance unparalleled in courage and strength." "The war made us a strong nation," he declares. "Time is very powerful, but not as powerful as human memory, our memory. We shall never forget soldiers who fought on fronts….That cannot be forgotten. Memory is eternal."[1] The military bands play the Soviet National Anthem, and a color guard carries the Victory Banner down the parade route.

Despite the Soviet-style pageantry and self-congratulatory speeches on the courage and determination of the Russian people, the scene described did not occur in the jubilant postwar hours of 1945 or even during the bombastically jingoistic Victory Day celebrations of the 1970s and 1980s; instead, this parade, so replete with Soviet symbolism, occurred on May 9, 2010. The great leader was not Stalin but President Dmitri Medvedev, and the object of the day's veneration was not the Communist Party but the Russian people.[2] The enormous military parades of Victory Day—revived under Medvedev's successor, Vladimir Putin, who also oversaw the

[1] Dmitri Medvedev, "Speech at the Military Parade to Commemorate the 65th Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945" (address, Red Square, Moscow, Russia, May 9, 2010).
[2] Stephen M. Norris, "Memory for Sale: Victory Day 2010 and Russian Remembrance," *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 38 (2011):201-205.

restoration of other trappings of the Soviet era like the Soviet National Anthem, as well as revised Russian history textbooks that viewed Stalin more sympathetically than previous post-Soviet editions—functioned as an instrument of the cult of the Great Patriotic War, the collection of state-sponsored rituals, relics, educational programs, and values designed to perpetuate a version of the war most politically advantageous to the government in power.[3] The post-millennium resurgence in heartily nationalist remembrances of the war worried observers, but in reality continued the decades-long trend of commemorating the war in terms designed to solidify the state's power.[4] Sixty-five years after the Red Army raised the Victory Banner over the Reichstag, and nineteen years after the dissolution of the USSR, the Russian government, now nominally democratic and capitalist, still remembers the war in the same modes developed in the Soviet era.

It is difficult to exaggerate the impact of the Great Patriotic War on the Soviet Union. The war involved armies of unprecedented size, cost the country approximately 25 million lives and one-third of Russia's wealth, and destroyed the nation's infrastructure and industrial base.[5] Its effects on the Russian psyche, however, lasted even longer that its material consequences; the war was the defining event of the Soviet era, shaping not only the course of world history but Soviet perceptions of their individual and collective identities. As "the single most powerful element in the constitutive national narrative of the USSR," the war defined heroism, suffering, sacrifice, courage, and the very essence of Russian identity for its survivors, who naturally

[3] David Hoffman, "Putin Seeks Restoration of Soviet Symbols; Stalin-Era Anthem, Army's Red Banner Would Be Revived," *The Washington Post*, December 5, 2000, A40.; Michael Schwirtz, "A Celebration is Haunted by the Ghost of Stalin," *New York Times*, May 9, 2010, 9.
[4] Yuri Zarakhovich, "Why Putin Loves World War II," *Time*, May 8, 2007. <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1618531,00.html>.
[5] Richard Overy, *Russia's War* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 291.

wanted to preserve and transmit its memory to subsequent generations.[6] However, the memory of the war did not remain a self-evident body of experiences, the object of detached study and commemoration, or even a space for personal commemoration and reflection; instead, the Soviet state's attempts to appropriate the war for its own self-aggrandizement turned it into a battleground for competing ideologies, a vehicle for political maneuvers and consolidation of Soviet power. The relationship between the Soviet people and the cult assumed a dual character: at once cognizant of the cult's distortions of reality and deeply respectful of war sacrifices, derisive of the Soviet state's commemorative overkill, but still accepting the cult's deeper, more structural messages about the relationship between the war and Soviet identity. The war cult represented an attempt to "steal" the memory of the war from the people by the state; focusing solely on the state's manipulation of the memory further distances it from the Russian people and solidifies the regime's ownership of it. By relocating the discourse of the war cult from the institutions that created it to those who lived it, one can liberate the memory of the war from the confines of Soviet politics and return it to the Russian people.

Like everything else in the USSR, the war assumed a political character, one that meant different things to different people but could, above all, be molded to fit the needs of the state. The ways in which the Soviet state remembered the war, such as elaborate monument complexes, excessive Victory Day celebrations, and education programs that disseminated whichever version of the war that was most politically expedient at the time, reinforced Moscow's political message in place of meaningfully remembering the conflict's victims and survivors. However hallowed the war might have been in popular consciousness, it was not too holy for repurposing by Party members and government propagandists. As the decades passed

[6] Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson, "Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviets National Identity in Moscow*," Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92, vol.3 (2002): 524.

and the USSR seemed to sag in an atmosphere of economic lethargy and political flabbiness, the State relied more and more heavily on the war, or, rather, its carefully cultivated myth of the war, for legitimacy. The war itself, marked by atrocities committed by both sides, Stalin's infamous inaction and strategic blunders, immense human suffering, and unpalatable moral complexities, was considered too dangerous and could have weakened instead of promoted the Soviet state. From this desire to use the state as a means of political legitimacy emerged the war cult, the ostentatious pantheon of tropes, relics, narratives, and rituals that promoted the Soviet state while effacing the actual memory of the war. Much has been written about the Soviet side of the war cult—the parades, the speeches, the memorial ensembles, and other species of totalitarian kitsch—but comparatively little attention has been paid to how the Soviet population received and regarded the cult's trappings. The standard historiography reads that a lifetime spent submerged in the war cult eventually led to generations disenchanted by the war and openly contemptuous of its values. However, despite the cynicism engendered by excesses of the war cult, an examination of Soviet testimonies and eyewitness accounts reveal that much of the message was accepted and internalized.

In *The Living and the Dead*, the only book length study on the war cult, historian Nina Tumarkin describes the dual nature of the war cult, which claimed to embrace and remember every victim, battle, and moment of the war, but in fact destroyed the actual memory of the war.[7] Tumarkin focuses mostly on the state's role as a producer of remembrance and broadly describes the cult's primary features, values, and characteristics, such as its appropriation of the war to bolster the regime's legitimacy and the promotion of sentimental excesses designed to erase the aspects of the war that put the Soviet regime in a bad light. While the book often deals in

[7] Nina Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 51.

generalities instead of specifics, and too much introspection and personal reminiscences dilute the quality of its scholarship, Tumarkin nevertheless describes the atmosphere and excesses of Brezhnev's cult well, deeming it a "panoply of saints, sacred relics, and rigid master narrative of the war endured by millions of tired tourists."[8] It imposed a grotesquely nationalistic myth and eventually, Tumarkin argues, turned into a sort of dull murmur that numbed the audience to the actual legacy of the war.[9] The cult's products—garish monuments and sentimental war stories—offended in their tackiness and "exuded a profound *falseness*, which was perhaps the primary cause of its failure."[10] And failed it did: "To the younger generations, the feelings of shame, obligation, respect, awe, and gratitude toward those who fought in the war against Germany… were slow in coming…. the cult of the Great Patriotic War appeared to have backfired, inspiring a callous derision" in those it aimed to indoctrinate and inspire.[11]

Arriving at similar conclusions, Lisa Kirschenbaum takes a narrower but more penetrating and detailed approach to the study of the memory of the Great Patriotic War.[12] She argues that the personal and public memories of the Siege of Leningrad are difficult to differentiate, and the contradictions, conflicts, and discursive space provided by this fusion of memories "managed to legitimize, outlast, and ultimately discredit the Soviet state."[13] While Kirschenbaum focuses solely on how the Siege of Leningrad was remembered, her findings can often be applied to the memory of the whole conflict. Tumarkin and Kirschenbaum both emphasize the complexity of the Soviet remembrance of the war, which occupied a complicated position at the intersection of family history, personal experience, and state-sponsored myth.

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[8] Tumarkin, 134.
[9] Nurit Scheifman, "Moscow's Victory Park," *History and Memory* 13, no.2 (2001): 8.
[10] Tumarkin, 155.
[11] Ibid., 157.
[12] Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941-1995* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2006).
[13] Kirschenbaum, 17.

However, the cult ultimately backfired, alienating the generations it was supposed to entice and cheapening the experience of the war in the process. This paper uses some of the same investigative frameworks as Kirschenbaum but approaches the topic from a slightly different perspective. Kirschenbaum emphasizes the meeting point between the state's ideology and individual memories, an encounter that produces a myth that "drew on experiences remembered by individuals while providing those who lived through the war with compelling and uplifting frameworks for narrating—and therefore remembering—their own experiences."[14] The emphasis in this analytical scheme rests on the *product* of the encounter between the two parties in relation to war remembrance, whereas the present study focuses on the interaction between the people and the state and how that interaction affected the *people* instead of the state. While two of the three modes of remembrance instituted by the state—monuments and holidays such as Victory Day—were more of an imposition, the third mode of state-created remembrance, educational and youth programs, has been studied the least but provides the most space to discuss the interaction between the people and the state. Education, both in the classroom and in extracurricular activities, represented a literal confrontation between the channels of state ideology and the average Soviet citizen. It is here one can best examine the average person's experience of the war cult, an investigative approach that refocuses the war from the myths of the state to the reality of the people.

The "inner contempt" so often cited by Tumarkin and other historians seems to be a natural human reaction to endless exposure to the lofty feats and sentimental narratives of the war cult, especially among teenagers and young adults; however, current scholarship fails to explore the depth and breadth of reactions to the cult. The state installed a program of rituals, school curriculum, and extracurricular programs designed to mold the Soviet public's views of

[14] Kirschenbaum, 8.

the war to serve the state's purposes. In the Soviet Union, patriotism served "as the common denominator, capable of blending into both the communism and the Christianity of the Russians."[15] The war cult hoped to inspire this type of patriotism to unite the diverse populations of the Soviet Union. Much has been written about the tone-deafness of the war cult and the supposed alienation it provoked in its audience; the standard historiography reads that the farther in time from the war, the more extravagant the cult and the greater degree of cynicism in the public. The self-consciously post-war, post-Soviet generations of the 1990s probably would deny that the overblown, saccharine war cult influenced their opinions of the war, but an examination of memoirs of Russian citizens and long-term visitors to the USSR reveals that the cult impacted its audience on different, sometimes ambivalent, levels.

The Soviet state seized the war as a means of self-promotion almost as soon as the first German soldier stepped across the border on June 21, 1941. A *Pravda* article published on June 23 coined the phrase "Great Patriotic War."[16] A reference to the Patriotic War of 1812, in which Russia repelled another invasion from the West, the name was obviously contrived to bolster Soviet morale and inspire the same commitment and fortitude that allowed the Russians to defeat Napoleon's *Grande Armée* over a hundred years earlier. Active remembering of the war, characterized by constructing monuments, began quickly as well; the first war monument to the Soviet dead is unknown, but as early as the spring of 1942, the first design contest for a war monument was launched by the Moscow and Leningrad chapters of the USSR Union of Architects.[17] This trend towards public memorializing gained momentum after the war, emerging as a viable means of capitalizing on public sentiment for the state's political self-aggrandizement. "Postwar monuments, like monuments are more generally, were political

[15] David K. Shipler, *Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams* (New York: Times Books, 1983), 278.
[16] Tumarkin, 61.
[17] Ibid., 82.

statements par excellence," a truth the Red Army recognized as it swept through Eastern Europe.[18] Even before Victory Day, Soviet troops hastily erected monuments to their dead in territories they had liberated from the Nazis. These obelisks and other classical monument forms served the dual purpose of commemorating fallen comrades and communicating a menacing political statement to the liberated territories. "We rescued you from fascism," the Soviet monuments seemed to say, "and you are in our debt." Both an external representation of the Red Army's losses and heroism and a foreshadowing of Eastern Europe's future, these early monuments served a political function as well as a personally commemorative one, a pattern that continues to guide how Russia remembers the Great Patriotic War into the twenty-first century.

Just as the war monument industry, which would flourish during Brezhnev's tenure as General Secretary, provided geographic loci for state-sanctioned war commemoration, the Victory Day holiday served as a temporal monument to the war, an opportunity for the state to focus and control public assessment of the conflict. First observed on 24 June 1945, roughly two weeks after the actual Victory Day, the Soviet Union celebrated the defeat of Germany with a massive parade. Under the approving eye of Generalissimo Stalin, the ceremony culminated in the throwing of the banners of vanquished German regiments in front of the Lenin Mausoleum.[19] This act, replete with symbolic meaning, subtly represented the primary goal of the fete and all future Victory Day celebrations: to remember the war in terms of Soviet power. After the victory, Stalin's burgeoning cult of personality blossomed, elevating him to an almost godlike status. However, Stalin privately understood that the victory of 1945 belonged not to him but to his military staff—not to mention the Soviet people. "He wished after the war to restore his personal power, after several years of depending upon the loyalty and competence of others,"

[18] Ibid., 101.
[19] Overy, 281.

Overy argues.[20] To consolidate his authority and prepare the nation for the developing Cold War, Stalin silenced voices that directly or indirectly countered the preferred narrative of himself as the "architect of victory."[21] He instituted more merciless policies of oppression and ended state-sponsored commemoration of the war; celebrating the victory, he feared, would divert attention from himself to others and perhaps even illuminate his own failings in the early days of the invasion. "Patriotic memory abandoned any populist concessions to become entirely Party-centric," and Stalin, as the soul of the Party, refused to recognize the Russian people as anything more than "bit-player[s] in the narrative of Communist triumph."[22]

Stalin's death in 1953 ushered in a new phase in the war cult. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, consciously began a process of de-Stalinization, which reached its dramatic rhetorical zenith in his 1956 "Special Report to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."[23] Khrushchev's "secret speech" brutally attacked Stalin's wartime leadership, indicting him for his failure to heed numerous warnings prior to the German invasion, his alleged breakdown following the start of Barbarossa, and his "postwar propensity to take all the credit for the victory and no responsibility for the defeat that preceded it."[24] Instead, Khrushchev shifted credit for the victory to where he thought it belonged: " 'Not Stalin, but the Party as a whole, the Soviet government, our heroic Army, its talented leaders and brave soldiers, the whole Soviet nation'."[25] This marked the beginning of the Party-centered war cult, which developed during Khrushchev's regime but grew astronomically during the tenure of Leonid Brezhnev. In an effort to stave off the growing political, social, and economic stagnation

[20] Ibid., 304.
[21] Ibid., 306.
[22] Stephen Lovell, *The Shadow of War* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 7.
[23] Tumarkin, 107.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 108-9.

of Brezhnev's reign, "an expanded, organized cult of the Great Patriotic War [was] launched to rein in the populace and keep it moving (or at least marching in place) on the right path."[26] Brezhnev's speech at the 30th anniversary of Victory Day exemplified the blindingly patriotic spirit—not to mention the creative interpretations of the war's history—the celebration was designed to inspire and popularize. Because of Soviet heroism, "dozens of countries were liberated from the fascist yoke and regained their independence…. [and] the positions of the progressive democratic, peace-loving forces gained strength the world over, and the authority of the Communist Parties intensified everywhere."[27] While certain "liberated" countries of Eastern Europe would probably disagree with this assessment, Brezhnev's interpretation of the war's effects embodied the Soviet hagiography of the war. In the same speech, Brezhnev more explicitly stated the goals of the war cult: "The Soviet people's outstanding exploit in the years of the Great Patriotic War is inseparable from the multifaceted, purposeful activity of the Party of Communists," and "the Party's immense ideological-political work was our mighty weapon during the war."[28] The Great Patriotic War transformed from a "national trauma of monumental proportions into a sacrosanct cluster of heroic exploits that had once and for all proven the superiority of communism over capitalism," producing ostentatious parades, grandiose monuments, and other forms of commodified public veneration that, devoid of any actual, thoughtful meaning, crossed into kitsch.[29]

However, in the ever-increasing freedom of expression and dissent of the 1980s, the memory of the war became an opportunity to challenge the Soviet regime, a space to contest the Party's hegemony in defining Russian history and identity. The disintegration of the war cult,

[26] Ibid., 133.
[27] "30 Years After World War II Victory," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 27, no. 19 (June 4, 1975): 19.
[28] Ibid., 3-4.
[29] Tumarkin, 133.

which critics deemed a "spectacular failure" executed in "terrible taste," paralleled the collapse of the Soviet Union.[30] Veterans of the Great Patriotic War, whom the war cult should have celebrated, found themselves the object of scorn and resentment.[31] This cynicism continued into the 1990s as well. In 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of victory, a headline in the *Kommersant-Daily* on May 6 proclaimed "Monuments to War, Repression Get Ironic Reviews."[32] Discussing the continued proliferation of war memorials, Olga Kabanova writes that "one can only hope that the Memorial Complex on Poklonnaya Hill will finally complete the draw-out, 50-year era in the history of country's monumental art…."[33] Kabanova criticized the Complex at Poklonnaya Hill, one of the largest and most extravagant of the cult, as evoking a "wide variety of utterly nontriumphant associations."[34] In a criticism that could be directed at the war cult as well Poklonnaya Hill, Kabanova lambasts the tacky amalgamation of inappropriate conceits, such as "Tsereteli's bayonet with the sexy goddess [Nike] and plump cupids" and a "cold neoacademicism" of the architecture, which paralleled fascist style.[35] Ultimately, the reader is left laughing at the memorial instead of respecting what it claims to represent. A week later, following the 1995 Victory Day, Yevgeny Krasnikov of the *Nezavisimaya gazeta* observes with cynicism that the reappropriation of Soviet symbols in the parade still "could not unite all Russians."[36] A cynicism had replaced the loving reverence paid by the Soviet press just ten years earlier. During the presidency of Vladimir Putin, the Kremlin once again began the process of appropriating the war for its own purposes of self-aggrandizement. A "campaign to build upon

[30] Ibid., 155.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Olga Kabanova, "Monuments to War, Repression Get Ironic Reviews," *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press 47, no.18* (May 31, 1995): 9.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Yevgeny Krasnikov, "Parades of Veterans, Troops Mark 1945 Victory," *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 42, no.19 (June 7, 1995): 5.

an ideological visit of the past first dreamed up by Communist Party *apparatchiks* in the 1960s, in which World War II marked the birth of a Soviet nation in the crucible of the great battle," the Kremlin's resurrection of the war cult recalled the Soviet use of the war, "a powerful means of creating a collective identity—and bolstering the legitimacy of the regime."[37] Over sixty-five years after the first Victory Parade, the war cult remains a powerful tool for those wanting to gain, keep, or consolidate their power.

Over the course of its existence, the state established the war cult to legitimize its existence and unify the nation increasingly fractured by the centrifugal forces of economic stagnation and social discontent. The Kremlin's appropriation of the war's memory constituted a political act of questionable taste, but it did not negate the fact that the war remained a deeply traumatic reality that affected nearly every Soviet family. "The memory of the war is fresh, both because it is kept that way by a leadership seeking to bolster national pride and cohesiveness, and because it was a genuine trauma that left scarcely a family untouched," writes David K. Shipler in his holistic survey of Russian life following his years at the *New York Times'* Moscow Bureau in the late 1970s.[38] Like so much else in Soviet Russia, the memory of the war assumed a double character; the war cult produced two realities in the minds of those who experienced the cult. Although the state designed its cult to mold every aspect of its citizens' lives in a uniform way, every individual experienced it in a different way. However, personal accounts of experiencing the war cult reveal the same dual nature that characterized every other aspect of Soviet life: an ironic, skeptical view of the war belied by a deeper respect for the war experience instilled by the cult.

[37] Owen Matthews. "The History Wars." *Newsweek (Pacific Edition)* 154, no. 3 (July 20, 2009), 46.
[38] Shipler, 279.

The war cult's most effective way of instilling its ideology was through organizations related to educating youth, both inside and outside of the classroom. An examination of how the war was taught reveals the ideological foundation for the cult and establishes the virtues which the cult would emphasize: heroism, Party supremacy, and Soviet blamelessness and power. These qualities produced a myth of the war worthy of remembrance. From the version of the war taught to schoolchildren to the extracurricular activities that supported the development of the proper views of the war in the students, the state sought to instill a proper set of beliefs under the program of "military-patriotic upbringing."[39] Military-patriotic upbringing included more than required military training or overt immersion in Soviet propaganda; it also manifested itself in the version of the war taught to students. In 1976's *The Russian Version of the Second World War*, Graham Lyons paraphrases and summarizes two prominent Soviet history textbooks in an attempt to render a concise version of the Russian memory of the war for Western readers.[40]

The Russian narrative blames the war on imperialist competition between the non-fascist powers of Britain, France, and the United States and the fascist coalition of Germany, Japan, and Italy. Secretly the Allies hoped Nazi Germany, in its ruthless quest for *Lebensraum*, would spare them some trouble and annihilate the Soviet Union. The USSR was the "only state to make an energetic effort to restrain the Fascist aggressors, to block the path to war and to uphold war"; in the state's narrative, it pursued a policy of earnest peacefulness, an act of good faith that would eventually expose the nation to a German invasion.[41] Attempting to avoid a war on two fronts—militaristic Japan was mobilizing in the east—and isolated by the international imperialist community, Russia had no choice but to agree to a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939. In accordance with the Nazi-Soviet Pact, it absorbed eastern Poland to protect the "life and

[39] "Draft Age Youths Look at Army Service," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 32, no.7: 10-11.
[40] Graham Lyons, *The Russian Version of the Second World War* (New York: Facts on File, 1976).
[41] Ibid., 3.

property" of the territory from Nazi aggression.[42] Moscow always knew Germany would eventually attack and therefore planned to use the time bought by the non-aggression pact to prepare its defenses. The Winter War was the result of Finnish imperialist provocations; once again, the blame lay elsewhere but the Soviet Union.

As its armies gained experience fighting the Finns, the Party implemented a successful industrialization campaign that unified the nation; however, the Germans began their assault before Soviet industry could be fully mobilized. This, combined with Hitler's monopoly on most of the continent's resources and his army's experience from fighting for two years in the west, led to the initial Soviet defeats; the effects of the purges and Stalin's own inept leadership in the early days of the invasion are ignored or dismissed. Similarly neglected are American contributions through Lend-Lease, and the Allied bombing campaigns and campaigns in Africa. The Soviet account of the war reveals deeper, more fundamental divergences with the Western accounts as well: "The USSR was fighting for the defeat of Fascism, the liberation of the enslaved nations, the rebirth of democratic freedom and the creation of favourable conditions of the approaching peace" while the "imperialists of the USA and England" fought to eliminate Germany and Japan as colonial rivals.[43] Meanwhile, the United States and England repeatedly violated the terms of the alliance, to which Soviet Russia strictly adhered. The main point of divergence was the opening of the second front, which the Allies refused to do despite their "large body of armed forces and enormous military and technical reserves."[44] While "the delay in opening the Second Front postponed the defeat of Fascism and condemned to death yet more millions," Russia continued to wage a "heroic struggled, practically on her own, against the

[42] Ibid., 12.
[43] Ibid., 43.
[44] Ibid., 43-44.

Hitlerite hordes, thus saving world civilization."[45] The Allies only opened the Second Front when it was apparent that the Soviet Union could defeat Germany on its own. In the end, the Soviets "saved mankind from annihilation or enslavement by German Fascism," sometimes in spite of the imperialist Western powers' secret desires, and spread socialism to liberated nations in Europe and China.[46]

In some respects the Soviet account of the war is accurate; the fighting on the eastern front was unsurpassed in its savagery, and only the fortitude and sacrifices of the Russian people facilitated the state's victory. However, the Soviet textbook version of the war praises the Soviet people, led, of course, by the Party, to the point of effusiveness; generations of post-war schoolchildren learned of how "the Patriotic War inspired the Soviet people to boundless exploits, and gave birth to the mass heroism of the whole nation as never before seen in history."[47] Students learned history, especially that of the war, through the "narrow-angle lens that is known at the Soviet 'world-view.' "[48] The state designed their version of the war to promote its political values instead of any kind of historical truth. After Stalin, the locus of war remembrance and education shifted from Stalin's cult of personality to the burgeoning cult of the war itself. The war cult did not exist just to celebrate the heroism of the Soviet people, but to aggrandize the feats of the Party, who, the cult claimed, had orchestrated victory against the Nazis. The Party incorporated a hagiographic memory of the war into the state-run education system, disseminating a version of the war that glorified the Party through one of society's most basic institutions.

[45] Ibid., 44.
[46] Ibid., 87.
[47] Ibid., 26
[48] Landon Pearson, *Children of Glasnost: Growing Up Soviet* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 440.

The hagiographic treatment of the war was especially embodied in the literature used to develop military and patriotic consciousness in the student. The 1975 textbook for secondary literature includes a 100-page section of 'Literature of the Great Patriotic War,' and the subsequent section, 'Literature during the fifties and sixties,' contains 120 pages of literature written about the war after its end.[49] Soviet literature especially emphasized heroes as models of exemplary patriotic behavior. The war cult provided "one suited to the needs of every age, yet always endowed with the same basic qualities...[and] always 'ready' when danger calls or the motherland needs to be defended."[50] "Soviet schoolchildren are taught to model their lives on great heroes" like the partisan girl Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya or the nursing student Shura Serebrovskaya, both of whom were killed during the war, and fictional heroes like the long-suffering Meresyev, the hero of Boris Polevoy's *A Story about a Real Man*.[51] Meresyev, a fighter pilot, famously loses both legs in a crash but eventually learns to walk on prostheses so that he could fly once more. *A Story About a Real Man* recurs in memoirs of postwar Soviet childhoods as a prime example of state-endorsed heroism—and the sentimental excesses of the war cult. The heroes of the Great Patriotic War loomed large in Soviet classrooms, modeling the traits the program of military-patriotic upbringing was designed to instill and functioning as one component of the omnipresent war cult.

Military-patriotic upbringing extended beyond textbooks, however. In his survey of the Soviet education system in the 1970s, Joseph Zadja identified three levels of military-patriotic education in the USSR.[52] The first corresponded with grades 1-3 and consisted primarily of

[49] Joseph I. Zadja, *Education in the USSR* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), 213.
[50] Andrew Wilson and Nina Bachkatov, *Living with Glasnost: Youth and Society in a Changing Russia* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 218.
[51] Zadja, 212-214.
[52] Zadja., 208

"indoctrination in patriotism and internationalism" through children's literature.[53] In grades 4-8, the child receives more thorough indoctrination through the school curriculum, especially through social studies and literature. Such training was reinforced by participation in the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. The final stage occurred in the last two years of school, grades 9-10, and consisted of active military training designed to develop the ideally patriotic Soviet citizen, both intellectually and physically. Zadja attributed this emphasis on military preparedness on the war, arguing that "not only the school had a duty to inculcate all young people with devotion and loyalty to the Soviet regime and the CPSU, but also develop a heightened responsibility to teach physical fitness and military training in preparation for war."[54]

Remembrances of experiences of these organizations often reflect the ambivalence at the core of the postwar reaction to the war cult. Michael Pinyon, who served at *The Times'*s bureau during roughly the same period as Shipler, remembers that "in every town there are memorials to the dead, eternal flames guarded with solemn reverence by schoolchildren, in their Pioneers' uniforms and bearing real guns"—an unnerving sight that perfectly captures the grotesqueness of the Soviet war cult, the militarization it provoked, and the uneasy imposition of the past on the postwar generation.[55] As members of the Young Octobrists, Pioneers, and Komsomol, Soviet Youth actively participated in the remembrance of the war. Landon Pearson, the wife of the Canadian ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1980-83, remembers the pride with which an Odessa tour guide in 1981 remembered "how honoured she had felt to have been chosen from among her schoolmates to perform this sacred duty" of guarding the Odessa monument.[56] Soviet schoolchildren were initiated into the Octobrists at age seven, and while they did not directly

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 206.
[55] Michael Binyon, *Life in Russia* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 125.
[56] Pearson, 434.

engage in political activity, they received political training through exhortations to emulate the young, studious Lenin.[57] Once ten years old, Octobrists moved into the Pioneer program and began "to wear the triangular red Pioneer tie," a common motif in Soviet memoirs.[58] The Pioneer organization continued to develop young Soviets' political education through a structure defined by "military dimensions that accustom[ed] children to performing military activities such as marching, carrying regalia, and standing on guard, and to thinking in military terms."[59] This military-mindedness, with its emphasis on structure and loyalty, reflected both the end goal of incorporating the children into the wider hierarchy of the Party and the impact of the war in encouraging readiness for war.

The next step in the Communist youth organization was the Komsomol, a more militant stage designed to more fully prepare youth for life as exemplary Soviet citizens. The Komsomol's very structure reflects the impact of the war. Pearson recalls observing the 1983 Victory Day celebration in Moscow and wondering what it was like to "spend a childhood surrounded by memories of war, listening to hymns to world peace played on a military drum."[60] The sacralization of memory of the Great Patriotic War forced the realities of war and peace to coexist as overlapping realities; they were "two sides of the same coin."[61] As reinforced by the Soviet history of the war, the USSR's main goal has been peace, a peace that the Soviets thought had to be defended through war: "never again, so the children have been taught, must a war be found on Soviet soil, and never gain must the motherland be taken by surprise."[62] An elementary school principal told a European visitor that Soviet children " 'must be ready to fight.' "[63]

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[57] Ibid., 438.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid,. 447.
[60] Ibid., 443.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., 433.
[63] Shipler, 281.

Shipler argues that the "war is still used today to explain the surrounding world, to make of the Russians a special people unique in their suffering and in their need for vigilance."[64] The structure and activities of Komsomol reinforced these values and the values of the Soviet war cult at large by keeping memory of that war alive.

In conjunction with the school system, the Communist Youth Organization implemented memorialization of the war in a variety of ways. The locus of war remembrance was the school, which included the Red Scouts, a "schoolchildren's club devoted to compiling information about the heroic past of the Soviet Union."[65] Zajda records that the Red Scouts had 14 million members in 1977 working to collect information about the three main traditions of Soviet veneration, the Revolution, the Civil War, and the Great Patriotic War.[66] One of their main avenues of commemoration was collecting information about individual heroes of the war. The club near Brest has determined the fate and sometimes the burial locations of more than 700 soldiers who died near the city.[67] The Red Scouts branch of a Gorky secondary school collected documents and photographs pertaining to the 322nd rifle division and built a memorial to the division with their own money earned at summer jobs.[68] A Minsk principal provides another example of the Red Scouts' enthusiasm for extracurricular commemoration of the war. The principal allegedly asked his students, "Do you wish to participate in search and research activity into the unknown pages of history and heroic deeds of the Soviet soldiers during the years of the Great Patriotic War?"[69] He claims the majority answered affirmatively. While the specifics of the exchange may be questionable, the students collected funds and materials to create a memorial to

[64] Ibid.
[65] Zajda, 214.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Zadja, 215.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., 216

Boris Okrestin, a fighter pilot who died near Minsk in 1944.[70] Zadja concludes that "searching for lost soldiers is, clearly, the most effective form of military and patriotic upbringing."[71] This facet of the war cult obviously engaged students to a certain extent, reinforcing the values of heroism and inspiring at least a youthful complicity with the means and aims of the war cult.

Andrea Lee, who lived in the USSR in 1978 while her husband was doing research for his doctoral dissertation, made the following observation when observing the Red Square for the first time: "Our [American] emblems seem designed for the measured response of rationality, while Russian monuments—like the Stalinist monstrosity where I am to live—evoke raw emotion."[72] "Raw emotion" was the primary currency of the war cult. Ejike Dilber, an Uzbek-Tartar woman born in 1941, recalls sobbing after reading the story of the hanged partisan girl, Zoya.[73] Yelena Aksyonova, Shipler's intelligent, well-traveled Russian instructor, was "blindly loyal to her country and her system… every saccharine short story about Soviet suffering and heroism in World War II… brought tears to her eyes."[74] Yelena was not uneducated or especially ignorant; she was simply the product of the war cult that created an inflated sentimentality and sense of melodrama. Tina Grimberg recalls crying when she heard the song "Cranes," in which a war survivor laments the death of his fallen comrades.[75] Guarding the local monument became an expression of emotion in itself; for Grimberg and her peers, "standing on guard by the monument let us show respect and gratitude. It was the way to demonstrate to our families and the nation how much their sacrifice meant to us."[76] Love, sacrifice, loss, sorrow—the war cult manipulated these basic experiences to create a melodramatic myth of the war, "the sort of thing

[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 217.
[72] Andrea Lee, *Russian Journal* (New York: Random House, 1981), 8.
[73] Dilber Ejeke, interview by Dovlet Hojamuradov and Gulzara Hayytmuradova, Centralasianhistory.org, March 8, 2009.
[74] Shipler, 6.
[75] Tina Grimberg, *Out of Line: Growing Up Soviet* (Pittsburgh: Tundra Books, 2007), 93.
[76] Ibid., 95.

that long ago passed out of fashion in the United States.[77]" Binyon argues that "since 1945… genuine emotions of the war have been exploited to justify a range of Soviet policies, including… above all, the identification of Soviet patriotism with the communist system."[78] Genuine or not, the emotions amplified by the war cult functioned centripetally, unifying, if even only superficially, the postwar generation with a swell of soul-stirring patriotism.

The cult succeeded in that it infiltrated and influenced every aspect of postwar Soviet life. Memoirs of growing up in the cult, especially at the height of its extravagance in the 1970s, mention the war constantly. Russian sociologist Lev Gudkov interprets the war as " 'a symbol that functions as… an important element in positive collective identification, a baseline, a yardstick that can be used to measure past occurrences and, in part, one's understanding of present and future.' "[79] The war functioned as the measurement of a good Soviet citizen; as Brezhnev remonstrated the country's youth at the 1975 Victory Day parade, "Our dear young men and women, remembered that the young generation of the 1940s bore the brunt of the fighting in the Patriotic War. Your life and work must be worth of your fathers' example."[80] Official remembrances defined the contours of Soviet life, from the tradition of brides' placing their bouquets at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow to the initiation of soldiers into the Soviet Army at war memorials.[81] These rites, designed to link "past suffering with present resolve," created a bridge between the war and postwar eras, a continuum of continual war remembrance that provided the context for Soviet life.[82] The repeated mentions of the war in

[77] Shipler, 279
[78] Binyon, 126.
[79] Led Gudkov qtd. in Zhan T. Toshchenko, "Historical Consciousness and Historical Memory," *Russian Studies in History* 49, no. 1 (2010): 41.
[80] "30 Years After World War II Victory," 4.
[81] Tumarkin ,144.
[82] Ibid.

postwar memoirs, in whichever form, testifies to the war cult's success in making the past of the war a reality.

The cult constituted the war as a frame of reference for postwar citizens, the where-were-you event around which all of Soviet society was structured. It was more than an event in a history book: it was an ambiance, a context in which Soviet life was lived. "War and hunger are the two words we hear everywhere: in our classrooms, in our news, in the conversations of babushkas on the benches of our courtyard," writes Elena Gorokhova, who grew up in postwar Leningrad. "They are nonspecific and worn out, something that happened not to individuals but to the entire country."[83] Cathy Young recalls her Grandma's stories of wartime deprivation and hunger with slight impatience.[84] Olga Vladimirovna Kamalurova, when interviewed by American historian Donald Raleigh, describes her postwar life and young adulthood as one marked by anxiety: "Basically I've always feared war, because I was born in 1950 and there were so many films and books about World War II. I can't even begin to convey to you how much I feared war."[85] Whether from the war cult or the more popular folk memory of the war, postwar generations lived in world defined by the memory of the Great Patriotic War.

The memory of the war, even by those who never experienced it, hung heavy like smog in Soviet life—or, in Gorokhova's case, provided the foundation to her existence like the ground beneath her feet. "Now the remnants of the war are buried in the ground," she writes, referring to her grandfather's discovery of an unexploded artillery shell buried in her family's dacha's strawberry patch.[86] Other mementoes of war were also discovered hiding barely beneath the earth: "There was a casualness, even generations after the war, and after Stalin, about the bones

[83] Elena Gorokhova, *A Mountain of Crumbs* (London: Windmill Books, 2010), 69.
[84] Cathy Young, *Growing Up in Moscow*, 15.
[85] Olga Vladimirovna Kamaiurova qtd in Donald J. Raleigh, ed. and trans., *Russia's Sputnik Generation* (Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 2006), 216.
[86] Gorokhova, 104.

and bits of uniform that children found. In Kolyma, recounts one visitor to the former Gulag, there were so many bones lying about 'that in the summer children used human skulls to gather blueberries'."[87] Tina Grimberg's recalls her father and his friends riding to the ravine at Babi Yar and seeing the teeth and bones of the Jews murdered there whom now lay "under the fresh earth."[88] The memory of the war defined the context of the Soviet experience even at an almost physical level.

Of course, the central question of the war cult remains: how did it fundamentally influence the ways in which postwar Russians thought of the war? The impulse towards memorializing remains strong. Anna Nemirovskya, an emigré born in 1936 in the Ukraine, describes the Denver Russian community's celebration of the 2010 Victory Day celebration, the sixty-fifth anniversary of the end of the war: "It was broadcasting this same morning, the parade, which was held on Red Square in Moscow, and the people calling each other, celebrating each other, but still—65 years have passed—and still we are crying."[89] The patriotism the war cult aspired to develop seems to have emerged; "young Russians, however unpolitical and materialist, are unashamedly chauvinistic."[90] An acquaintance of Shipler told him, " 'you cannot understand us because you have not suffered and survived what we have.' "[91] Belying the cynicism of the postwar generations' views on the war cult is a solemn appreciation for the sacrifices of those who fought in the war. Ejeke Dilber states that although "our generation saw everything from the war to the collapse of the USSR… we saw less than our parents saw before

[87] Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone* (New York: Viking, 2001), 300.
[88] Grimberg, 48.
[89] Anna Nemirovskya, interview by Shirley S. Steele and David Shneer, *Boulder Action for Soviet Jewry*, July 15, 2010, http://www.boulderlibrary.org/oralhistory/.
[90] Binyon, 134.
[91] Shipler, 281.

and during the war."[92] Despite its lack of sincerity, the war cult instilled a deep appreciation for the war that extended beyond the limits of the Soviet mythologizing efforts.

[92] Dilber.

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Kayla Pittman
HIST 4973
Capstone

The Worlds of Monticello Mountain:
How Space Reflected Power & Politics on an Eighteenth Century Chesapeake Plantation

While endlessly twisting and turning through the Virginian wilderness on the climb up Monticello Mountain, one would never image that the world would open up to embrace the commanding, yet delicately refined presence of Thomas Jefferson's mansion. As Margaret Bayard Smith commented in 1809:

> When I crossed the Ravanna, a wild and romantic little river…I thought I had entered, as it were the threshold of his dwelling, and I looked around everywhere expecting to meet with some trace of his [Jefferson] superintending care. In this I was disappointed, for no vestige of the labor of man appeared; nature seemed to hold an undisturbed dominion. We began to ascend this mountain, still as we rose I cast my eyes around, but could not discern nothing but untamed woodland….[1]

Jefferson knew that visitors would be astounded as they emerged from the rough countryside to embrace his mansion gracing the skyline (Figure 1). Without words Jefferson was signaling to all who entered this sphere of dominion, black slaves and white visitors alike, that he was the master of it. From his aerie position at the apex of the mountain, he commanded as far as the eye could see. He was superior and he was watching. When Jefferson constructed the layout of his eighteenth-century plantation he did so in terms of space which served as a subliminal signifier and determinant of power and politics. The plantation's layout affected the interrelationships amongst slaves as well as their relationship to Jefferson. Thomas Jefferson strategically organized space on the mountain to serve his own needs. He had no regard for how these placements affected power dynamics within the slaves' worlds, much less how

[1] Margaret Bayard Smith, 1809, in *Visitors to Monticello*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 1989), 45-46.

slaves might attain control over their own existence. Historians and archaeologists can learn an enormous amount from the ignored worlds of Monticello through consciously choosing to look at and examine what Jefferson chose not to. Monticello Mountain examined through the size of residences, how people used and move through those spaces as well as the items they possessed which will be narrowed to the specific category of ceramics reveals how power, status and thus agency was structured on Jefferson's eighteenth-century Chesapeake Plantation.

The southern landscape was constructed, viewed and moved through very differently depending upon whether or not an individual was rich or poor, black or white, enslaved or free. Thomas Jefferson's world, as a white wealthy planter in the eighteenth-century, was carefully constructed by a series of signals and barriers which served to reinforce power and status. Status was determined by a white member of the southern gentry's ability to read these signals and to progress forward through the barriers. As archaeologist William Kelso writes, "The gentry landscape was experienced dynamically; its meanings could not be comprehended at a glance. The observer was required to move through space and piece together many partial signals."[2] As a member of the gentry moved forward through a barrier, a new status based organization had to be established. Individuals then had to reinforce their power and position within the space of that realm. This process of establishing status, and thus power, based on progression is best seen on the macro level by considering a plantation's layout as a whole; but for a more concise examination, we can observe the design of the plantation mansion itself. Mount Airy, located in Richmond county Virginia (Firgure 2) is regarded by archaeologists and

[2] Dell Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," in *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, ed. William M. Kelso et al. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1990), 75.

historians alike as the quintessential plantation house that was designed with status barriers in mind.[3]

According to landscape archaeologist Dell Upton, "The sitting and architectural decoration at Mount Airy were manipulated carefully to make use of the principals of procession through distance and elevation to distinguish among users if the complex and to impress upon them John Tayloe's centrality in Mount Airy's microcosm."[4] Visitors to Mount Airy approached the house from an inferior position in space. The landscape was crafted so that as they approached, the distance from the low point in which they began their journey and the journey's end at the elevated house was emphasized. A winding route circled an inset park which was designed to accentuate the height and grandeur of the house when the visitors arrived. Many architectural techniques were employed by plantation owners desiring to accentuate their power and position in the landscape. For example, Tayloe had wings constructed onto the house on either side which served to emphasize the central structure's height and commanding presence. Once on the same level as the house, visitors had to walk across a terrace, up the front stairs to the open entrance porch, and into the main parlor. Each division of the landscape served as a barrier separating the plantation owner from his guests. The further a visitor was allowed to approach into Tayloe's realm, the greater their status. Interestingly, the owner's status was intertwined with that of the guest. The owner's authority was elevated and reinforced by the guest at all times, because he controlled the guest's right of

[3] *Ibid*, 75-76.
[4] *Ibid*, 76.

entry to the space of his realm and thus, he elevated his own worth through bestowing that access.[5]

For some visitors to Mount Airy, those with the least status and power within Tayloe's landscape, the parlor was the end of the line. Others would be invited to join the plantation owner in the dining room, considered the temple of southern hospitality by the gentry. The dining room was regarded as the most sacred place within a southern planter's home. It was the center of family life as well as a place to visit with close friends and discuss business, thus it was the most protected and controlled space. Blacks and whites were not allowed the same access to space nor were they able to move through it in the same manner. This concept is especially reflected in how the dining room was used by both. Family members as well as members of the gentry would enter or be graciously welcomed in through the main entrance, whereas black serving slaves would enter into the room from a secondary door which was devised to not draw the eyes of the guests. Mount Airy's spatial layout's ability to affirm or deny status in such a complete form helps archaeologists and historians alike to understand how Thomas Jefferson was able to craft the landscape of Monticello Mountain to place the focus upon him.[6]

Thomas Jefferson was a master landscape architect—everything within his realm was tamed to recognize him as master. He created an all encompassing universe on Monticello Mountain in which several diverse worlds of existence focused on the main house. This focus kept Jefferson permanently suspended above all others and constantly served to enforce his superior status and power. The first step in understanding how the worlds of Monticello are

[5] *Ibid*, 76-78.
[6] *Ibid*, 78, 84.

understood in terms of space and power is to understand how Jefferson, as the puppet master, pulled the strings from the top of the mountain. Jefferson had long been inspired by both classical designs and the concept of an ornamental farm in which the fields, roads and structures all complemented the beauty of the plantation as a whole. Jefferson was a man who understood that first impressions meant everything and thus he wanted to impress upon his visitors his knowledge, status and power from the moment they entered into his realm. Even in the very naming of his mountain plantation, Jefferson was communicating his status. As the Chevalier de Chastellux wrote in April of 1782:

> He [Jefferson] called this house *Monticello* (in Italian, Little Mountain), a very modest name indeed, for it is situated upon a very high mountain, but a name which bespeaks the owner's attachment to the language of Italy and above all to the Fine Arts, of which Italy was the cradle and is still the resort.[7]

Similar to Mount Airy, Jefferson used the landscape make comments to his visitors about his power and status. The landscape and the construction of space at Monticello was a signal to visitors that Jefferson was a superior and powerful man. He was wealthy, an intellect, and he possessed vast control within his realm. When entering into Jefferson's landscape, visitors made the circuitous journey up the mountain which "effectively shielded the visitor from any views of industry or enslavement, and created an experience of a wild and natural landscape,"[8] until they emerged to behold his commanding mansion placed upon the summit. The placement of the house seemingly allowed Jefferson to see everything in the landscape from an unseen vantage point. The house itself was a testament to classical architectural principals which was a signal that Jefferson was a highly educated man. On a more subtle note,

[7] *Ibid*, 84; Chevalier de Chastellux (1782) in *Visitors to Monticello*, 11.
[8] Sara Bon-Harper, "Contrasting Worlds: Plantation Landscapes at Monticello" (paper presented at the annual meeting for the Society for Historical Archaeology, Amelia Island, Florida, 2010) 4.

the mansions building materials served to communicate subliminal signals about Jefferson's deep coffers. It was traditional in Virginia for most of the seventeenth century for planters to construct their houses out of wood and to support those homes using posts that were placed vertically into the ground. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century, wealthy planters began to signal their wealth by completely constructing their homes with brick, which was one of the most costly building materials. In addition, we know from Francis Calley Gray's 1815 letter that Jefferson had them means to purchase and ship a replacement square piece of glass that had to be sent away for in Boston (Figure 3). The Monticello Foundation has roughly estimated the total cost of the Monticello mansion standing today to be approximately $100,461.76, yet the Foundation also states that this number probably is only a fraction of the total coast.[9]

Once visitors reached the summit of Monticello Mountain, they too had to proceed through a series of spatial barriers which served to place distance between themselves and Jefferson. After crossing the front lawn, and the portico, guests were welcomed into the entrance hall. Its high eighteen and a half foot ceiling served to accentuate the grandeur of the home to would take a seat and wait to be formally greeted by a member of the family or Jefferson himself. Historians believe that the entrance hall was filled with chairs placed in two rows which is a testament to the sheer number of visitors Jefferson received at Monticello. For some, they would only get to see the entrance hall before being sent back on their way, but while they were there an impression was made upon them for the hall was likened to a

[9] Fraser D. Neiman, "The Lost World of Monticello," Journal of Anthropological Research 64 (Summer 2008): 172-173; Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 84; Francis Calley Gray (1815) in *Visitors to Monticello*, 58; "Monticello (House) FAQ," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, http://www.monticello.org/site/house-and-gardens/monticello-house-faq#cost.

museum filled with Native American and natural artifacts by visitor George Ticknor in 1815. These furnishing included a buffalo's head and elk horns, as well as the head of a mammoth and an Indian map on an animal hide—all were exotic and in being so, they elevated Jefferson's status and power by having them in his possession (Figure 4).[10]

The entrance hall, parlor and dining room were the most public spaces within Jefferson's home. From the entrance hall, prominent visitors would be allowed further access into Jefferson's space where they could visit with Jefferson in the parlor (Figure 5). The guests with the highest standing would then move from the parlor to the dining room, a space reserved only for those with the appropriate power and status. However, those who made it to the dining room did not necessarily possess the highest standing as judged by Jefferson. Most dining room worthy guests were still bound by the spatial barrier system because they were excluded from moving freely throughout the whole space of his home which was divided in terms of public and private space. Those he cherished and bestowed the highest status upon were those who had access to his library-study-bedroom area which was Jefferson's most private space. The true mark of a person's status and power was their ability to move through both Jefferson's private and public spaces, to dine in the dining room and then be invited into his study. On a rare occasion, Jefferson would invite scholars into his private space, but the only person to ever have frequent access Jefferson's most private and personal area was his daughter Ms. Randolph who would sit and talk with him while she sewed.[11]

[10] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1993), 70.
[11] Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson*, 82, 98, 103; Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: Biography of a Builder*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 327.

Jefferson was obsessed with securing control of his own privacy and that of his family. Throughout the house he implemented strategies and devices that would insulate himself and his family from the outside world as well as from being overheard his black servants. Isolation from eavesdropping slaves manifested itself most prevalently in both the purchasing and manufacture of dumbwaiters operated in the dining room. Jefferson did not wish to have servers present during the meal. In order to achieve privacy, a revolving serving door, commonly referred to as a lazy Susan, was installed in one corner of the dining room (Figure 6). This device allowed food to be placed upon its shelves by servants unseen by Jefferson or his guests, then rotated so the food could accessed by those in the dining room. Dumbwaiters were also installed on both sides of the dining room fireplaces so Jefferson could send down an empty bottle of wine to the basement where a slave would replace it with a new one (Figure 7). These devices grabbed the attention of visitors both in Jefferson's time, as well as the hundreds of tourists who visit his home each year, yet other devices were also used for the sake of privacy. One of Jefferson's most prevalent ways of protecting his privacy, and thus space was the installation of shutters. Windows posed a huge problem for Jefferson because they left him vulnerable and exposed to the eyes of the world, yet he cherished and relied on natural light coming into his home, thus the Venetian blind was a godsend. The blind's pivoting louvers allowed him to control the outsider's view of his space and remain unseen while maintaining the flow of natural light. Historian Jack McLaughlin states:

> Public scrutiny of his private life made [Jefferson] all the more determined to protect his privacy by such architectural shields as blinds in his windows, screens at his bed, louvered porticles at his doors, and even a wall of shutters across his portico that would have made the sainted Palladio shutter in his grace.[12]

[12] Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 71-94; McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello*, 256, 327.

Jefferson's construction of space on Monticello Mountain as a signifier of power and politics was not limited to white southern gentry alone. Jefferson while an intellect and statesman, he was also a large-scale slave owner. The landscape of Monticello Mountain was one that was used and moved through by both blacks and whites, though control and movement was very different between these two groups. Slaves were not bound by the rigid system of barriers and linear progression. Their duties allowed them to move more freely in some respects because the nature of their duties serving the planter required them to do so. A house slave could enter through a back or side door and move throughout the planter's home using hallways and passage ways a member of the white gentry was denied access to. Slaves also had access to move through space outside the traditional channels of white access. Their use of the forest and waterways allowed them to step outside the control of their masters and gain autonomy. Some slaves used their knowledge of these spaces to escape punishment or work, often hiding out for weeks at a time while owners searched in vain. Dell Upton explains that "Those areas effectively beyond the master's reach, whether they were ceded on traditional grounds, such as the quarters and shops, or whether they were seized by slaves, as in the cast of the woods and waterways, could be considered the slaves'."[13]

Thomas Jefferson's slaves did not occupy one universal slave landscape. Their power, status and movement were all connected to their spatial proximity to the main house and thus Jefferson himself. Historical and archeological evidence proves that slaves living within a close proximity to their owner had a higher status, greater control over their occupational and residential space as well as a better quality of life overall as compared to living in a quarter.

[13] Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 74.

The more directly associated spatially, the more interdependent the relationship was between Jefferson and his slaves. In the quarter, field hands were removed from the master and under the gaze of an oftentimes malevolent overseer. This theory holds true when looking at the status, living conditions and ceramic assemblages of the enslaved population living on Monticello Mountain. Mulberry Row was the nearest large-scale occupational and residential slave landscape that appeared on Thomas Jefferson's 1796 *Form of the Declarations for Assurance* (Figure 8). This plat was drawn and written by Jefferson to insure the buildings of Mulberry Row (identified by letters) against fire and was a detailed account of where buildings were located, what they were used for, their construction materials and dimensions. Located just south of and along the side of Jefferson's home (Figure 9), the occupants of Mulberry Row by their proximity to the main house enjoyed the highest status and power of Monticello's slave population.[14]

Between 1979 and 1991, archaeologist William M. Kelso conducted an archaeological investigation to locate the original structures of Mulberry Row and reveal how its residents lived their lives. His field crew was able to locate many of the original structures shown on the 1796 insurance plat which served as homes, workshops, and storage units. There were different housing structures which appeared in the archaeological record, some slave houses were twelve foot by fourteen foot rough hewn log cabins with dirt floors like Building R (Figure 10). While others like Building E with its neo-classical exterior measured thirty-four foot by

[14] Monticello: building insurance, recto, 1796, by Thomas Jefferson. N133; K136 [electronic edition]. *Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive.* Boston, Mass. : Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003. http://www.thomasjeffersonpapers.org; W.E.B. Dubois, "The Home of the Slave," in Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscape of North American Slavery, ed. Clifton Ellis et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 21; William M. Kelso, *Archaeology of Monticello: Artifacts of Everyday Life in the Plantation Community*, (Charlottesville: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1997) 51.

seventeen foot and contained a stone and brick fireplace and wood flooring. Only house servants, indentured servants, white workmen and slave artisans would have the privilege of calling Mulberry Row home. It appears that Jefferson over some time was attempting to replace the wooden structures and beautify Mulberry Row by constructing the buildings from stone. The buildings of Mulberry Row also reveal a slave hierarchy as cooks and butlers had better housing than maids or laundresses. Overall, Mulberry Row residents enjoyed better housing than those field hands living in the quarter because Jefferson was paying these structures active attention and was improving their living conditions.[15]

The most valuable discovery made by Kelso's team was the discovery and excavation of ten sub-floor pits that had been originally dug by slaves into the earthen floors of Mulberry Row structures (Figure 11). Sub-floor pits are features, meaning large scale immovable artifacts that appear in the archaeological record. These pits contained "tools, locks, nails, ceramics, some glass, a considerable number and variety of buttons, and butchered animals bones."[16] Mulberry Row's sub-floor pits measured three foot by three foot to four foot by six foot, ranging from one foot to three feet in depth. These pits would have been formerly covered with wooden boards and were occasionally lined with wood, brick or stone. In the Chesapeake, a maximum of eighteen pits have been located under one enslaved residence. Archaeologists over the years have come up with four hypotheses to explain the presence of these pits. They could be root cellars, hidey-holes (for goods stolen from the owner), africanisms (meaning a traditional African feature continued in the Americas) or "safe-deposit

[15] William M. Kelso, *Archaeology at Monticello: Artifacts of Everyday Life in the Plantation Community* (Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1997) 65-66.
[16] *Ibid*, 67.

boxes." Currently the Monticello Department of Archaeology champions that sub-floor pits were indeed dug to protect slaves' items of value. During the eighteenth-century slaves were grouped together in "barracks-style" housing, meaning that owners had no regard for the relationships of their slaves and would group unrelated individuals together in one room. As a result of this housing method, there was no connectedness between individuals and hence no trust. By placing their prized goods in sub-floor safety-deposit boxes, slaves were taking control over their forced space and exerting their power of possession. Safety-deposit boxes also provided the means of a surveillance system amongst the co-inhabitants; instead of placing goods out in the open, slaves were increasing the amount of time it took for someone to notice a person stealing from someone else's box.[17]

The need to construct sub-floor pits as safety-deposit boxes and their frequency of existence has been proven by archaeologist to correspond the size of the living space provided for slaves. Garret Felser conducted a Virginia based examination of sixty-seven excavated slave quarters and found that the size of slave dwellings decreased throughout the eighteenth-century, especially after 1780. Felser found that "in 1700, house sizes averaged eighteen by twenty-four feet, or 432 square feet. By 1750, the average size had shrunk to sixteen by twenty-two feet, or 352 square feet, and by 1800, average house sizes were a mere twelve by sixteen feet, or 192 square feet total."[18] Although shrinking house sizes could possibly indicate that the poor treatment of slaves was increasing as they were forced to live in a more crowded

[17] Monticello—University of Virginia Archaeological Field School, Summer 2011, Lecture Notes; Fraser Neiman, Leslie McFaden, Derek Wheeler, *Archaeological Investigation of the Elizabeth Hemings Site (44AB438)*, (Monticello Department of Archaeology Technical Report Series Number 2: December 2000), 16.
[18] Barbara Heath, "Space and Place within Plantation Quarters in Virginia, 1700-1825," in Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscape of North American Slavery, ed. Clifton Ellis et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 164.

space, archaeologists have correlated the decrease in residence size with an increase of a slave's standard of living. All across the Chesapeake there is a significant change from large houses with multiple sub-floor pits to smaller housing units with less pits and by the end of the eighteenth-century the use of sub-floor pits seems to have died out completely. Even though slaves were living in small spaces with smaller rooms, this evidence proves they were now able to reside in kin-based groups, with family members they trusted and could work cooperatively with to improve their quality of life. Smaller housing units allowed slaves to significantly control their space and exert both power and authority over it.[19]

Sub-floor pits are an example of how slaves at Monticello were turning space into place. Slaves did not have control over the placement of their residential space, nor who would occupy that space with them, so they employed strategies to take that space and turn it into place. As geographer Yi-Fu Tuan states, "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value."[20] It is thus the role of archaeologists to "excavate space and subsequently hope to interpret them as places,"[21] which they have been able to do in terms of slave dwellings. It was typical that a slave owner would only provide his slaves with a roof over their heads, a food ration (which at Monticello consisted of "one peck of cornmeal, one pound of pickled beef or pork, four salt herring, and a gill of molasses per adult per week."[22]), blankets and iron cooking vassals. However, archaeologists have recovered evidence to support the existence shelving, musical instruments, stools and boxes recovered

[19] Neiman, McFaden, Wheeler, *Archaeological Investigation*, 16; Heath, "Space and Place," 164-165.
[20] Garret Fesler "Excavating the Spaces and Interpreting the Places of Enslaved Africans and Their Descendants," in Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscape of North American Slavery, ed. Clifton Ellis et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 28.
[21] *Ibid*, 28.
[22] Kelso, *Archaeology at Monticello*, 68.

from slave quarters. Slaves were turning their assigned space into place. They were asserting control and power over their situation by embellishing their residences and improving their quality of life. Sara Bon-Harper, the current Archaeological Research Manager at Monticello states, "While the physical order of a plantation such as Monticello was imposed by the owner, the intimate use of a landscape creates an alternative experience separate from the landowner's orchestrated control."[23] One of the most powerful representations of turning space into place and thus gaining control outside of the owner's control is the existence of sub-floor pits discovered in slave dwellings.[24]

Artifacts, especially ceramics, recovered from Mulberry Row also aid archaeologists in understanding the living conditions and status of its slave residents. The quantity and quality of ceramics reveal the access to resources slaves had. The more access to resources, the higher a slave's status and the greater their power. The excavation of Building O, which included "the fill of the largest [sub-floor pit], the earth floor of the house, and in the surrounding yard for a considerable distance east and west,"[25] yielded two hundred and eighty nine ceramic vessels. "The collection includes thirty different forms and thirty-six different types, all primarily tableware and predominantly either English creamware or pearlware and Chinese export porcelain."[26] Chinese export porcelain (Figure 12), pearlware (Figure 13) and creamware (Figure 14)—listed in highest to lowest price order—were high end, fashionable ceramics and the cost of purchasing them was greater than say delftware or refined earthenwares. A possible explanation for the appearance of these high quality ceramics is that they were

[23] Bon-Harper, "Contrasting Worlds," 6.
[24] Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 74.
[25] Kelso, *Archaeology at Monticello*, 88.
[26] *Ibid*, 88.

originally broken in Jefferson's home and taken to be disposed of on Mulberry Row. However Kelso's field crew was able to recover ceramic from the dirt floor of Building O that were most likely broken through use and deposited there with the shards found in the yard. These pieces made of the same material or displaying the same pattern, were able to be directly matched. These ceramics were used, broken and discarded by Mulberry Row slaves.

The next question that was asked was how did these expensive ceramic vessels get into the hands of Mulberry Row slaves in the first place? After conducting an excavation on the foundation of Thomas Jefferson's mansion, Kelso was able to determine that "practically *all* the refined tablewares from the house foundations matched those from cabin "O" indicating that slaves were furnished or furnished themselves from the house stores."[27] This was further proven when Chinese potters examined some of the export porcelain recovered from archaeological excavations at Monticello. The potters were appalled that one of America's Founding Fathers would use underglazed blue floral plates that were "fit only for servants in China."[28] They wondered how Jefferson could be so cheap and possess such poor taste. However, Kelso revealed that the plates had actually been recovered from the excavation of Building O located on Mulberry Row. It was concluded that Jefferson purchased the second rate Chinese porcelain for himself because that was all that was available at the time. Chinese manufacturers initially only sent their cast offs west to be purchased by Europeans and Americans who were unable to distinguish between high and low quality Chinese porcelain. Jefferson would have given the plates to the occupants of Building O when he was then able to replace them with higher quality porcelain. It was concluded by Kelso that the slaves of

[27] *Ibid*, 90.
[28] *Ibid*, 92.

Mulberry Row had the means to possess the highest quality ceramics available at the time because of their spatial proximity to Jefferson and his home. The ceramics used by Mulberry Row slaves were only second to those placed upon Jefferson's own table.[29]

Moving a mere three hundred and fifty feet south of Mulberry Row on the third roundabout, one of the most interesting spatial power dynamics occurred on Monticello Mountain. It is there that Elizabeth (Betty) Hemings lived out the last years of her life in a house built especially for her. Why was Betty Hemings's status so high that she warranted not only her own home, but its distinctive labeling as "B. Hems" on Thomas Jefferson's third roundabout plat (Figure 15)? Betty Hemings at age thirty eight, along with her ten children, was inherited by Jefferson at the passing of his father-in-law John Wayles. She was employed within the house and became a main member in its operation; her children were both house servants and skilled artisans. Jefferson's letters show that Betty and her children were highly valued because when circumstances allowed for unneeded slaves to be hired out to other plantations, he made sure it was clear that the Hemings' were excused from that labor detail. However, between age fifty-five and sixty, Betty had been sent to Tufton (one of Jefferson's quarter farms). Although the exact reason for her relocation is unknown, she most likely was sent there because her age made her less useful as a house servant and more suited to act as a babysitter for slave children. Again, without explanation, she was moved back to Monticello in 1795, and the construction of her house just out view, but close to Jefferson's home began.

[29] *Ibid*, 88-92.

Ironically, this is the same year that Jefferson fathered his first daughter Harriet of six children by Betty Heming's youngest daughter Sally.[30]

Without a doubt, Jefferson strategically selected the spatial location of Betty Hemings's home. It was removed from the large slave population of Mulberry Row, yet close enough to her children living there to care for her. She was out of sight from Jefferson's house and thus the preying eyes of his guests. They would have been aware of his indiscretions with Sally as of the year 1802 when a newspaper in Richmond published allegations against him. Although Betty was removed from the highest statured slaves of Mulberry Row, she was still separated from the field hands living in the quarter which were considered to be the lowliest in importance and power. Jefferson's separation of Betty from the field hands is revealed through her proximity to the two major water sources of the area South Spring and Bailey's Spring. Betty's house was located an equal distance from Mulberry Row and Bailey's Spring (Figure 15), meaning that this spring was significant to her. Bailey's Spring contained less water than the South Spring, yet it allowed Betty to be spatially removed from the field hands who relied on South Spring as their main water source. Bailey's Spring was also spatially attractive for Betty because she shared it with her white overseer neighbors. Betty Hemings's status and power was more significant than any of the other slaves' on Monticello Mountain. Jefferson specifically made sure that she had her own space in a landscape which complimented her status through its association with freed whites in positions of power over lowly enslaved black field hands.[31]

[30] Neiman, McFaden, Wheeler, *Archaeological Investigation of the Elizabeth Hemings Site*, 6-8.
[31] "Sally Hemings," Monticello.org, accessed 14 November 2011, http://www.monticello.org/site/plantation-and-slavery/sally-hemings.

Archaeological investigations conducted on the Betty Hemings Site (Figure 16) have revealed that she did in fact possess a considerable power and status. There is no sub-floor pit within the footprint of Betty's home, which means she had great control over those living in her home as well as who had access to it. The lack of sub-floor pits on this site indicates that her house did follow the trend for Monticello slaves to gain more control over their lives in smaller homes shared with family members. Yet during the timeframe of Betty's occupation, slaves were still employing sub-floor pits; Mulberry Row Buildings S and T have revealed sub-floor pits and their construction dates were only a few years prior to Betty's residence. Betty may have felt her belongings were secure due to her relative isolation from other slaves living on Mulberry Row or in the quarter, or a lock was employed. Betty's power was also increased by her control over the outdoor landscape. When archeologists compared the yard areas of the Betty Hemings Site with Mulberry Row, they found that her yard was at least ten times larger. This is a considerable difference when taking into account that immediate outdoor space was used by slaves as an extension of their interior living area. Finally, excavations recovered thirty three ceramics vessels from the site; this small amount is explained by her short occupation of the area. Between the year the house was built and her death, Betty had only lived on the site ten years. Of the ceramics she did own, they were all high quality Chinese porcelain (Figure 17), pearlware and creamware. Up to ninety percent of the flatware recovered from the site was Chinese porcelain and pearlware, the most costly and fashionable ceramics at the time. Flatware vessels were also more expensive to own than other dining vessels. Betty Hemings

was a slave woman with considerable status and power within the spatial construction of her own world as well as the world of Thomas Jefferson himself.[32]

If the Betty Hemings Site is the epitome of spatial status, then the slave residences of Site 7 and Site 8 were the lowest and most far from Jefferson. These two residential locations are set a half mile down Monticello Mountain from Jefferson's home as noted in his *Garden Book* on the twenty-third of October, 1778, and thus the field hands living there were the least regarded in Jefferson's spatial status scheme. There are no documents from Jefferson's time that formally name these locations, so they were labeled as such as a result the 1997 *Monticello Plantation Archeological Survey*. The Monticello Department of Archaeology believed that these sites were occupied together to form one settlement being that Site 8 is located a mere one hundred and thirty feet southeast of Site 7. During the 1770s and 1780s, Sites 7 and 8 were occupied by all most all of the Monticello field hands. Historian W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in 1901 that "The homes of field hands were filthy hovels where they slept. There was no family life, no meals, no marriages, no decency, only an endless round of toil and a wild debauch at Christmas time."[33] However, modern archaeologists conducting research on Sites 7 and 8 have revealed a stark difference from Dubois's conclusion. Archaeological excavations on Site 7 revealed a single log house with sill construction, meaning horizontal logs were placed on top of one another from the ground up. Its dimensions were similar to those of Mulberry Row structures, measuring twelve foot by fourteen foot which means that it was a kin-based home versus the earlier "barracks-style" housing. This residence did not contain any sub-floor pits,

[32] Neiman, McFaden, Wheeler, *Archaeological Investigation*, 17, 24, 50, 52.
[33] W.E.B. Dubois "The Home of the Slave," 21.

which further supports it as a single family's residence. Site 7's house was also determined to be the oldest structure on both sites.[34]

Thus far through a series of archaeological field seasons, archaeologists have been able to establish the existence of four houses on Site 8, yet it is believed that there are more to discover. The location of these structures was pinpointed through the excavation of features, meaning in this case sub-floor pits. House 1 contained two features which overlapped one another (Figure 18). This could suggest that the pits were not used simultaneously, but when examining the features' fill both contained "a dark reddish brown silty clay mottled with red clay and 10% charcoal,"[35] which assures archaeologist they were used concurrently. House 2's Feature 6 was an eight foot by eight foot square (Figure 19) containing tools, glass vessels, ceramics, brick and cobbles. Most of the features located on Site 8 did not produce large quantities of artifacts because it was believed that slaves took their possessions with them when they were forced to move in the 1790s. At that time Jefferson was changing his agricultural strategy from tobacco to wheat. Slaves living on Sites 7 and 8 were at the bottom of the Thomas Jefferson's power-status ladder, it seemed as though life on Monticello Mountain could not get worse for them. They had to collectively pool their resources to create some form of control over their world; these slaves were essentially hanging on by a thread. Jefferson's self-centered action to relocate these field hands from attractive wheat growing pieces of land to land that was more steeply graded destroyed what little control these slaves

[34] Bon-Harper, *Contrasting Worlds*, 2; Bon-Harper, *The Identification of Yard Space Using Artifact Size as an Indicator of Site Maintenance in an Archaeological Context* (Charlottesville: Monticello Department of Archaeology), 6; Sara Bon-Harper and Theresa McReynolds*, Who Sweeps Here? Site Maintenance and Cultural Tradition in Historic Contexts* (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Austin, TX, January 2011), 1; Sara Bon-Harper, *Site 8: Background* (The Digital Archive of Comparative Slavery: December 2006) accessed 14 November 2011, http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/background/10/.
[35] *Site 8: Background* (DAACS), accessed 14 November 2011.

had achieved over their existence. As a result of Jefferson's new economic farming system slaves lost the sense of place they had created at Sites 7 and 8, a location that had formally merely been a forced location of residence. The Monticello Department of Archaeology currently believes that slaves from Sites 7 and 8 were relocated to a relatively steep slope now referred to as Site 6. From 1800 through the nineteenth century, Site 8 was being cultivated with wheat.[36]

Despite the slaves' forced removal from Sites 7 and 8, their sense of place is still visible within the archaeological record. Historians and archaeologists have learned "through oral accounts as well as period images that African Americans in the American south used outdoor spaces as extended living areas for production and recreation."[37] Just as slaves turned their houses into places, they did so to the immediate outdoor landscape. Archaeologists have determined this through the application of a statistical method referred to as Artifact Size Index (ASI). The ASI is used to determine the differential between large and small artifacts which can determine the boundaries of a yard. A site's ASI is highly valuable when used in conjunction with the understanding of the McKeller principal, which states that people will discard large pieces of trash and leave little ones in place. Large pieces will be disposed of away from the activity site because of their potential to interfere or do damage to the site's occupants. Little pieces are often left in place because their size reduces their level of interference and hazard potential, thus they are not worth the effort of removal. The ASI and the McKeller principal thus reveal that "spatial patterning in artifact size [that] has the potential to measure the

[36] Site 8: Background (DAACS); Monticello-UVA Archaeological Field School, Summer 2011, Lecture Notes.
[37] Bon-Harper and McReynolds, *Who Sweeps Here?*, 1.

extent to which a site's residents intensely used certain areas and invested effort in keeping those areas clean."[38]

Archaeologists have revealed that of the artifacts recovered from Site 8, the largest were moved to disposal areas on the outskirts of the occupational space. It has been discovered that the slave residents of this site shared one yard space, or activity area that encompassed all of the dwellings. This evidence suggests that field hands came together to keep this area clean. The presence of such a large sub-floor pit in House 2 also indicates that the residents of Site 8 came together and pooled their economic power and resources. The disappearance of sub-floor pits was a result of trust and cooperation amongst family members occupying the same residential unit; no longer did slaves have to worry about their processions being stolen by an outsider. As Bon-Harper and McReynolds state:

> Site 8's shared yard space likely follows the same principals, in which members of adjacent households, having established cooperative interaction on the basis of their connections through family relationships or other ties of choice, invested in cooperative productive efforts. These collaborations allowed greater productivity, likely by sharing skills and time as well as a single yard space.[39]

By sharing yard space, slaves were turning that area into place. This process allowed them to gain and exert power and control over their landscape as well as their own lives. Although slaves on Sites 7 and 8 had the lowest status of all those residing on Monticello Mountain, they were still able to assert their own spatial agency.[40]

A map of Monticello Mountain can be read as an acknowledgement of status and power, with Thomas Jefferson reigning superior over all others at the top and the slave field

[38] Bon-Harper and McReynolds, *Who Sweeps Here?*, 2.
[39] Bon-Harper and McReynolds, *Who Sweeps Here?*, 14.
[40] Site 8: Background, DAACS.

hands at the bottom trying desperately to posses control over their landscape. The spatial distance from Jefferson's home as the nexus of power is directly proportional to the status and power of those living on his mountain. This reading of Monticello Mountain allows for a more complete portrait of the past, one constructed in which all residents of the mountain are able to claim a place. Not much is known about the lives of Thomas Jefferson's slaves outside of Hemingses and his other select favorites, yet the presence of every enslaved man, woman and child can still be seen and have a place in the modern consciousness. Historians and archaeologists must come together and acknowledge holes in the historical record. They must use every resource at their disposal in an attempt to fill in those gaps, even if that means moving away from their standard methods of illuminating the past. Something as basic as space can be the platform upon which previously erased peoples can stand and proclaim their existence.

Figures

Figure 1: Ariel of Monticello

"Monticello Archaeology," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011
http://www2.monticello.org/archaeology/fieldschool/index.html

Figure 2: Front of Mount Airy

"Mount-Airy Plantation" accessed 15 November 2011
http://academics.smcvt.edu/africanart/Ashley/plantation%20home.htm

Figure 3: Front of Monticello

"Monticello Image Galleries: Monticello's West Front," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, http://www2.monticello.org/gallery/house/exterior/westfront.html

Figure 4: Monticello Entrance Hall

"Monticello Image Galleries: Monticello's Entrance Hall," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, http://www2.monticello.org/gallery/house/interior/entrancehall.html

Figure 5: Monticello Parlor

"Monticello Explorer: Parlor," Thomas Jefferson Foundation (2011), accessed 15 November 2011, http://explorer.monticello.org/text/index.php?sect=house&sub=main&lid=207.

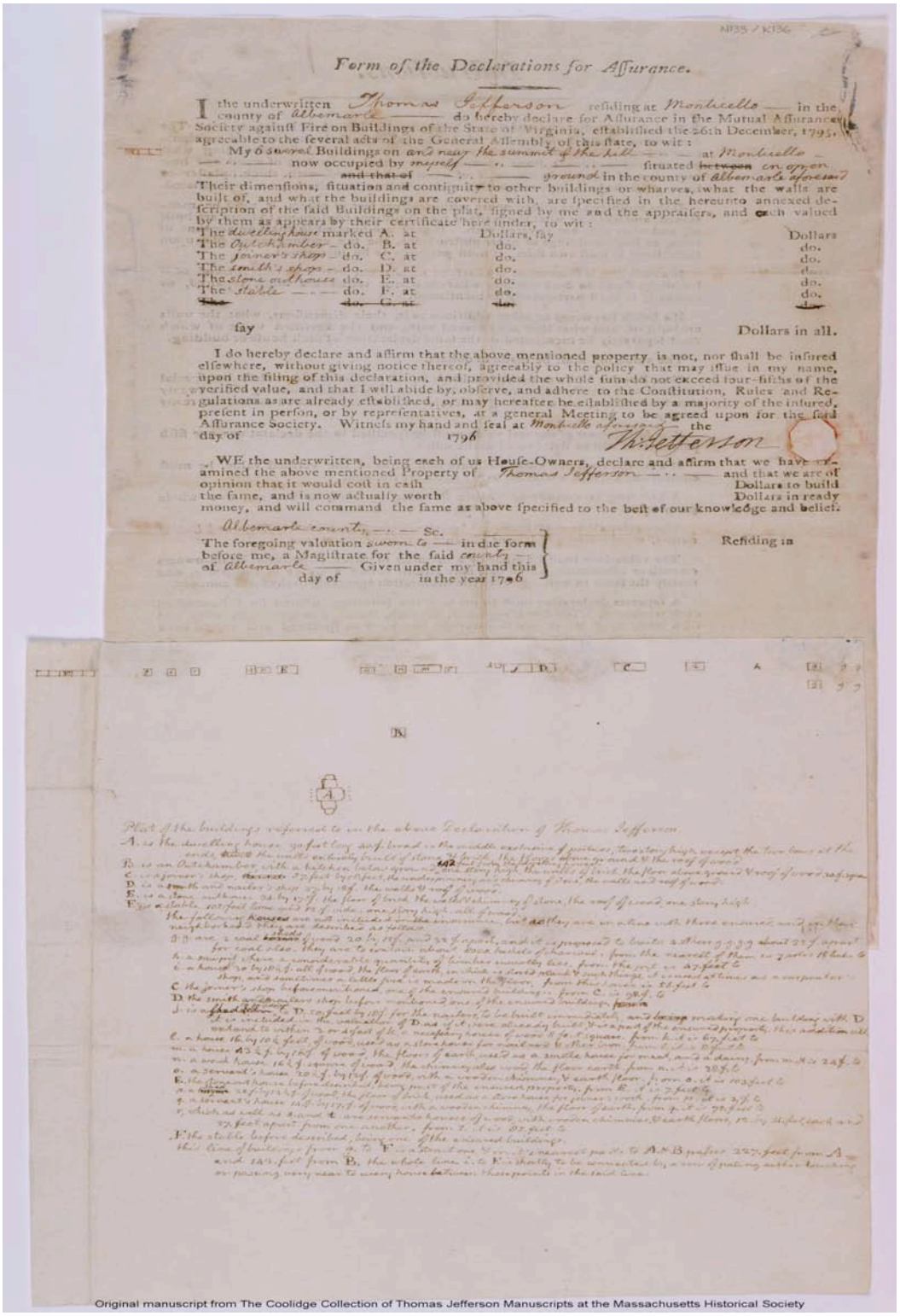
Figure 6: Monticello Dining Room Lazy Susan

"Revolving Serving Door," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, http://www.monticello.org/site/house-and-gardens/revolving-serving-door

Figure 7: Monticello Dining Room Wine Dumbwaiter

"Design and Décor," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, Monticello.org, http://www.monticello.org/site/jefferson/design-and-decor-2

Figure 8: Thomas Jefferson 1796 *Form of the Declaration for Assurance*



Form of the Declarations for Assurance.

I the underwritten Thomas Jefferson residing at Monticello in the county of Albemarle do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, established the 26th December, 1795, agreeable to the several acts of the General Assembly of this state, to wit:

My ~~3 several~~ Buildings on and near the summit of the hill at Monticello now occupied by myself ~~and that of~~ situated ~~between~~ on or upon ground in the county of Albemarle aforesaid

Their dimensions, situation and contiguity to other buildings or wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Buildings on the plat, signed by me and the appraisers, and each valued by them as appears by their certificate here under, to wit:

			Dollars, fay	Dollars
The dwelling house	marked A.	at	do.	do.
The Out chamber	do.	B. at	do.	do.
The joiner's shop	do.	C. at	do.	do.
The smith's shop	do.	D. at	do.	do.
The stone outhouses	do.	E. at	do.	do.
The stable	do.	F. at	do.	do.
~~The~~	~~do.~~	~~G. at~~	~~do.~~	~~do.~~

fay Dollars in all.

I do hereby declare and affirm that the above mentioned property is not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, without giving notice thereof, agreeably to the policy that may issue in my name, upon the filing of this declaration, and provided the whole sum do not exceed four-fifths of the verified value, and that I will abide by, observe, and adhere to the Constitution, Rules and Regulations as are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, at a general Meeting to be agreed upon for the said Assurance Society. Witness my hand and seal at Monticello aforesaid the day of 1796 Th: Jefferson

WE the underwritten, being each of us House-Owners, declare and affirm that we have examined the above mentioned Property of Thomas Jefferson and that we are of opinion that it would cost in cash Dollars to build the same, and is now actually worth Dollars in ready money, and will command the same as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief.

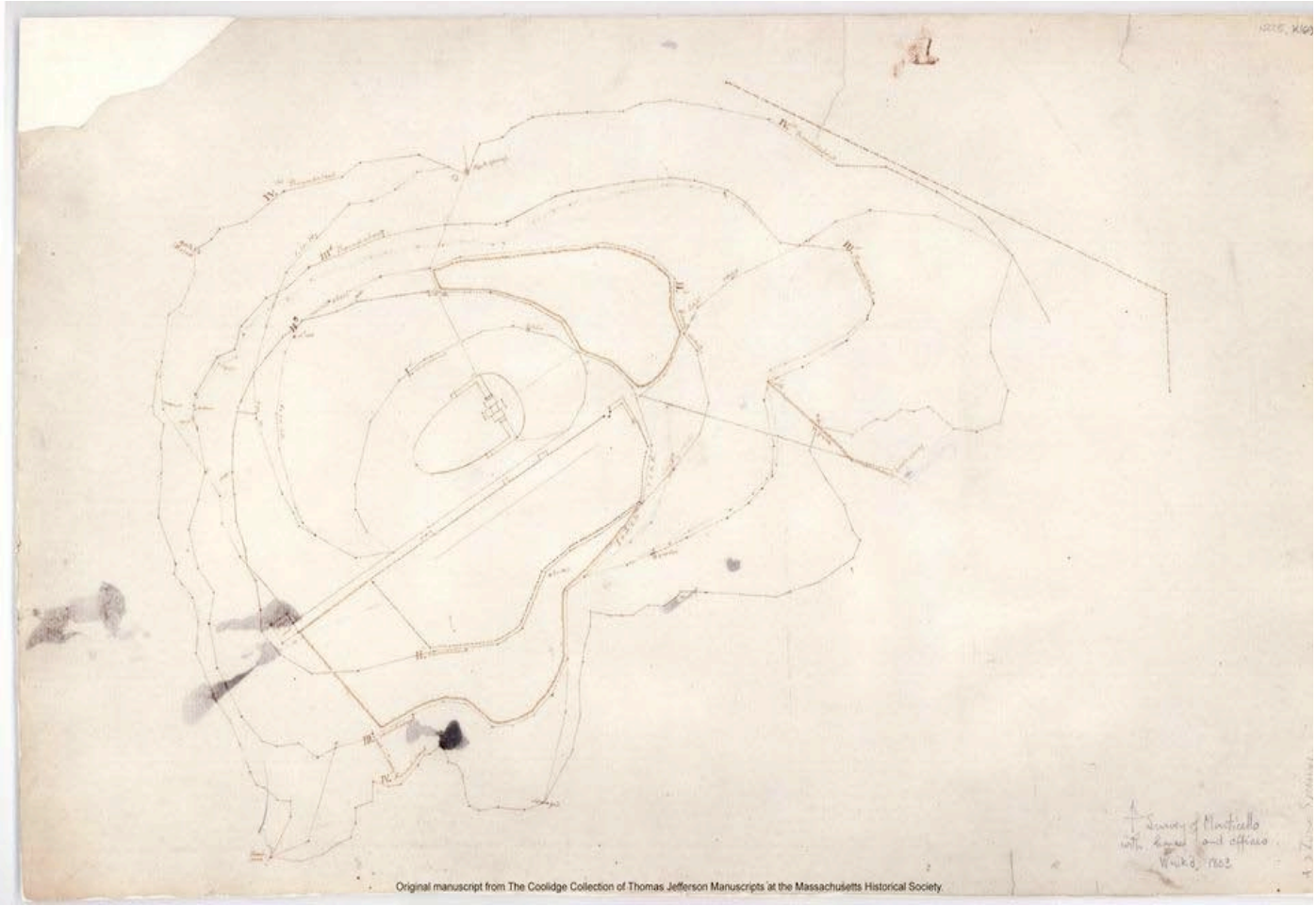
Albemarle county, to wit. Residing in

The foregoing valuation sworn to in due form before me, a Magistrate for the said county of Albemarle Given under my hand this day of in the year 1796

Original manuscript from The Coolidge Collection of Thomas Jefferson Manuscripts at the Massachusetts Historical Society

Monticello: building insurance, recto, 1796, by Thomas Jefferson. N133; K136 [electronic edition]. Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive. Boston, Mass. : Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003. http://www.thomasjeffersonpapers.org/

Figure 9: Thomas Jefferson 1809 Mountaintop Plat



Monticello: mountaintop (plat), 1809, by Thomas Jefferson. N225; K169 [electronic edition]. *Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive.* Boston, Mass. : Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003. http://www.thomasjeffersonpapers.org/

Figure 10: Slave Dwelling

"Slave Dwellings," Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, http://www2.monticello.org/plantation/mulberry/dwellings.html

Figure 11: Mulberry Row Sub-floor Pits

"A Housing Revoulution" Monticello.org, accessed 15 November 2011, http://www2.monticello.org/archaeology/research/architecture.html

Figure 12: Building O Chinese Porcelain

2011c Image Query 3, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/queries/submit/image/iq1/).

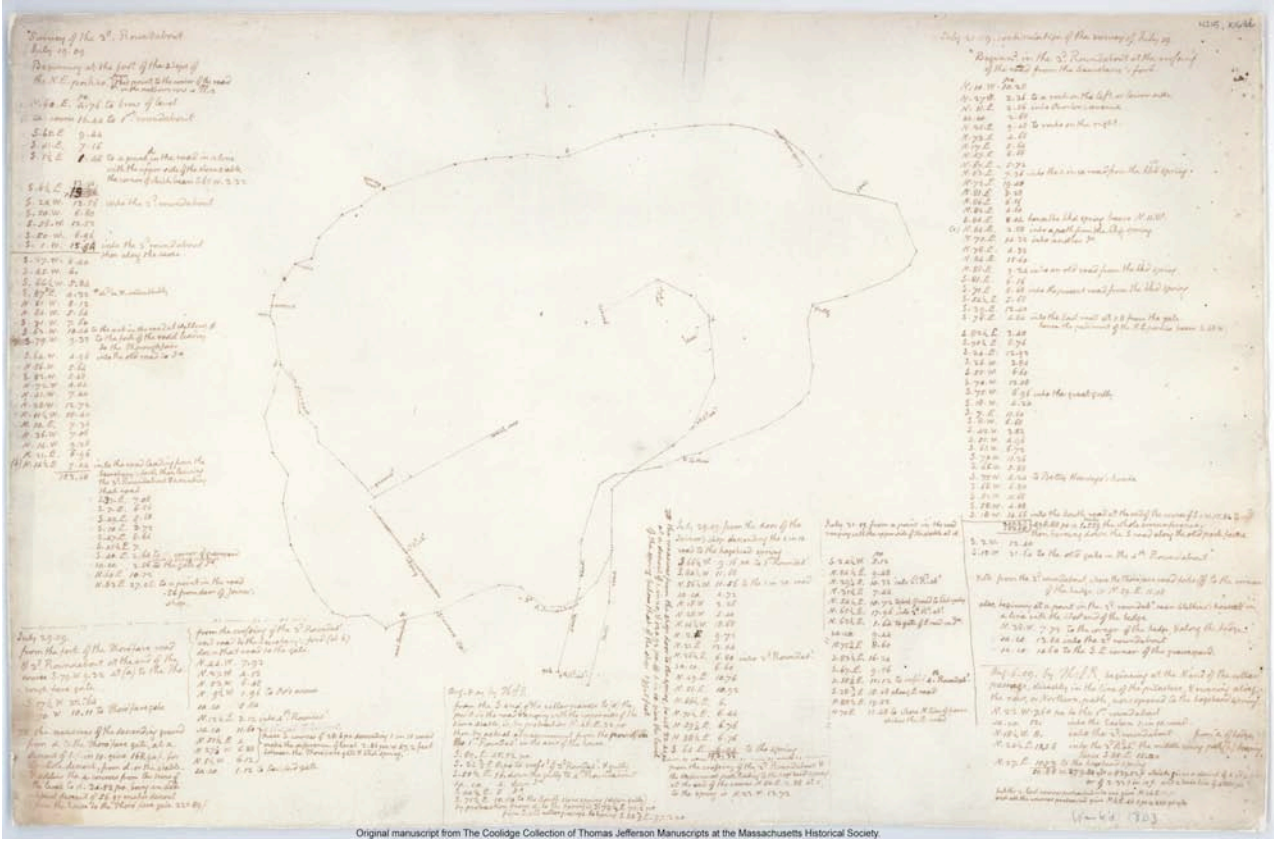
Figure 13: Building O Pearlware

2011c Image Query 3, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/queries/submit/image/iq1/).

Figure 14: Building O Creamware

2011c Image Query 3, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/queries/submit/image/iq1/).

Figure 15: 1808-1809 3rd Roundabout Plat featuring Betty Hemings's House



Monticello: 3rd roundabout (plat), 1808-1809, by Thomas Jefferson. N215; K168d [electronic edition]. *Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive.* Boston, Mass. : Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003. http://www.thomasjeffersonpapers.org/

Figure 16: The Betty Hemings Site

2011d Image Query 4, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/images/8/).

Figure 17: Betty Hemings Porcelain

2011a Image Query 1, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/queries/submit/image/iq1/)

Figure 18: Site 8, House 1 Sub-floor Pits

2011d Image Query 3, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/images/10/).

Figure 19: Site 8, House 2 Sub-floor Pit

2011d Image Query 3, November 15, 2011. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/images/10/).

Who's the Imperialist? American Marxists Respond to the Russo-Finnish War
By Nathan Moore

On November 30, 1939, the Soviet Union invaded Finland. As Stalin would later remark, the Soviet Union hoped to annex portions of Finland near Leningrad, a city the Soviet Union viewed as vulnerably close to foreign territory.[1] For a regime that ostensibly decried imperial conquest, the invasion of Finland, together with the annexation of the eastern half of Poland and the Baltic states in the previous months, might appear to be hypocritical. Indeed, the day after the invasion, an editorial in the *New York Times* read, "The vociferous champion of 'peace' has wantonly invaded Finland by land, by sea and by air. The arch foe of 'capitalist imperialism,' after annexing nearly half of Poland and imposing its will and garrisons on three helpless neighbors, seizes by force the territory it covets from the first country to resist."[2]

That non-communists throughout the world would criticize these Soviet actions is not surprising. Scholars have noted that the response to the Soviet invasion was particularly passionate in the United States, as Travis Beal Jacobs argues in *America and the Winter War, 1939-1940*. While the United States government remained officially neutral, American groups organized vibrant public campaigns to aid Finland, and American newspapers berated Soviet conduct. Many of those who participated in these campaigns and wrote about the war were already anti-communist and wary of the Soviet Union.[3]

However, American Marxists generally viewed the Soviet Union favorably. The question thus arises: how did American Marxists respond to the Russo-Finnish war, which apparently violated one of the core tenets of their ideology? Did they criticize Stalin and the Soviet Union or did they try to justify the invasion? In this essay, I will strive to answer these questions, focusing

[1] Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Stalin* (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2005), 145.
[2] "Workers of the World," *New York Times*, December 1, 1939.
[3] Travis Beal Jacobs, *America and the Winter War, 1939-1940* (New York: Garland, 1981), 71-72.

in particular on the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) and the American Trotskyist movement, headed by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While both of these organizations were small, they are worth studying not only to better understand why American Marxism was so marginalized but yet so feared, but also to better comprehend a movement that attained almost mythological, hyperbolic status in American society. Indeed, the fear of Marxism in the United States far exceeded the number of Marxists. An understanding of Marxism as homogenous accompanied this hyperbole, but as will be shown, the ideological diversity within Marxism was great.

Historians have not extensively chronicled the response within American Marxist movements to the Russo-Finnish War. Travis Beal Jacob's study of the Russo-Finnish war focuses predominantly on the American mainstream's reaction to the Soviet invasion, devoting little space to American Marxists. While mentioning the CPUSA, he does not explain its intellectual justifications and criticisms of the Soviet Union. No indication is made of American Trotskyists' response.[4] Likewise, Peter Kivisto, a noted scholar on Finnish-Americans, deals with American Marxists and the Russo-Finnish war only briefly in his essay titled "Finnish Americans and the Homeland, 1918-1958." He examines how Finnish-American communists were torn between ideology and nationality, as well as how differences over Soviet foreign policy emerged within the CPUSA after the invasion, but this discussion is limited to two paragraphs of the essay.[5] Thus, much of the literature on the American response to the Soviet invasion deals with American Marxists only peripherally and does not examine the discourse among Marxists in any detail.

[4] Jacobs, *America and the Winter War*, 75.
[5] Peter Kivisto, "Finnish Americans and the Homeland, 1918-1958," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 7, no. 1 (Fall 1987): 16-17.

However, a number of monographs documenting the history of various left-wing movements within the United States can be helpful. Alan Ward's *The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s* traces the American Trotskyist movement. Central to his book is the discussion of various schisms that emerged within the movement over ideological matters. One such split occurred in 1940, following heated discussion over the nature of the Soviet state and whether it should be supported in its 1939 foreign policy decisions including the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the annexation of Poland, and the invasion of Finland. Two opposing camps emerged: one supporting the Soviet Union, the other criticizing it.[6]

Similarly, scholarship on the Communist Party of the United States notes tension within the party in reaction to Soviet policies. In *The Communist Party of the United States: From the Depression to World War II*, Fraser M. Ottanelli details the challenges the CPUSA faced following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Previously, the CPUSA had been adamantly anti-fascist. Ottanelli notes that later Soviet actions, including the invasion of Finland, contributed to debates within the party about the legitimacy of the Soviet Union itself. Ultimately, the CPUSA decided to drop their anti-fascist rhetoric and support the foreign policy decisions of the Soviet government.[7] Harvey Klehr's *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* also notes the challenges the CPUSA faced as a result of Soviet foreign policy decisions. Starting in August of 1939 with the signing of the pact and continuing through 1940 after the invasions of Poland and Finland, the CPUSA lost members and allies, as many on the American left were

[6] Alan M. Ward, *The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 188.
[7] Fraser M. Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States: From the Depression to World War II* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 197.

"appalled" by Soviet actions.[8] However, in both the literature on the CPUSA and the Trotskyist movement, discussion of the invasion of Finland itself is limited.

This literature leaves questions. Scholars treat the invasion of Finland as part of a larger and quite divisive discussion about Soviet foreign policy in 1939. But how did the Russo-Finnish war influence this discussion? A scholarly hole thus exists, and the question set forth at the beginning of this paper remains. As noted above, few have written on exactly how American Marxists responded to the invasion of Finland, the language they used, and the justifications or criticisms they offered. In order to address this question, I will analyze primary sources such as party newspapers, pamphlets, and the letters of prominent American Marxists. Furthermore, scholarship has treated the reaction of American Trotskyists and American Communists as separate spheres of debate. Instead, I will try to find commonalities between the responses of Trotskyists and Communists.

This paper will treat American Marxists' reaction to the invasion of Finland not as two separate debates, one within the Trotskyist movement and one within the CPUSA, but rather as one larger debate. I will argue that, as American Marxists debated the Soviet Union's role in regards to the invasion, three positions regarding the nature of the Soviet Union were solidified. These positions were not created by the invasion of Finland; they in fact mirror divisions over the nature of the Soviet Union that had racked American Marxism for the previous decade. However, the debate questioned the definition and manifestation of imperialism and therefore reinforced previous divisions. For some, the Soviet Union itself became an imperialistic nation; for others, the Finnish government and Western capitalist nations, including the United States and the United Kingdom, were to blame.

[8] Harvey Khelr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 403.

To understand American Marxists' response to the Russo-Finnish war, it is necessary to begin the story in 1919, the year of the Communist Party of the United States' founding. As Khelr, Haynes, and Anderson argue, actions in the Soviet Union dictated the direction of the CPUSA throughout its existence. By 1921, the CPUSA had joined the Comintern and was taking its orders from the Soviet government.[9] However, various factions splintered from the CPUSA during the 1920s. These splits mirrored events in Stalin's Soviet Union, including the expulsion of Leon Trotsky. In 1928, the American Communist party expelled sympathizers with Trotsky, and the Moscow trials of the mid to late 1930s solidified the split between the American anti-Stalinist faction and the Communist Party.[10] Thus, by 1939, a major division marked American Marxism. To one side stood the pro-Stalinist Communist Party, under the leadership of Earl Browder, and on the other stood the anti-Stalinist left, represented by the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its most prominent members such as James Cannon, Max Shachtman, and James Burnham.

Understanding the ideological positions of the CPUSA and the SWP vis-à-vis the Soviet Union is vital to understanding each party's reaction to the invasion of Finland. The CPUSA's position was rather simple: support the Soviet Union and Stalin. The CPUSA applauded the Soviet Union's progress towards communism under Stalin. Throughout the tumultuous years of Stalin's reign, the CPUSA remained committed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet bureaucracy, and Stalin. As William Foster, a leading member of the CPUSA, wrote, "By forty years of revolutionary work [Stalin] has demonstrated that he is the greatest living Marxian leader."[11] To Foster and others, Stalin and the rest of the Soviet government was the government

[9] Harvey Khelr, John Earl Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 7.
[10] Ward, *The New York Intellectuals*, 128.
[11] William Foster, *Your Questions Answered* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1939), 95.

of the proletariat, a model for those hoping to bring communism to the rest of the world. In fact, the connection between the CPUSA and the Soviet government was close enough for Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson to argue in *The Soviet World of American Communism* that the CPUSA "looked to their Soviet counterparts for advice on how to conduct their own party business."[12]

American Trotskyists saw the Soviet Union in different terms, criticizing Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy in particular. During his exile from the Soviet Union, Trotsky had argued that the Stalinist bureaucracy no longer represented the aims of its proletarian base; as he described, the Soviet Union was "a degenerated workers' state under the dictatorship of the bureaucracy."[13] The nationalized economy of the Soviet Union secured its place as a socialist workers' state, but within this state, the workers had no real political influence. Rather, the Stalinist bureaucracy, designated "a caste" by Trotsky, had usurped political control.[14] Trotskyists thus sought to preserve the economic system of the Soviet Union while overthrowing its political leadership. However, by the late 1930s, questions emerged within the American Trotskyist movement over whether or not the Soviet Union could still be considered a "degenerated workers' state" and, subsequently, whether Trotskyists should still lend it their support. In 1937, some prominent American Trotskyists, including James Burnham, Max Geltman, and Joseph Friedman, suggested that Trotsky's theory was flawed and argued "that the Soviet Union was neither a workers' state nor a capitalist state."[15] Stalinist bureaucracy, they believed, had changed the class nature of the Soviet Union.

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[12] Khelr, Haynes, and Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism*, 4.
[13] Leon Trotsky, "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," *New International* 2, no. 4 (July 1935), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1935/02/ws-therm-bon.htm (accessed November 4, 2011).
[14] Ward, *The New York Intellectuals*, 180.
[15] Ibid, 181.

Open dissent within the SWP in 1937 was short-lived. To preserve party unity, Burnham, Friedman, and the other Trotskyist skeptics retreated from their position at a party convention in December.[16] However, questions remained about the nature of the Soviet state. Soviet conduct in the late summer and fall of 1939 again raised what had become known as "the Russian question." On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union, previously a staunch opponent of fascism and sponsor of anti-fascist popular fronts worldwide, signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. A few weeks later, per a secret agreement within the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Stalin ordered the occupation of the eastern portion of Poland. Burnham and other dissident Trotskyists were appalled at the Soviet Union's sudden alliance and coordinated military action with a fascist state. Crisis engulfed the American Trotskyist movement as party members debated whether or not to support the Soviet Union's most recent policy shift. Max Shachtman, a founder of the SWP who had begun to identify with Burnham's theory of the Soviet Union, described the Pact as "an aggressive military alliance," in which the Soviet Union had "subordinated" itself to Germany and German imperialist aims.[17] Shachtman also argued that the invasion of Poland constituted "active support" for Hitler and should therefore be opposed by Marxists.[18] The Soviet Union, he argued, had become an agent of Nazi Germany.

In sharp contrast, James Cannon, the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party, along with the majority of the SWP, claimed the pact between Germany and the Soviet Union was inconsequential. Cannon argued that since the Pact had not resulted in "some fundamental change in Soviet economy" Trotskyists should not concern themselves with the fact that the

[16] Ibid.
[17] Max Shachtman, "The Soviet Union and the World War," *New International* 6, no. 3 (April 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/archive/shachtma/1940/04/ussrwar.htm (accessed October 14, 2011).
[18] Ibid.

Soviet Union was now allied with a fascist state rather than "bourgeois democratic" states.[19] As Trotsky had, Cannon believed that the nature of property relations was the only factor that merited consideration when debating support for the Soviet Union. The invasion of Poland little influenced this view. Cannon wrote that the invasion was "simply one of the consequences of the war and the alliance with Hitler's Germany." He went on to criticize the measures take by Stalin in Poland, but emphasized that the SWP should still support the Soviet Union.[20] Thus, many Trotskyists were ambivalent towards Soviet actions, convinced that Stalin's decisions were mistaken, but that the Soviet Union as a whole should still be supported and defended.

CPUSA leadership, however, remained united despite the change of course in Soviet policy. The Pact certainly shocked for the CPUSA. Following the Comintern's anti-fascist, Popular Front policy of the mid-1930s, the CPUSA had advocated international alliance between the West and the Soviet Union and domestic cooperation with center-left parties such as the American Democratic Party.[21] Ottanelli writes, "peace and resistance to fascist aggression" served as "the center of the strategy of the Communist movement."[22] Nevertheless, however startled American Communists may have been at the abrupt shift in Soviet policy, the CPUSA faithfully followed the lead of the Soviet government and the Comintern. The CPUSA leadership acquiesced to Soviet demands, and its anti-fascist rhetoric ceased.[23] Likewise, following the invasion of Poland, the CPUSA leadership remained in lockstep with the Soviet government, believing its foreign policy changes were necessary to defend its existence as a workers' state.[24]

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[19] James Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question," *New International* 6, no. 1 (February 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/archive/cannon/works/1939/ussr.htm (accessed October 13, 2011).
[20] Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question."
[21] Khelr, Haynes, and Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism*, 71.
[22] Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States*, 160.
[23] Ibid, 197.
[24] Ibid.

Thus, by November 1939, American Marxism had devolved into a tripartite debate, and leading American Marxists drifted towards one of these three positions.

On November 30, after months of futile attempts to gain territorial concessions around Leningrad from Finland, the Soviet Union invaded in Finland. As noted earlier, Stalin ostensibly hoped to safeguard Leningrad, which lay close to the Finnish border. Jacobs notes that the invasion was particularly aggressive. The Red Army advanced into Finland, while the Soviet air force bombed Helsinki. In many cases, the bombing did not target military establishments; hundreds of civilians may have been killed in the opening bombardment. Some contemporaries described the attack as "the most brutal bit of warfare yet perpetrated."[25] However, despite the initial brutality of the campaign, Finland's military, under Commander-in-chief Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim, was not immediately defeated. Soon, the invasion transformed into a drawn out war that lasted for over four months. By the time the Moscow Peace Treaty was signed on March 21, 1940, giving small pieces of Finnish territory to the Soviet Union, 25,000 Finnish troops had been killed.[26] Soviet loses were five times as high.

More so than the Soviet foreign policy shifts of August and September, the invasion of Finland incensed Americans. Peter Kivisto notes that the majority of Americans saw Finland "as a David fighting a Goliath."[27] Indeed, the New York Times article quoted earlier mocked the Soviet claim that the invasion of Finland was necessary "to protect a nation of 180,000,000 from the 'threat' of a nation of 4,000,000."[28] Americans also supported Finland because "it was a country that paid its debts."[29] Regardless of from where they derived their sympathy, Americans

[25] Jacobs, *America and the Winter War*, 64.
[26] Kivisto, "Finnish Americans and the Homeland, 1918-1958," 17.
[27] Ibid, 14.
[28] "Workers of the World."
[29] Anthony F. Upton, *Finland in Crisis, 1940-41: A Study in Small-Power Politics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 32.

across the political spectrum backed Finland. Jacobs argues that American conservatives provided the most boisterous condemnation of invasion. Republican politicians, including former President Herbert Hoover, called for material support for the Finnish army and the cessation of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.[30] However, many left-leaning Americans were equally enraged and echoed the conservatives' criticism. For example, both *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, liberal political magazines that "had held a friendly view" of the Soviet Union, decried Soviet bellicosity, particularly the bombing of civilians.[31] To them, the Soviet Union was no longer acting in the interests of the oppressed; it had become the oppressor.

Many Americans were not only angry, but were also driven to action. As Jacobs writes, "the Russian invasion prompted Americans to see how they could assist beleaguered Finland."[32] While the United States government officially remained neutral, conservative politicians lent their support to numerous organizations such as the Finnish Relief Fund and For Finland, Inc.[33] The American Red Cross, various newspapers, and thousands of Finnish-Americans also raised money for war relief.[34] Furthermore, as a January 10, 1940, *New York Times* article reveals, some Americans volunteered to fight with the Finnish military.[35]

In this context of brutal invasion, grueling war, and public indignation, American Marxists debated the legitimacy of Soviet aggression against Finland. The existence of continuities between this debate and the debates over the nature of the Soviet state, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the invasion of Poland are undeniable. The Russo-Finnish war did not result in any substantive ideological shifts. The three major positions on the Soviet Union

[30] Jacobs, *America and the Winter War*, 70.
[31] Jacobs, *America and the Winter War*, 74.
[32] Ibid, 78.
[33] Kivisto, "Finnish Americans and the Homeland, 1918-1958," 14.
[34] Jacobs, *America and the Winter War*, 78-83.
[35] "5 Young Americans to Fly for Finns," *New York Times*, January 11, 1940.

remained. However, what is particularly interesting is how American Marxists defended these positions.

In his study of the Communist Party of the US in World War II, Maurice Isserman writes that with the invasion of Finland, "Stalin dropped one more unpleasant task in the laps of American Communists."[36] American Communist leadership had already committed to the Soviet Union; they would not break from Stalin over the invasion. In fact, Isserman states that "Soviet demands on Finland appeared eminently reasonable to the Communists."[37] After all, they argued, Leningrad, "being only twenty miles away from the Finnish border, could easily be bombarded by sea or by land."[38] They believed Stalin's official explanation that the Soviet Union was simply acting in self-defense.

However, the public outcry generated by the invasion made such a position difficult to defend. It was not enough to say that Finland alone posed a serious threat to Soviet Union. Relying on Lenin's characterization of imperialism, American Communists instead described Finland as an instrument through which capitalist nations hoped to ultimately defeat socialism in the Soviet Union. In 1917, Vladimir Lenin had published his treatise *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in which he critiqued imperial expansion as a necessary outgrowth of capitalist societies. He wrote that imperialism had an "economic essence;" it was, in his words, "capitalism in transition, or, more precisely, as moribund capitalism."[39] Imperialism, Lenin believed, could stave off, at least temporarily, the triumph of the proletariat that Marx had predicted. By looking outside its borders for markets and resources, a state could prevent the

[36] Maurice Isserman. *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 53.
[37] Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?*, 54.
[38] Israel Amter, *The Truth About Finland* (New York: New York State Committee, Communist Party, 1939), 4.
[39] Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," in *Essential Works of Lenin: "What Is to Be Done? and Other Writngs*, ed. Henry M. Christman (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), 268.

collapse of capitalism and preserve the wealth of the bourgeois. These economic necessities, Lenin believed, would lead to political action, such as "the striving for annexation…the violation of national independence."[40] Adopting this language, American Communists began to paint the Soviet Union as a potential victim of capitalist expansion.

In order to portray the Soviet Union as a victim, the Communists' initial response to the invasion of Finland reversed the role of invader. On December 1, the day after the invasion, the headlines of the CPUSA's daily newspaper, *Daily Worker*, read, "Red Army Hurls Back Invading Finnish Troops."[41] For American Communists, if Finland perpetrated the war, the forceful Soviet response must have been justified. American Communists further emphasized that Finland was a conduit through which foreign powers could invade, and in fact had invaded, the Soviet Union. A pamphlet from the New York State Committee of the Communist Party reminded readers that during the First World War German armies had passed through Finland to attack the Soviet Union. Also, in the civil war that had followed the Bolshevik Revolution, foreign supporters of the White Army funneled soldiers and supplies through Finland.[42] The CPUSA portrayed the 1939 war as a defensive measure to prevent further foreign intervention in the Soviet Union.

The party did, after all, subscribe to Lenin's assertion that capitalism and territorial expansion were linked. As William Foster wrote, "Imperialism is a manifestation of capitalism."[43] For Communists, Western capitalist countries therefore posed a substantial threat to the Soviet Union; expansion into the Soviet Union would not only guarantee resources and markets, but would also undermine socialism, the antithesis of capitalist supremacy. Once one

[40] Ibid, 264.
[41] "Red Army Hurls Back Invading Finnish Troops," *Daily Worker*, December 1, 1939.
[42] New York State Committee, Communist Party, *The Truth About Finland and the Wall Street War Drive* (New York: New York State Committee, Communist Pary, 1939), 1.
[43] Foster, *Your Questions Answered*, 96.

believed that capitalist nations such as Great Britain, France, and the United States had the motivation for expansion into the Soviet Union both for economic advantage and to undermine socialism, it was not difficult to argue that Finland could serve as a means for such expansion. Indeed, American Communists emphasized with ease the close connection between Finland and Western capitalist nations. For example, Earl Browder, the General Secretary of the CPUSA, alerted readers to the shipment of armaments from Great Britain and France to Finland, declaring such actions "preparations for war against the Soviet Union." And, ultimately, Browder continued, "The Finnish Government, London's puppet, was pushed into an open provocation and threat of military action against Leningrad…a provocation based on long preparations to transform Finland into a steel dagger at the throat of the Soviet Union."[44] In Browder's and other CPUSA leaders' estimations, Finland became a pawn in a larger imperialist plot to annex territory and undermine socialism in the Soviet Union. For the CPUSA, this justified war against Finland because, as Georgi Dimitroff, General Secretary of the Comintern, wrote in a pamphlet printed by the CPUSA, it would "eliminate the hotbed of war at [the Soviet Union's] very frontier."[45] Thus, according to leading American Communists and many of their rank-and-file followers, the invasion of Finland was in essence an exercise in counter-imperialism.

Interestingly, the CPUSA implicated the United States, together with the United Kingdom and France, as one of the imperialist powers threatening the Soviet Union. As noted earlier, the CPUSA had provided support for President Roosevelt's government and many of his New Deal policies. Ottanelli points out that, even after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, CPUSA leadership was reluctant to attack Roosevelt, in spite of pressure from the Comintern. However, following the arrest of Earl Browder on October 23, the CPUSA's tone on Roosevelt changed, and he

[44] Earl Browder, *The People Against War Makers* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1940), 7.
[45] Georgi Dimitroff, *The Struggle Against the Imperialist War* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1940), 15.

became increasingly subject to stinging attacks from the CPUSA labeling him "an agent of big business in defense of British imperialism."[46] After Roosevelt's "disapproval" of the Soviet invasion of Finland, criticism of the president increased,[47] and, in many Communists' minds, the United States became firmly entrenched as a imperialist power. Furthermore, as the titles of numerous pamphlets, including *The Truth about Finland and the Wall Street War Drive* and *I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier for Wall Street*, indicate, the CPUSA regarded American capitalists as warmongers desperate to preserve their profits and continue the oppression of workers. In the CPUSA lexicon, they joined "the British War Office" as "the Big Boss" provoking "little Finland" into war.[48] In ostensibly allying himself with Wall Street on the issue of Finland, Roosevelt had committed the United States to preserving "the European bourgeoisie," crushing "revolution in Europe," and extending American power abroad.[49] These facts, the CPUSA argued, justified the inclusion of the United States in the ranks of imperialist powers set on destroying the Soviet Union.

The CPUSA also argued that the invasion of Finland, in addition to protecting the Soviet Union from aggressive expansion, would help to defeat the Finnish bourgeois and end imperialistic oppression of the Finnish proletariat. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a leading member of the CPUSA, wrote, "Our sympathy is with the Finnish people in their struggle against the Mannerheim government, and for friendly relations with their neighbor, the Soviet government."[50] Communists painted Mannerheim as a symbol of bourgeois oppression, an agent of foreign imperialists that stifled any progress towards proletarian revolution. Furthermore,

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[46] Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States*, 191-192.
[47] Khelr, *The Heyday of American Communism*, 396-397.
[48] New York State Committee, Communist Party, *The Truth About Finland and the Wall Street War Drive*, 2.
[49] Browder, *The People Against War-Makers*, 10.
[50] Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier for Wall Street* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1940), 8.

many in the CPUSA claimed that Soviet intervention in neighboring countries actually enhanced the independence of those states.[51] To Flynn and others in the CPUSA, independence implied not necessarily the absence of foreign intervention, but rather freedom from the control of capitalist powers. In a convoluted manner, the Soviet Union's annexation of territory could therefore be considered anti-imperialist rather than imperialist. Just as capitalism would bring imperialism and oppression, socialism would bring independence. Thus, many American Communists concluded that Soviet action in Finland was not imperialistic. William Foster wrote, "The phrase 'Red Imperialism' is, therefore, a contradiction in terms, a characteristic anti-Soviet slander."[52] Rather, the CPUSA argued that the war in Finland was necessary to counter imperial expansion and liberate an oppressed people. The Soviet Union was opposing British, French, and American imperialism, conducted through their Finnish agent, the Mannerheim government.

Among American Trotskyists, James Cannon and the majority of the Socialist Workers Party (hereafter called Cannonites or the SWP Majority) followed the lead of Leon Trotsky, adopting a much more nuanced opinion of the invasion, as they had following the Pact and the invasion of Poland. Key to understanding this reaction is the Trotskyist belief that the Soviet Union had a binary nature. As noted earlier, Trotskyists argued that the Soviet Union was composed of a nation of workers organized in a nationalized economy and a Stalinist bureaucratic "caste" that was unaccountable to the Soviet population and sought to protect its own interests. Thus, the SWP Majority could criticize Stalin's actions, but maintain support for the Soviet Union as a whole.

This allowed Cannonites to promulgate what might appear to be a contradictory position on the Soviet invasion of Finland, a position laid out in a February 1940 *New International*

[51] Amter, *The Truth About Finland*, 5.
[52] Foster, *Your Questions Answered*, 97.

editorial. On the one hand, they decried "the stupidity of Moscow" for engaging in a war that "supplies ammunition to the imperialists and all their lackeys for a new campaign to overthrow the Soviet Union and restore private property."[53] Cannonites, as did the CPUSA, viewed Finland as a staunch ally of capitalist imperialists; Stalin's invasion of Finland therefore risked retaliation from Great Britain, France, and the United States. At the same time, they believed that Marxists had an obligation to support the Soviet Union. As Cannon had stated in an October 1939 speech, because the Soviet Union retained "nationalized property and planned economy," it remained "a workers' state" worthy of "unconditional defense."[54] Thus, although Stalin may have mistakenly instigated the Russo-Finnish war, Cannon and many other American Trotskyists cheered a Soviet victory.

To support this dualist argument, the SWP Majority put forth a different narrative than that of the CPUSA. Cannonites criticized the CPUSA for its unwavering support for Stalin, including the suggestion that Finland had attacked the Soviet Union. They argued that it was "necessary for the class-conscious militant to draw back a bit from the tendentious headlines of the Stalinist and capitalist press alike in order cool-headedly to analyze exactly what has been happening in Finland."[55] After such "cool-headed" analysis, the Cannonites readily admitted that Stalin had ordered the invasion. The following narrative, explaining Stalin's culpability, appeared in the SWP editorial on Finland. Stalin, fearing a future conflict with Germany, believed Soviet military bases in the Baltic states and in Finland were necessary to the defense of his regime from an invasion by Germany or another Western power. However, Stalin did not

[53] Socialist Workers Party, "An Editorial on Finland," *New International* 6, no. 1 (February 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/fi/1938-1949/swp-wpsplit/swpwp02.htm (accessed October 13, 2011).
[54] Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question."
[55] Socialist Workers Party, "An Editorial on Finland."

succeed in acquiring Finnish bases diplomatically and consequently adopted military means.[56] As noted above, Cannon and others described Stalin's actions at the onset of the war as "stupid." To justify this label, they claimed that Stalin had acted against the interests of international socialism. Cannon wrote, "We don't support Stalin's invasion only because he doesn't come for revolutionary purposes."[57] Rather, as noted above, Stalin ordered the attack on Finland to protect himself and his bureaucracy from foreign powers.

For Cannon, Stalin had become an agent of imperialism. By pulling the Soviet Union into war in Finland, Stalin was essentially doing the bidding of imperialist powers, both democratic and fascist. First, Stalin's actions might divide the proletariat. Cannon wrote in a letter to a fellow Trotskyist that Stalin "had done everything possible to alienate the sentiment of the masses and to serve the game of the democratic imperialist masters."[58] The SWP's "Editorial on Finland" further clarified this argument, stating that the bourgeois, imperialist West could use the invasion of Finland to criticize the Soviet Union. It read, "But more deliberate and more pernicious than this conscious reaction of the bourgeoisie is the attempt to make out the U.S.S.R. as an 'imperialist' state in the eyes of the working class and to blur the distinction between the soviet forms and the capitalist forms of the ownership of property."[59] A divided working class would spell the defeat of international socialism and victory for capitalism.

Second, as Stalin's blundering foreign policy had pitted the Soviet Union against both its democratic and fascist rivals, the possibility of foreign intervention in the Soviet Union increased. In fact, Cannonites believed that the Western imperialists applauded the invasion of Finland because it drew the Soviet Union into their "imperialist war," "laying the basis for

[56] Ibid.
[57] Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question."
[58] James Cannon, "A Letter to Farrell Dobbs," in *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972), 120.
[59] Socialist Workers Party, "An Editorial on Finland."

intervention" in the Soviet Union.[60] This danger allowed Cannonites to construct the Russo-Finnish war as a struggle between the Soviet Union and democratic imperialists, justifying their declaration that "defense of the Soviet Union" was paramount. Like the CPUSA, the SWP Majority emphasized that Finland, a country that appeared to pose no significant threat to the Soviet Union, garnered the support of imperialist forces bent on destroying socialism. In a SWP statement titled "Resolution on Russia," Cannonites listed the imperialist forces menacing the Soviet Union—President Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, Great Britain, and the League of Nations—each of whom had condemned Soviet action. The statement claimed that the West's vigorous denunciation of the invasion might lead "to a direct and full-fledged war against the Soviet Union."[61] Thus, as the CPUSA had, Cannon portrayed the Soviet Union as threatened by the combined force of Western capitalism, eager to see the disintegration of the workers' state. It is clear that the SWP majority viewed imperialism as a phenomenon of capitalism. While Stalin had roused this imperialist threat, it remained the duty of Marxists to defend the workers' state.

Yet, Cannonites did see potential benefits to Stalin's error. In his speech on the "Russian question," Cannon argued that "the best defense" of the Soviet Union was "the international revolution of the proletariat."[62] As the revolution in the Soviet Union demonstrated, the transformation of property relations served as part of this international revolution, private ownership would be abolished and replaced with a nationalized economy. Cannonites recognized that the Soviet offensive in Finland might result in "the positive gain of the expropriation of private property."[63] Furthermore, as the CPUSA had argued, Stalin's invasion would free the

[60] Ibid.
[61] Socialist Workers Party, "Resolution on Russia: A Statement of Policy by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party," *New International* 6, no. 1 (February 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol06/no01/editorial.htm (accessed October 13, 2011).
[62] Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question."
[63] Socialist Workers Party, "An Editorial on Finland."

Finnish proletariat from "the bourgeois swine who rule Finland" and "the white terror of Mannerheim."[64] Ward has pointed out that this analysis is similar to Marx's analysis of Napoleon. Although Napoleon overturned core tenets of the French Revolution, his conquest of Europe sped the disintegration of feudalism and the establishment of bourgeois rule. By advancing Europe to a higher historical stage, Marx reasoned that Napoleon's wars had been progressive and had edged Europe closer to socialism. Although, like Napoleon, Stalin was "counterrevolutionary," he could destroy the existing economic system in Finland and perhaps further the revolution.[65] Thus, the invasion of Finland, in the estimations of Cannonites, might obliterate bourgeois control in and weaken imperialist control of Finland, allowing for the establishment of socialism.

Max Shachtman labeled such a response "contradictory and untenable." He lamented, "They condemn the invasion, but support the invaders!"[66] Shachtman, James Burnham, and a dissident faction of American Trotskyists (Shachtmanites or the SWP Minority) chastised the Soviet Union. The root of their criticism lay in "the Russian question": should support for the Soviet Union be determined by its class structure? Shachtman and Burnham answered resoundingly in the negative. Shachtman wrote in an open letter to Trotsky, "It is impossible to deduce directly our policy towards a specific war from an abstract characterization of the class character of the state involved in the war, more particularly, from the property forms prevailing in that state." Rather, he argued, "Our policy must flow from a concrete examination of the character of the war in relation to the interests of the international socialist revolution."[67] On this

[64] Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question."
[65] Ward, *The New York Intellectuals*, 188.
[66] Shachtman, "The Soviet Union and the World War."
[67] Max Shachtman, "The Crisis in the American Party," *New International* 6, no. 2 (March 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/archive/shachtma/1940/03/crisis.htm (accessed October 12, 2011).

basis, Shachtman, Burnham, and their allies concluded that the war in Finland could not be defended.

The SWP Minority argued that defense of the invasion of Finland elevated the interests of the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy above the interests of the international socialist movement. Shachtman lamented that Soviet victory in Finland would not bring about a Finnish nationalized economy, but rather a counterrevolutionary economy system that served the interests of Stalin. He wrote, "the Stalinist bureaucracy is capable only of strangling revolutions, not making them or giving an impulsion to them."[68] Thus, the SWP Minority rejected the argument that the invasion would abolish private property ownership in Finland. Shachtman also declared that the invasion of Finland would "drive the proletariat and peasantry into the arms of imperialist patriotism."[69] Burnham echoed this sentiment as he wrote that the Soviet invasion left Finnish workers with two choices: "to fight desperately for the bourgeois 'fatherland'" or to surrender to Stalin and "a new type of slavery," Soviet imperialism.[70] The labeling of the Soviet invasion as explicitly imperialistic represents a sharp break with both CPUSA and Cannonite use of the term imperialist that has been documented above. The Shachtmanites no longer reserved the term for capitalist nations; the Soviet Union, they claimed, had become imperialistic.

An analysis of the relationship between Stalin's bureaucracy and the Soviet Union as a whole was central to this claim. As noted above, Shachtman, Burnham, and the rest of the SWP Minority questioned the Soviet Union's proletarian nature. The Stalinist bureaucracy did not, according to Shachtman, exist solely as a counterrevolutionary political entity on top of a socialist economic base, as Trotsky's "dual nature" theory suggested. Rather, Soviet political

[68] Shachtman, "The Crisis in the American Party."
[69] Ibid.
[70] James Burnham, "The Politics of Desperation," *New International* 6, no. 3 (April 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/burnham/1940/01/poldes.htm (accessed October 12, 2011).

leadership had "constantly undermine[d] the social-economic basis of the Russian Revolution."[71] In essence, Stalin's bureaucracy had consumed the Soviet Union; Stalin had become the Soviet Union. And therefore, Shachtman concluded that "it is not the nationalized economy that goes to war…Nor does the working class make these decisions—either directly or indirectly—for it is gagged and fettered and straitjacketed. The decisions and direction of the war are entirely in the hands of the bureaucracy."[72] Soviet action could not be redeemed on the basis of its class structure, which was economically eroding and had no say in political decisions. It was thus impossible to distinguish between a Stalinist bureaucracy and a nationalized economy, supporting the latter in the war but not the former, as Cannonites had.

Having made this claim, Shachtman could determine whether a unitary Soviet Union, in which the decision-making Stalinist bureaucracy had subsumed the workers' state, was culpable of imperialism, and thus whether the Soviet Union as a whole merited support in the war against Finland. Shachtman did not believe that the Soviet Union was always imperialist. Rather, it could become imperialist based on the type of war it waged. He differentiated between two types of wars: "reactionary" and "progressive." If conducting a "progressive" war, or one waged in "the interests of the international socialist revolution," the Soviet Union would be, as both the CPUSA and Cannonites argued, opposing imperialism. However, if the Soviet Union engaged in a "reactionary" war, one contrary to the wellbeing of worldwide socialism, the Soviet Union would become imperialistic.[73] Indeed, following the Stalinist usurpation of power, such a war was possible. Shachtman wrote that Stalin's bureaucracy had "degenerated to the point where it was not only capable of conducting reactionary wars against the proletariat…but did in fact

[71] Shachtman, "The Crisis in the American Party."
[72] Ibid.
[73] Max Shachtman, "Is Russia a Workers' State?", *New International* 6, no. 10 (December 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/archive/shachtma/1940/12/russia.htm (accessed October 12, 2011).

conduct such wars."[74] The invasion of Finland belonged in this category. In a March 1940 essay, SWP Minority argued that "the present war", in which the Soviet Union had engaged by invading Poland and Finland, "is a new struggle among the great powers for a re-division of the earth."[75] It was, in other words, a war among imperialists. Thus, the Soviet Union's participation in the war made it, although a non-capitalist country, "an integral part of one of the imperialist camps" and antagonistic to true socialism.[76]

On its face, this argument appears to contradict Lenin's claim that capitalism generated imperialism. However, the SWP Minority did not find its conclusion in conflict with Marxist-Leninist theory. Rather, Shachtman argued that Lenin had only written of one variation of imperialism, that "of capitalism in decay," but that the Soviet invasion represented "an imperialism peculiar to the Stalinist bureaucracy."[77] Shachtman further argued that the Stalinist bureaucracy, self-servingly looking to strengthen its hold on the Soviet Union, hoped to gain access to the natural resources of Finland. In so doing, it engaged in the "subjugation and oppression of other peoples," becoming an imperialist power.[78] While the CPUSA and the Cannonites emphasized capitalism as the cause and defining feature of imperialism, Shachtman and the SWP minority argued that an expansionist act alone, regardless of the preexisting economic conditions, marked imperialism. Thus, despite the fact that Finland had the backing of foreign capitalists, who the SWP Minority still did regard as imperialists,[79] the invasion could not be countenanced with Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

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[74] Shachtman, "The Crisis in the American Party."
[75] Socialist Workers Party Minority of the Political Committee, "Second World War and the Soviet Union," *New International* 6, no. 2 (March 1940), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol06/no02/minority.htm (accessed October 17, 2011).
[76] Shachtman, "The Soviet Union and the World War."
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Burnham, "The Politics of Desperation."

The SWP minority also claimed that the invasion of Finland, as an outgrowth of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, served the purposes of German imperialism. Stalin had essentially become Hitler's henchman, a pawn in Germany's push for conquest of Europe. Shachtman wrote that "Berlin 'obviously pushed' Stalin towards Helsinki."[80] According to Shachtman, Hitler had two motivations. First, through its invasion of Finland, the Soviet Union became "more deeply in the war on Hitler's side." Furthermore, Hitler hoped that Stalin would oust, in Shachtman's words, "Anglo-French imperialism" from northern Europe.[81] The SWP Minority indeed recognized Finland's close ties to Western capitalist nations. However, they did not consider the potential Soviet conquest of Finland a deliverance from capitalist imperialism. Rather, subjugation to the imperial delusions of Hitler and Stalin replaced capitalist imperialism.

As the above discussion demonstrates, three quite different accounts of the invasion of Finland emerged from the leadership of the American Far Left. The American Communist Party defended Soviet action as necessary to the defense of the Soviet Union against Western capitalist imperialism. A majority of the Trotskyist SWP believed that Stalin wrongly invaded Finland because it directed the wrath of Finland's imperialist allies against the Soviet Union. However, they also believed that this capitalist indignation threatened the workers' state, making defense of the Soviet Union imperative. Finally, a minority faction in the SWP declared Soviet action inexcusably imperialist because it was territorial expansionist, undermined international socialism, resulted in the oppression of Finland, and subordinated the Soviet Union to German expansionary aims.

A common theme emerges out of these diverse responses. Regardless of whether they supported or opposed the invasion, American Marxists couched their arguments in the same

[80] Shachtman, "The Soviet Union and the World War."
[81] Shachtman, "The Soviet Union and the World War."

language, the language of imperialism. In a movement committed to opposing capitalist imperialism, the invasion of Finland, as well as the events that preceded it, endangered the exclusive association of imperialism with capitalism. In essence, a single question subsumed the separate spheres of debate existing within the CPUSA and the Trotskyist movement: Who acted as the imperialist in the Russo-Finnish war? In other words, was imperialism still reserved for only capitalist nations? Or had the communist state that Lenin founded violated one of his core beliefs? For leading American Marxists, the invasion of Finland confirmed whether the Soviet Union stood as a bastion against imperialist expansion or had become an imperialist power of its own.

The multiple interpretations of imperialism among American Marxists should not come as a surprise. Indeed, some of Lenin's contemporary Marxist thinkers, such as Karl Kautsky, were not fully convinced of the validity of Lenin's conclusion that a capitalist economic system alone determined imperialist expansion.[82] Furthermore, scholars have argued that Lenin's *Imperialism* "was never meant to represent the final scientific statement on the problem of capitalist expansion and advanced capitalist state coercion."[83] Yet, Lenin and his theory of imperialism obtained status within Marxist movements rivaled only by Marx himself. Willoughby writes that Lenin was "the only Communist 'saint' embraced by nearly all Marxian movements. Trotskyists, Stalinists, and Maoists could all agree that Lenin's *Imperialism* presented a profound scientific achievement."[84] Indeed, the numerous references to imperialism in American Marxists' response to the invasion of Finland, both in justification and criticism of the Soviet Union, indict the centrality of imperialist theory in Marxist thought. Given the elevated place of Lenin and imperialism in American Marxist movements, the diverse

[82] John Willougby, "Evaluating the Leninist Theory of Imperialism," *Science & Society* 59, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 326.
[83] Ibid, 321.
[84] Ibid, 322.

interpretations of imperialism and its relation to the Soviet Union after the invasion of Finland were particularly divisive.

Thus, the invasion of Finland generated a new degree of divisiveness and polarity among American Marxists. Differences between existing stances on the Soviet Union became increasingly irreparable. Cannon wrote in a letter to a fellow Trotskyist on December 15, 1939, following a party debate with Shachtman and Burnham over the invasion of Finland and the nature of the Soviet Union, "As becomes clearer every day, what is involved is not simply an ordinary discussion in which different opinions are presented, but an irreconcilable struggle in which sides are being taken." He continued by explaining that the invasion of Finland pushed Shachtman across "the bridge" between Cannon and the "anti-Bolshevik position of Burnham."[85] A great ideological chasm now separated Cannonites and Shachtmanites. Accusations of supporting imperialism flowed from both sides. Burnham complained, "Cannon and Trotsky tell us: But then you want the imperialists to take over the Soviet Union. This is nothing but the standard slander."[86] By May 1940, Shachtman, Burnham, and others broke away from the SWP and formed their own Workers' Party.

At the same time, the split between the CPUSA and the Trotskyist factions was reinforced. CPUSA member Amter wrote, "Trotskyites, stoolpigeons of the Dies Committee [the first manifestation of the anti-Communist House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938] and reaction, pretend to support the Finnish people against the Helsinki government. But their main objective, openly stated, is to overthrow the Soviet Government, which is the aim of the imperialist powers."[87] Because the CPUSA did not see any discord between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet Union, it construed Shachtmanite and even Cannonite criticism of

[85] Cannon, "A Letter to Farrell Dobbs," 119.
[86] Burnham, "The Politics of Desperation."
[87] Amter, *The Truth About Finland*, 15.

Stalin, and particularly his association with imperialism, as blasphemous. Trotskyists responded with equal vigor. In a May 1941 essay, Joseph Friedman, an ally of Shachtman and Burnham in the SWP Minority who wrote under the name Joseph Carter, presented a scathing critique of the American Communist Party. He accused the Party of blindly following Stalin's foreign policy vacillations, swinging wildly from support for democratic imperialists during the Popular Front to support for German fascist imperialism. In so doing, they abandoned "the small states whose defense was a major item in the Communist propaganda yesterday (Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Romania)."[88] In sum, proponents of each of the three positions on the invasion of Finland accused the other positions of supporting imperialism, a hefty charge given the importance of imperialism in Leninist-Marxist theory. The invasion of Finland thus accentuated already existing divisions among American Marxists.

But while proponents of each position attacked one another, each was essentially a defensive position, meant to limit in-party losses in the face of public outcry. Indeed, members of American far left were the target of the pamphlets, letters, and newspaper and journal articles. As Cannon wrote, "I would be very glad to defend the Soviet Union at a public meeting…unfortunately my first task was to defend the Soviet Union in our own party." [89] Furthermore, the language used would have been familiar to Marxists, but not to Americans in the political mainstream. Thus, while the Shachtman position made no attempt to defend the Soviet Union, its extensive use of Marxian terminology was an effort to redeem and defend socialism among already committed Marxists.

A significant number of American Marxists believed their party leaders' arguments. While the debate within the SWP wrenched the party in two, it appears that the combined

[88] Joseph Carter, "Stalinism and the War," *New International* 7, no. 4 (Mary 1941), in the Marxist Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/carter/1941/05/stalinism-war.htm (accessed October 13, 2011).
[89] Cannon, "A Letter to Farrell Dobbs," 120.

membership of the post-split SWP and the WP remained only slightly less than pre-split levels, roughly 1,000 members.[90] Likewise, CPUSA sympathizers such as novelist Theodore Dresier (who in fact joined the CPUSA in 1945) echoed Foster and Browder in his 1941 book, *America is Worth Saving*. He argued that Finland represented a grave danger to the Soviet Union that had to be eliminated because of its close connection to Western capitalist nations.[91] A degree of fervor remained among a number of American Marxists.

Nevertheless, many rank-and-file members became disillusioned with communism following the invasion of Finland. Given the CPUSA's prominence on the far left of American politics (its membership had peaked at 66,000 in January 1939[92]), this trend was especially noticeable among the CPUSA. Khelr, Haynes, and Anderson list CPUSA membership at 50,000 by 1941, 16,000 fewer than two years earlier. They argue that the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact was central to this membership decline.[93] However, the invasion of Finland must be seen as a contributing factor, the decisive event in a string of controversial Soviet actions. Louis Fischer, an American writer and Soviet sympathizer during the 1930s, wrote of "Kronstadts" (in reference to the Bolshevik suppression of a 1921 uprising), or points where Marxists abandoned the Soviet Union or even communism as a whole. While Fischer himself rejected the Soviet Union following the Molotov-Ribbentropp Pact, he writes that many "did not 'leave the train' to stop at 'Kronstadt' until Russia invaded Finland…Finland was their ideological melting point."[94] Peter Kivisto, a leading scholar on Finnish-Americans, notes that many Finnish-American communists left the party and joined more mainstream organizations. Likewise, many black

[90] Robert Jackson Alexander, *International Trotskyism, 1929-1985: A Documented Analysis of the Movement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 805.
[91] Theodore Dreiser, *America Is Worth Saving* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1941), 45.
[92] Khelr, Haynes, and Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism*, 72.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Louis Fischer, "Louis Fischer," in *The God That Failed: Why Six Great Writers Rejected Communism*, ed. Richard Crossman (New York: Bantam Books, 1959), 201.

communists in Harlem became disillusioned and renounced their membership.[95] Even the mainstream American press recognized the growing discontent within the American Far Left after the invasion. *The Washington Post* noted that many former Soviet sympathizers had "mind[s] that cannot be controlled from Moscow" and thus "could not make the rapid backward somersaults ordered by Stalin."[96] Thus, for many rank-and-file members of the CPUSA as well as other former supporters of the Soviet Union, the invasion of Finland was the final straw.

The fundamental weakening of the Trotskyist movement was less noticeable but also indicated some of the problems the American far left faced. Ward argues that the split in the SWP following the invasion represented a significant event in "the evolution of the deradicalizing of the anti-Stalinist left."[97] Indeed, many Trotskyists eventually abandoned Marxism altogether, including James Burnham. Thus, the invasion of Finland concluded a particularly shaky period in the history of American Marxism, after which the movement stood further divided and weakened.

While defense of the three positions on the Soviet invasion of Finland met mixed results among already committed Marxists, the debate in general reveals a fundamental weakness of Marxism in the United States—its disconnect from mainstream thought. Not only were membership numbers small (and decreasing), but also the defensive, insular, and theoretical nature of discussion within the far left did not lend credence to the Communist or Trotskyist movement among the American public. While the *New York Times* and other major American newspapers carried stories of the bombings of civilians and the plights of common Finns,[98] American Marxists engaged in theoretical debate, shifting attention away from the war itself.

[95] Kivisto, "Finnish Americans and the Homeland, 1918-1958," 17.
[96] "Radicals and Reds," *The Washington Post*, December 7, 1939.
[97] Ward, *The New York Intellectuals*, 192.
[98] "Soviet Blow Heavy," *New York Times*, December 1, 1939.

The mainstream American press noticed this and condemned efforts to deflect attention from human suffering. A *New York Times* editorial by Edwin James criticized the CPUSA's *Daily Worker*'s account of the invasion, writing, "It would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic."[99] *The Washington Post* described the CPUSA reporting as "gross distortions of news…reckless editorial assertions…fabricated with specific purpose in mind."[100] But while the mainstream media focused on the serious aspects of the war and egregious violations of journalism, it also took time to mock Communists. On December 2, *The Washington Post* listed the CPUSA's response to the invasion under the title "Today's Best Laugh."[101] The invasion of Finland thus accentuated the great disconnect between the majority of Americans and the Marxist minority, further relegating Marxists to the sidelines of American politics.

Notably, none of these articles reference the intense debates within the American Marxism, which resulted in the split of the SWP and the significant membership loss of the CPUSA. Rather, the media portrayed Marxists—represented in newspapers by the CPUSA—as single-minded, immoral, and intensely loyal to a foreign power. Communists and socialists are "othered" and painted as well outside the pale of acceptable American society. This vilification and isolation, only strengthened during the Cold War, continue to mark American political attitudes towards Marxism.

But the significance of American Marxists' response to the Russo-Finnish war is not limited to American politics. It also suggests a larger, global pattern: Marxists worldwide interpreted Soviet policies differently, resulting in debates and disagreements. Indeed, for an ideological movement, any perceived breach of ideology by that movement's leader could prove disastrous. This, of course, suggests further research questions. To what extent can the failure of

[99] Edwin L. James, "Soviet Russia Adopts Technique of Germany," *New York Times*, December 3, 1939.
[100] "Working for Russia," *The Washington Post,* December 2, 1939.
[101] "Today's Best Laugh," *The Washington Post*, December 2, 1939.

communism or another of its Marxist variants to take root in the world be attributed to the conduct of the Soviet Union? How did Soviet actions change the perception of communism worldwide? Thus, the invasion of Finland can serve as a window through which to access broader questions of ideological cohesiveness, durability, and propagation.

In conclusion, American Marxists' response to the invasion of Finland was diverse and consequently divisive, particularly because it allowed previously held views on the Soviet Union to be cloaked in the language of imperialism. As a result, the Far Left in the United States stood weaker and more divided than ever. Thus, contrary to what many may believe, Marxism in the U.S. did not form a monolithic political bloc that paid homage to a foreign power. Rather, it was subject to intense debates in which core tenets of ideology were questioned. As the case of Max Shachtman especially reveals, some Marxists criticized the Soviet Union as fervently as the American political mainstream. But, nevertheless, Marxists stood detached from the mainstream. Therefore, the invasion of Finland is indicative of a dual crisis in American Marxism and perhaps a crisis of Marxism worldwide: internal division and external isolation. Together, these factors helped to keep Marxism in the United States weak.

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The Bases
The Story of Norman's Naval Bases during 1942

Breanna Edwards
History 3503

World War II brought changes throughout the United States. Many men left their homes for military training and to fight in the Atlantic and Pacific theaters. At the same time, many men and women moved throughout the country to take jobs in war industries. These changes were especially felt in Norman, Oklahoma. At the beginning of the war, Norman, home of the University of Oklahoma, was a relatively quiet college town. In 1942, however, it changed drastically, when the U.S. Navy constructed four major naval projects in Norman and the surrounding area. These projects included an air reserve base, a training school specializing in aviation mechanics, a hospital, and an air gunnery training school near Lexington. All served to bring both naval personnel and new workers to the Norman area, as well as changes and challenges for the city. Throughout 1942 the local newspaper, *The Norman Transcript*, recorded many of these changes. This paper will examine the impact these naval bases had on Norman, specifically: the steps the city took– both socially and structurally– in order to prepare for the arrival of the bases, the challenges the city faced as it prepared for the servicemen and workers, and the city's response to the arrival of the Navy. The naval bases in Norman, Oklahoma left a lasting impact both by bringing money and people into the community, and by helping to transform Norman from a small town into a thriving city.

On March 20, 1942 the headline of *The Norman Transcript* declared that a "$4,500,000 Naval Base Is Located at University Airport." The article explained that the base was to be a naval reserve aviation training base and was expected to hold up to 3,500 naval men. *The Transcript* also reported that "Part of the officers are expected to live in the barracks and the others would live in Norman."[1] Although the naval base would be located at the airport, which

was part of the University of Oklahoma, its impact would extend far beyond the University. The naval base promised to affect the entire city of Norman, as officers were to live within the city itself. In addition to bringing new people to the city, the base also brought money. On March 23, 1942 *The Transcript* reported that the government had designated an additional $2,500,000 for construction of the base. The additional money raised the total amount set for the construction of the base to $7,000,000.[2]

The naval base promised to bring drastic economic and societal changes to Norman. Near the end of March, *The Transcript* published an article titled "What the Naval Base Means to Norman: It Is Just Like Getting Another State University," which noted the potential impact of the base on the economy and population of Norman. Comparing the impact of the base to the impact of the University of Oklahoma, the article described how "**The base payroll, which is expected to be $350,000 or more when training gets into full swing, will be equal to the combined University payroll and student spending in Norman estimated at $4,000,000 a year…. The base should add anywhere from 250 to 700 families to the population of Norman**."[3] The article went on to note that the Navy's lease was for 99-years, revealing the potential for the base to be operating in Norman even after the war.[4]

With the new base set to bring people and money into the city, *The Transcript* believed that the city of Norman had a responsibility to both the coming servicemen and workers and to long-term Norman residents. On March 24, 1942, *The Transcript* issued an editorial entitled, "Our Obligations to Both The Navy and Home Folks." The editorial detailed three ways that the city needed to prepare for the naval base. First, the editorial argued that the city needed to "**[p]rovide plenty of good housing facilities to the men who have families and will want to live in Norman**." Secondly, the city must "**[m]aintain reasonable rent levels for both navy**

men and our permanent residents." Finally, Norman had a responsibility to, "**[m]aintain a clean, sanitary, healthful community with vice of all kinds barred.**"[5] In the coming months all three of these obligations would be taken seriously by city officials, who worked to provide a welcoming community for the naval servicemen and workers, while also serving the residents of Norman.

A week after the announcement of the new base, the Norman Chamber of Commerce was already considering its responsibilities to the Navy personnel by addressing several important issues in the city. *The Transcript* described how the Chamber of Commerce determined to "[s]ponsor with city officials a home and apartment modernization and repair campaign to provide adequate housing for both navy men with families and workmen who will be employed on the construction job."[6] The Chamber also agreed to "[c]o-operate with city officials in the development of a program to meet needs on sewage facilities, water supply, additional police, additional fire fighting facilities, and a swimming pool."[7] These plans would bring important improvements to the Norman community by modernizing homes and by improving city facilities to be able to better serve its residents.

In the process of preparing the city for the Navy's arrival, concern regarding the moral character of the servicemen began to appear in the newspaper. In an article which appeared on March 29, ROTC commandant Captain J.F. Donelson explained that "[n]o man is in the navy because he has to be…It's purely a voluntary unit and any man chosen for service has to meet high qualifications in character and physical and mental fitness."[8] The article was meant to reassure Norman residents that men in the Navy were in fact morally upstanding and trustworthy. A few days later, an editorial appeared in *The Transcript* which clarified that in the previous articles the paper was not questioning the moral character of the sailors themselves, but

that it was concerned about what it termed the "members of the underworld" who were known to come where naval bases were located. It was these people, the newspaper believed that residents should be concerned about, not the sailors.[9]

On April 14, the day after the arrival of Lieutenant Commander R.H. Meade, the commander in charge of the base construction, *The Transcript* announced the establishment of a "Fair Rent Program."[10] This program would serve as another way Norman officials planned to meet the city's obligations to the Navy and to the Norman community. The Chamber of Commerce, the University, and the Navy organized the program, and its purpose was to establish a system of fair rent for the people living in Norman.[11] *The Transcript* reported, "Three possible methods of control of rents are open, Mr. Wiedman [Chamber president] said. One is to set up a housing authority created by the city commission, the second is to place such authority in the housing officer of the training unit, and the third is to invoke the rental control power over defense areas provided in the federal price control act."[12] Although the program was only in the preliminary stages, it revealed a serious issue the city would need to address as more people began moving into the area in the coming months.

Another issue facing Norman, specifically the University of Oklahoma, was what to do with the Civilian Pilot Training program located at the Westheimer airport. In March the University's student newspaper, *The Oklahoma Daily,* reported that there was confusion regarding whether the program could remain at the airport or if it needed to move to another location.[13] This confusion persisted, and on April 16, *The Daily* reported, "The future still looked gloomy for the university civilian pilot training program…When the navy moves its planes and pilots onto Westheimer field, federal regulations say that the CPT will have to pack up and

leave."[14] The uncertainty regarding the CTP would continued for months to come, creating a problem the University needed to address as it prepared for the arrival of the naval base.[15]

As the time for the base construction to begin grew closer, the questions of housing and rent became more pressing. The city expected many workers from outside of Norman to move into the community to work on the construction project and to need places to stay. In an article entitled, "Sudden Influx of New Families to Hit Norman When Base Work Starts," *The Transcript* reported, "The [Chamber of Commerce] committee believes that just as soon as the base here gets under way, Norman houses will fill up and business will increase to about 110 or 115 percent of what is normally considered good business."[16] This increase of people also resulted in many base workers living in city or federally run "trailer camps."[17] The base, however, did not simply bring an increase in the population of Norman; it also brought jobs to Norman workers. *The Transcript* reported, "The Norman and Oklahoma City carpenters have worked out an agreement under which the Oklahoma City union will have jurisdiction on the job because of its size, but the Norman men will have preference for the work and assignments will be made through the Norman union."[18] Although Norman workers had first preference for work at the base, there were plenty of jobs for new workers as well.

One of the ways that the city hoped to prepare for the construction of the naval base and the increase of people in the community was by instituting a home improvement campaign. On April 17, Sylvester Grim, the mayor of Norman, issued a proclamation declaring a "Clean Up, Paint Up, and Fix Up" campaign. In his announcement of the campaign, which was to begin on April 20 and to last until May 30, Grim stated, "I hereby call upon and urge all citizens to clean up, paint up, and beautify their homes, repair and modernize their rental properties, and put the City of Norman in spic-span condition for the benefit of the navy personnel, other incoming

residents, and ourselves."[19] This proclamation and the campaign were aimed at preparing the city of Norman to welcome the new workers and Navy personnel, who would be arriving soon. It was only ten days later, on April 27, that construction work on the naval reserve aviation base started.[20]

On May 5, in the midst of the Mayor's campaign to improve Norman and the construction of the base, the Navy announced that it also planned to open a trade school in Norman. The technical training school would be located on a large tract of land south of the University campus.[21] The school would cost $12,000,000 and was projected to train 10,000 men in six months.[22] *The Transcript* reported, "The men sent here will spend four months at the technical school and two months at the Max Westheimer base, it is expected."[23] The article also noted the possibility of a naval hospital being located in Norman and a potential growth in the number of men stationed at the school in the months to come.[24] With the announcement of a second base, the city of Norman now had a greater need to prepare for the Navy's arrival.

A few days later, an editorial titled "Addition of Navy School Triples City's Problems" appeared in *The Transcript.* The editorial revealed the unexpectedness of having two naval bases located in Norman, especially when, according to *The Transcript,* only three months prior the population and economic situation of the city and the University had been waning.[25] As a result, the paper explained, "The University decided to offer its facilities to the army and navy for any use either could make of them in the war effort. The Chamber of Commerce decided to join in the effort to get the army or navy interested in the University."[26] According to the editorial, however, what happened caught everyone by surprise: "**No one ever dreamed that today we would have two big naval training units, a naval air base that eventually will have a personnel of 3,000 to 5,000 men, and a Navy aviation service school that will bring 11,000**

or more men to Norman."[27] The editorial revealed that the city had only expected between 1,500 and 2,500 men to be stationed in Norman. There was now, however, the potential for 15,000 men to be stationed in the city.[28] With the announcement of a second base it was clear that the arrival of the Navy would make a greater impact on the city than previously thought.

Eight days later, Lieutenant Commander Meade announced that a naval hospital would also be located in Norman. It would accommodate servicemen from the naval reserve air base on the north side of the city and the Navy service school on the south side. The hospital was projected to hold 400 beds and to have a staff of 400 doctors and nurses.[29] It was now clear that Norman was a much more favorable location to the Navy than the city had originally anticipated.

On June 1, Lieutenant Commander Meade and Lieutenant Commander Nicholson, a public relations officer in Oklahoma City, along with other officers, spoke at a luncheon of the Rotary Club in Norman. Lieutenant Commander Nicholson explained partially why Norman was such a favorable location for the Navy by noting the logistical advantages of a naval base in Norman. *The Transcript* reported, "Mr. Nicholson said he had been in Oklahoma City for 13 years and that he had been awarded [sic] for a long time that the area here is ideal for flying conditions and that Norman and Oklahoma, being located mid-way between the two coasts, make an ideal location for the navy program."[30] The location of Norman was perhaps one of the most appealing reasons for the Navy to station a base in the city.

June proved to be a busy month in Norman, following the announcements in May of the construction of a naval training school and hospital. By June 10, *The Transcript* announced that 2,000 people were working on the construction of the naval air base and the naval training school.[31] The women of the community were also busy planning ways to entertain the naval officers and service men when they began to arrive.[32] By June 21, the hospital construction was

underway and the Lieutenant Commander Meade reported that 2,500 people were now working on construction jobs.[33] The following day the Navy announced plans for the construction of a U.S. Naval Aircraft Gunnery school, near Lexington, which meant that by the end of June 1942, there were four naval projects set for Norman and the surrounding area. [34]

As the time drew closer for the first of the bases to open, the paper expressed some concern about what the establishment of these bases would mean racially. In an article published on July 10, *The Transcript* explained, "One of these developments may change a situation that has prevailed ever since the day Norman was first settled in the run of 1889, that of having no negroes here." [35] The article went on to explain that "A Negro band will be located at the airbase; Negroes will serve as cooks and mess attendants at the air base, the aviation service school, and the hospital. These Negroes, perhaps 100 or more, will be quartered at the bases, but some of them may have families who will want to reside in Norman."[36] The article also urged the people of Norman to face the increase in the black population "…calmly, gracefully, and with no racial protests."[37] In addition to the other changes that the new naval bases brought to the city, the arrival of the first African American residents of Norman was certainly an important one.

By the end of July, the naval reserve aviation base on the north side of Norman was ready to be commissioned. This ceremony did not mean that construction on the base was complete, only that it was at a point that the command of the base could be transferred from Lieutenant Commander Meade to Commander Williams, who would now be in charge of running the new base.[38] A few days later, *The Transcript* reported that with 8,000 people working on the naval bases it believed that the construction had reached its peak.[39] It would still be several months, however, until all of the naval projects were completed.[40]

As the status of construction began to level off, Norman continued to institute many new policies to improve the city. On August 6, *The Transcript* announced that the federal government had designated Cleveland County a war project center and rents in the area would remain the same as the rates in effect on March 1, 1942.[41] Within a few weeks, a Fair Rent Committee formed, with the mayor as chairman.[42] The committee's responsibility was to solve the rent crisis[43] by the middle of October so that the federal rent administration would not become involved in the city's rent problems.[44] Members of the community also began to open their homes to the servicemen stationed in Norman. The paper noted that 25 residents served Sunday meals in their homes to servicemen.[45] City officials, along with members of the Norman community, actively worked to make the town a welcoming and fair community for both its permanent and temporary residents.

While the city worked to make itself more inviting to new residents, it also faced the problem of an increase in undesirable activity within the community. In early August, an article revealed that there was an increase in the need for law enforcement during the month of July compared to the same period the year before.[46] There was also a new law passed which put strict rules on dance and beer halls in the city.[47] In its effort to fulfill its responsibility to the Navy and to the Norman community, the city continually attempted to make itself as respectable and safe a community as possible.[48]

By August of 1942, the community of Norman could already feel the impact of the four naval bases. The increase in population had created a housing crisis in Norman. To alleviate this problem, many trailer homes and tents had appeared throughout the city. *The Transcript* noted that "[a]pproximately 400 persons are living in this temporary housing in the Norman area."[49] Two big trailer parks had formed in Norman to house workers for the naval bases and a few

people had actually begun living in people's backyards in order to find a place to stay in the crowed city.[50] Toward the end of the month, the Navy also began recruiting men from Norman and across Oklahoma for naval service. The Navy planned to station these men initially at the naval bases in Norman.[51] This plan allowed men from Oklahoma to stay close to their families during their training for service in the Navy.

As summer faded into early autumn, construction continued on the naval projects and more naval men began to arrive. On September 20, the U.S. Naval Training School was officially commissioned in a special ceremony.[52] *The Transcript* reported that at the ceremony, "Captain Read congratulated Norman and said the establishment of the station here enables the city to do a big part toward winning the war…The Pensacola captain explained to the civilians the reason for establishment of inland shore stations. He said the Navy needed shore stations for training purposes because the fleet is busy fighting and cannot train men."[53] With the naval bases on the north and south of the city officially open, Norman was now ready to welcome more naval men into the area.

A few days before the commissioning of the trade school*, The Transcript* announced the arrival of 19 cadets at the Naval Reserve Aviation base on the north side of Norman. The cadets were stationed at the base for three months.[54] The following day, *The Transcript* also reported the arrival of 300 men to the naval training school on the southeast side of Norman, which significantly increased the number of servicemen at the base.[55] By October 5, *The Transcript* announced that classes had begun at the training school.[56] Within weeks of the commissioning, the naval bases were beginning to function fully and would continue to grow and expand.[57]

As more servicemen arrived in the city, the Norman community responded by finding many ways to welcome them and to help them feel at home. *The Oklahoma Daily* newspaper

reported, however, that as the University of Oklahoma attempted to welcome the sailors, it was faced with the problem of a false rumor circulating on the campus about disputes between students and servicemen.[58] *The Daily* explained that to stop this rumor, the University and the Navy requested the FBI to discover the source of the rumor, which they thought was a possible attempt of sabotage.[59] From all appearances, these rumors were false and University students were receptive to the arrival of the servicemen.[60] The community of Norman also worked to entertain the newly arrived naval men.[61] On September 25, the USO held a street dance for the sailors. In an article written for *The Transcrip*t, Jo H. Hoskinson described plans for the dance by writing, "Jazz music by the 17 piece WPA orchestra of Oklahoma City will play for the dancing and all girls who have been approved for the USO squads will be present to assist in entertaining the sailors on duty here."[62] The University also began coordinating with the Navy to offer night classes for naval personnel.[63] In an article, *The Transcript* quoted Royden Dangerfield, Dean of University Faculty, who stated, "It is the purpose of the University to assist the personnel to qualify for higher ratings… and to make possible their continuance of college work leading to degrees. Courses of study are scheduled to run for 12 weeks terms to allow sailors stationed here for short periods to complete them."[64] The city and the University hoped to help the servicemen feel at home within the community and to make the most of their time in Norman.

Perhaps the clearest example of Norman's support for the war and for the Navy was revealed by the large Navy Day Parade, which the city planned for October 27. By the middle of October, *The Transcript* was already announcing plans for the parade. *The Transcript* reported that "[f]ifteen hundred uniformed men representing the Navy, the Marine corps and the Army are scheduled to march."[65] The Navy Day celebrations encompassed many aspects of Norman society, including local churches, which invited naval personnel to attend Sunday services in

celebration of Navy Day, followed by Sunday lunch in church members' homes.[66] On the day of the parade, thousands of civilians attended the event, which *The Transcript* described by writing, "It was the first time this inland area had an opportunity to view the men of Uncle Sam's Navy in anything like large numbers, and the demonstration proved to be one of the most inspiring sights of the year."[67] The parade, in which 3,500 men marched, undoubtedly was the fulfillment of the hard work of city, University, and Navy officials during the months of planning and preparation leading up to the official openings of the bases.[68]

By the end of October 1942, the city of Norman had dramatically changed. The construction of the four naval projects helped to change Norman from a quiet university town into a city. Today, nearly 70 years after their construction, Norman still remembers what have become know as the "North" and "South" bases, along with the city's support of the U.S. Navy during World War II. The challenges the city of Norman faced during the construction of these bases revealed many of the potential problems cities encountered throughout the country as they welcomed new military facilities into their communities. Not only did these bases bring money to the community, but also a large population growth. Although they increased the problems of housing and rent in the community, the bases also brought new jobs and a boost in the economy. Perhaps most importantly, the establishment of naval bases provided the community of Norman with an opportunity to support the Navy during World War II. Many Norman residents, churches, and clubs invited servicemen into their community, and hosted events to help them feel welcome and at home as they prepared to fight for their country. Although the establishment of military bases undoubtedly brought challenges to communities throughout the country, as evidenced by the story of Norman, Oklahoma, they were challenges that city officials and

residents were willing to face in order to support the United States during one of the most important wars of the twentieth century.

[] "$4,500,000 Naval Air Base Is Located at University Airport," *The Norman Transcript,* March 20, 1942, 1. Microforms Collection at The University of Oklahoma Library.
[1] "$4,500,000 Naval Air Base Is Located at University Airport," 1.
[2] "Seven Million Allotted For Naval Air Base Here," *The Norman Transcript*, March 23, 1942, 1.
[3] "What the Naval Base Means to Norman: It Is Just Like Getting Another State University," *The Norman Transcript,* March 31, 1942, 1. Emphasis in original.
[4] "What The Naval Base Means to Norman," 1.
[5]"Our Obligation to Both The Navy and Home Folks," *The Norman Transcript*, March 24, 1942, 1. Emphasis in original.
[6] "Chamber Enlarges Civic Program to Keep Steps With Navy Base Needs," *The Norman Transcript*, March 27, 1942, 1.
[7] "Chamber Enlarges Civic Program to Keep Stops With Navy Base Needs," 1.
[8] "Enlisted Men of Navy are High-Type Citizens," *The Norman Transcript*, March 29, 1942, 1.
[9] "Navy Men Good Citizens," *The Norman Transcript,* April 1, 1942, 4.
[10] "Meade Here To Start Navy Base," *The Norman Transcript,* April 13, 1942, 1.
[11] "Fair Rent Program Is Under Way," *The Norman Transcript,* April 14, 1942, 1.
[12] "Fair Rent Program Is Under Way," 1.
[13] "University Gets Huge Training Unit: Navy to Build Air Base Here," *The Oklahoma Daily,* March 21, 1942, 1. Microforms Collection at The University of Oklahoma Library.
[14] "CPT Future Still Enigma; Navy Soon to Take Field," *The Oklahoma Daily,* April 16, 1942, 1.
[15] In September, *The Daily* reported that the CTP would hold its initial training in the stadium on the campus of the University, while the flight training would take place at Will Riley airport in Oklahoma City. This solved the uncertainty of the previous months. ("40 Service Men Enrol in Campus Pilot Training," *The Oklahoma Daily*, September 17, 1942, 1.)
[16] "Sudden Influx of New Families to Hit Norman When Base Work Starts," *The Norman Transcript*, April 17, 1942, 1.
[17] "Sudden Influx of New Families to Hit Norman When Base Work Starts," 1.
[18] "Navy Base Employment Office Here," *The Norman Transcript*, April 17, 1942, 1.
[19] "Mayor Proclaims Clean Up, Fix Up Weeks to Get Ready for Navy: Proclamation," *The Norman Transcript*, April 19, 1942, 1.
[20] "Air Base Work Started Today," *The Norman Transcript*, April 27, 1942, 1. Engineers and around 200 men began working on April 22 ("Naval Air Base Work Under Way," *The Norman Transcript*, April 22, 1942, 1.); however, construction was delayed several days because of rain. ("Air Base Work Started Today," 1.).
[21] In his book, *The University of Oklahoma and World War II: A Personal Account,* George Lynn Cross, who would become the president of the University, explained that not everyone was in favor of the location of the new base. He noted, "There seemed to be a feeling that having a naval establishment so near the university would constitute a threat to the morals of nearly all those of the feminine gender of the area, especially the young women enrolled at the university." (Cross, George Lynn. *The University of Oklahoma and World War II: A Personal Account, 1941-1946*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980. 25.)
[22] "Navy Locates Trade School In Norman to Train 10,000 Men," *The Norman Transcript*, May 5, 1942, 1.
[23] "Navy Locates Trade School In Norman to Train 10,000 Men," 1.

[24] "Navy Locates Trade School In Norman to Train 10,000 Men," 1.
[25] "Addition of Navy School Triples City's Problems," *The Norman Transcript*, May 7, 1942, 1.
[26] "Addition of Navy School Triples City's Problems," 1.
[27] "Addition of Navy School Triples City's Problems," 1. Emphasis in original.
[28] "Addition of Navy School Triples City's Problems," 1.
[29] "Navy Locates Big Hospital Here," *The Norman Transcript,* May 13, 1942, 1.
[30] "Rotarians Hear Navy Officers," *The Norman Transcript*, June 1, 1942, 6.
[31] "Navy Projects Employ 2,000 Persons Now," *The Norman Transcript*, June 10, 1942, 1
[32] "Hostesses And Chaperons Meet," *The Norman Transcript*, June 10, 1942, 1.
[33] "Construction Of Hospital Is Started," *The Norman Transcript*, June 21, 1942, 1.
[34] "Air Gunnery School Gets Navy's OK," *The Norman Transcript,* June 22, 1942, 1.
[35] "Negroes at Naval Bases," *The Norman Transcript*, July 10, 1942, 8.
[36] "Negroes at Naval Bases," 8.
[37] "Negroes at Naval Bases," 8.
[38] "Navy Base Ceremony Is Staged," *The Norman Transcript*, August 2, 1942, 1.
[39] "Work on Four Navy Projects Reaches Peak," *The Norman Transcript*, August 2, 1942, 1.
[40] One months later, *The Transcript* noted that work on the naval projects had reached a new peak with Lieutenant Commander Meade reporting that 10,000 people were working on the four naval projects. ("10,000 Working On Navy Jobs," *The Norman Transcript*, September 3, 1942, 1.)
[41] "Norman Rents to Be Frozen At Level of March 1, 1942," *The Norman Transcript,* August 6, 1942, 1.
[42] "Fair Rent Committee Is Set Up," *The Norman Transcript*, August 25, 1942, 1. The Committee was important news in the city during the weeks preceding and following its establishment, and *The Transcript* reported on it many times during this period. (These are some of the articles: "Fair Rent Board Will Be Named," *The Norman Transcript*, August 19, 1942, 1., "Fair Rent Committee Is Expanded," *The Norman Transcript*, August 20, 1942, 1., "Mayor Will Head Fair Rent Unit," *The Norman Transcript*, August 21, 1942, 1., and "Fair Rent Unit Hears 40 Cases," *The Norman Transcript*, September 4, 1942, 1.)
[43] An editorial published on September 14, 1942, revealed that the rent crisis in Norman was perhaps not as dire as initially thought. According to the editorial only about five percent of renters and landlords of the nearly 1,800 rental properties in the city brought claims of unfair rent before the Fair Rent Committee. ("The Fair Rent Movement," *The Norman Transcript*, September 14, 1942, 4.)
[44] "Fair Rent Committee Is Set Up," 1.
[45] "Navy Men Honored At Sunday Dinners," *The Norman Transcript*, August 10, 1942, 3.
[46] "Officers' Job During July Is Heavier," *The Norman Transcript*, August 11, 1942, 1.
[47] "Beer, Dance Halls Under New Laws," *The Norman Transcript*, August 12, 1942, 1.
[48] The city's efforts to minimize crime and "vice" in the community confused some servicemen, who believed the city was blaming them for the increase in "vice" within the community. On August 12, *The Transcript* issued an editorial clarifying that the city had high regard for the servicemen and their moral characters, and that the city was concerned with preventing people they termed "members of the underworld," such as "bootleggers and prostitutes," from establishing themselves in Norman. ("No Reflection on Navy Men," *The Norman Transcript*, August 12, 1942, 4.)

[49] "Trailers Are Housing Many Navy Worker," *The Norman Transcript*, August 17, 1942, 1.
[50] "Trailers Are Housing Many Navy Workers," 1.
[51] "State Men May Enlist For Duty at Base," *The Norman Transcript*, August 23, 1942, 2.
[52] "Navy School Officially In Commission," *The Norman Transcript*, September 21, 1942, 1.
[53] "Navy School Officially In Commission," 1.
[54] "19 Cadets Arrive At Navy Base," *The Norman Transcript*, September 10, 1942, 1.
[55] "Navy School Gets 300 Additional Men," *The Norman Transcript*, September 11, 1942, 1.
[56] "Naval Training School Classes Are Started," *The Norman Transcript*, October 5, 1942, 1.
[57] The Oklahoma City newspaper, *The Daily Oklahoman,* now *The Oklahoman,* reported that the naval aviation training base would potentially accommodate as many as 16,000 servicemen, 6,000 more than the original 10,000 sailors, in the coming months. In addition, the base would also welcome 1,000 WAVES. ("1,000 Waves Will Train At Norman Naval Base," *The Daily Oklahoman*, October 24, 1942, 1. *The Oklahoman* Digital Archives.)
[58] "Campus Rumor Hit," *The Oklahoma Daily*, September 22, 1942, 1.
[59] *The Daily Oklahoman* and *The Norman Transcript* also reported on the rumor. *The Daily Oklahoman* explained the rumors by writing, "The rumors…told of violent gangfights between students and men from the bases, with serious injuries to naval men. Investigations by university, naval, and Norman police officials failed to find any proof or source for the talk." *The Daily Oklahoman* also explained that both the University and Naval officials stated that if students and naval men treated each other disrespectfully that they would be dealt with ("FBI Will Study Student-Sailor Clash Rumor," *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 22, 1942, 1., "FBI Agents Seek Source Of Rumors," *The Norman Transcript*, September 22, 1942, 1.)
[60] "Campus Rumor Hit," 1.
[61] The community had begun making initial plans for a recreation program to entertain and welcome servicemen beginning in late March. ("Recreation For Navy Men Talked," *The Norman Transcript*, March 25, 1942, 1., "Recreation Programs To Be Expanded," *The Norman Transcript*, April 3, 1942, 1.)
[62] Hoskinson, Jo H. "Street Dance For Sailors Set Tonight," *The Norman Transcript,* September 25, 1942, 3.
[63] *The Daily Oklahoman* noted that the new classes had the potential to have 1,000 naval students by the end of 1942 ("Norman Night School Planned To Aid Sailors," *The Daily Oklahoman*, October 8, 1942, 17.)
[64] "O.U. Plans Classes For Naval Men," *The Norman Transcript*, October 8, 1942, 1.
[65] "Big Navy Day Parade Will Be Presented," *The Norman Transcript*, October 14, 1942, 6.
[66] "Navy Day To Be Observed At Churches," *The Norman Transcript*, October 23, 1942, 7.
[67] "Thousands See Navy Day Parade," *The Norman Transcript*, October 28, 1942, 1.
[68] "Thousands See Navy Parade," 1.

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Kristina DaVee Rosenthal
HIST 4973
Prof Kelly
Capstone Final Draft

Their Clothes Spoke Louder Than Their Words: How Three Founding Fathers Used Clothes to Convey Their Patriotism

Fig. 1 Portrait of Benjamin Franklin Joseph Siffred Duplessis
Fig. 2 Benjamin Franklin, engraved by Martin Will

Throughout his life, Benjamin Franklin used clothing to convey his status and political identity. In the first portrait (figure 1), painted upon Franklin's entrance into colonial gentry, Franklin sat wearing a dark green velvet suit and a pure white linen shirt. Franklin would never wear an outfit so regal while working at his printing press; this type of dress would be impractical around the heavy machinery. With his entry into genteel society, however, Franklin chose to make a statement with his dress. The velvet suit and white linen shirt worn in the first portrait were symbolic of the luxury of English gentility. However, in the second portrait the viewer is presented with a completely different Franklin, dressed in a leather coat

and fur hat (figure 2). Where are the ruffles and velvet? Although Benjamin Franklin was still considered a member of the social elite in post Revolutionary War America, he chose to show his identity in a completely different way. In the second portrait, Franklin is dressed in American clothing. By wearing fur and leather Franklin showed an international audience the patriotism he felt for America, "perhaps because of the freedom of old age, but more likely because he knew he had become a symbol of agrarian, freedom-loving Americans." [1] The fur hat and leather jacket are symbols of the fierce wilderness that America was born of. Franklin's fur hat, made of beaver found near the Canadian border, and the leather worn by Native Americans reflect how pure and organic the American colonies were. Moving from the velvet and ruffles to the leather and fur, Franklin conveyed through his clothing his ideals about gentility and pride for America.

Benjamin Franklin was not alone in using clothes to convey patriotic sentiments during and after the Revolutionary War. American patriots, including most of the founding fathers, used clothing as a politicized symbol of American nationality.

The use of clothing to convey American patriotism began with boycotts prior to the Revolutionary War. The Stamp Act of 1763 required colonists to "print newspapers, diplomas, legal documents, and pamphlets on specially stamped paper that was taxed" [2] by the British monarchy. The colonists began boycotts protesting the tax. Throughout the 1760s, the boycott movement escalated as more colonial citizens refused to purchase English goods. Textiles were a crucial focus of the boycotts. This new trend of boycotting focused on refusing to purchase and wear

English made clothing as American citizens began to make American homespun clothing. “Thus when in 1774 the first Continental Congress declared a general policy of ‘non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation,’ it was far less concerned with ascetic self-denial than with encouraging American arts and manufactures, ‘especially that of wool.” [4]

During this time, many patriotic Americans advocated homespun clothing. “In a 1765 pamphlet, John Dickinson […] urged his fellow Americans to follow the example of the Swiss, and resist English and French taste: ‘their coarse clothes and simple furniture enable them to live in plenty and defend their liberty.” [5] This sentiment was widely shared by colonial citizens who, in Abigail Adams’ words, “would wear canvass, and undressed sheep skins, rather than submit to the unrighteous, and ignominious Domination [of Britain].”[6] With the urging of such prominent figures as Adams, colonial citizens began making and wearing homemade clothing. Thus, in December of 1769, the *Virginia Gazette* reported that at a holiday ball, “the patriotic spirit was most agreeably manifested in the dress of the Ladies [...] who in the number of near one hundred, appeared in homespun gowns.”[7] These women dressed in homespun attire were emphasizing much more than frugality; they were showing their American patriotism, unwilling to quietly endure the abuse of a foreign government.

Homespun clothing became the ideal of what would later be known to foreign states as American clothing. The clothes were usually made from coarser material such as wool and leather. Although these were common goods in the American colonies, they did not exude luxury like European style clothing. European dresses

were most often made from very fine cotton or expensive silk. And, unlike the homespun garments of patriotic Americans, European, especially English, garments were heavily embroidered with fine details. Compared to the American homespun dress in figure 4 and the homespun jacket in figure 5, the English dress (Figure 3) manifests luxury and regality. To the English eye, the American dress would appear cheap and like a simple working dress, more fit for English servants.

Fig 3- Gown, Chinese textile, worn in New York, Courtesy Daughters of the American Revolution Museum.
Fig 4- Women's short gown, America, Originally discovered in New England, Baumgarten page 119
Fig 5- Homespun boy's Jacket, 1775-1786, brown linen with pewter buttons. Connecticut Historical Society. Museum Purchase.

Though most American colonists may have wanted to continue wearing the fine fabrics and adornments of the English, they chose not to. Instead they chose to exhibit their pride for their nation and their freedom by wearing the poorer quality fabrics. However, as more and more colonists began making their own clothing for the patriotic cause, a shift occurred in homespun dresses and suits. Compared to the first garments produced by American manufacturers, usually women in individual families, there was an increase in the decoration and embellishment of American dress. Since American homemakers and tailors could not use fine silk and linen to embellish dresses and suits, they found other means.

Fig. 6- American Clothing, Rhode Island, Baumgarten, pg. 77

Although there is still a striking difference between the dresses of the English, seen in figure 3, it is evident that homespun American-made clothing was evolving and adopting a style all its own. American spinners began using their own

materials to adorn their garments, mimicking English styles. The dress pictured in figure 6 is adorned with cotton embroidery that looks like a vine with flowers blooming throughout the dress. The suit, made of cotton and wool, is made with a higher quality material and embellished with buttons, which became the signature adornment for homespun suits and dresses in America.

> "Good buckles were necessary, and buttons were apparently an obsession. Eighteenth-century storekeepers stocked buttons by the thousands; large bags of them turn up in their inventories. But brocade trim rarely appeared in portraits, and buttons did not usually glitter. The principle of restraint operated in these details too." [9]

As the adornment of homespun American made clothing improved, the popularity of homespun clothing increased. William Nelson, a Virginian colonist, remarked:

> "I now wear a good suit of Cloth of my Son's wool, manufactured, as well as my shirts in Albemarle and Augusta Counties, my shoes, Hose buckles, Wigg, and Hat etca of our own country, and in these We improve every year, in quantity as well as quality."[10]

As the "quantity as well as quality" of American homespun clothing improved, there was an emergence of patriotic emblems sewn into clothing. The eagle, along with the emblem of the United States, became popular motifs to embroider on dresses. Also, the depiction of pastoral scenes "emphasizing the rural nature of the young country" were displayed on dresses and suit jackets. [11] The use of rural scenes appears on the dress in figure 6. The flowers on the dress are meant to be a portrayal of American wild flowers. This simple feminine dress was used as a

patriotic emblem. In all these ways colonial Americans could manipulate their clothing to project a political ideal.

Another striking way in which home spinners and tailors used their clothing as a patriotic declaration was in depicting military and political heroes on their ensembles. For example, in figure 7 is a detailed image of the embroidery of a dress: Washington is depicted driving a chariot and Benjamin Franklin is seen in his "American" fur hat. These women and tailors who set images of pastoral scenes, eagles, emblems and heroes were doing their part to fight for liberty. In their minds, wearing an image of George Washington or Benjamin Franklin on their dress proved that they supported the cause of these American heroes.

Fig. 7- "Apotheosis of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington", Baumgarten, 87.

However, wearing patriotic emblems on their clothing or making American homespun goods was not only for the working-class of American colonial society. Homespun became a movement that involved members of all social classes in America, including the elite. The political message of patriotism was most evident when political figures chose to wear homespun clothing instead of foreign luxurious goods. Since the elites in American colonial society were generally affluent enough to afford the imported goods from Europe, refusing to wear those international luxurious items sent an especially strong political message. Most profound were the founding fathers that chose to stop wearing foreign clothes and instead push for homespun clothing. As we have seen, Benjamin Franklin was one founding father who made a point of buying and wearing homespun clothing. Franklin, along with George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were three political figures who publicly advocated wearing homespun clothing, and were also criticized by foreign nations for wearing the lower quality goods when they could afford luxury. However, no matter how much criticism they received, it was necessary for these men to convey that they were advocates for freedom who would give up everything, especially style, to be out from under the thumb of Britain.

For his inauguration on April 30, 1789, George Washington wore a homespun American suit, made from brown wool with American eagles on the buttons (figure 9). Unlike Franklin's, Washington's homespun suit did not hold such stark contrast to his usual attire (figure 8). Although this suit was homespun, it was said to have all the elegance and stateliness of a foreign made suit, "for Washington's 'complete suit of homespun clothes was of 'so fine a fabric and so handsomely finished that it was

universally mistaken for a foreign manufactured superfine cloth," thus set an example for the quality and potential of American homespun clothing.[13] However, it was not customary for Washington to wear homespun garments. The majority of Washington's portraits, like that in figure 8, show Washington wearing the finest of suits, presumably of foreign manufacture. Like most gentlemen in colonial gentry, Washington frequently chose to be depicted in a dark velvet suit and crisp linen shirt. These types of garments could not have been made in the American colonies and would have to have been bought from a European tailor.

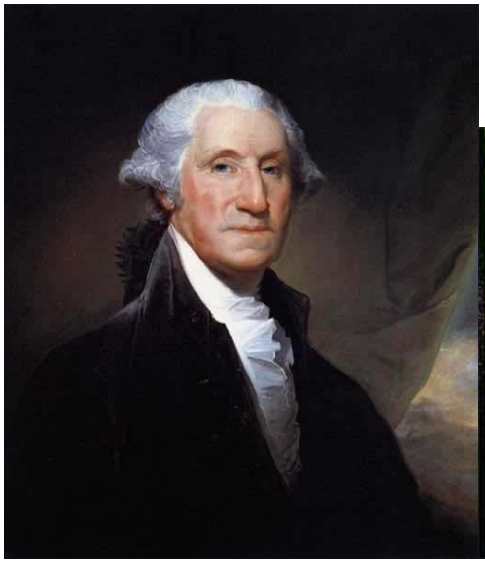

Fig. 8- "Portrait of George Washington" by Gilbert Stuart 1795

Fig. 9- Inauguration of George Washington by Ramon de Elorriaga from about 1899.

So why would Washington choose to wear a homespun suit to such a public and important event? Washington took the opportunity to wear an American made homespun outfit to show his devotion to the nation of which he was taking leadership, wearing this suit as a symbol of American independence from foreign manufactured goods. Washington believed that the Stamp Act had changed the

American people's attitude toward homespun clothing. In a letter to Francis Dandridge, a London loyalist, Washington mentioned how he knew,

> "The eyes of [the American] people, already beginning to open, will perceive, that many luxuries, which we lavish our substance in Great Britain for, can well be dispensed with, whilst the necessaries of life are (mostly) to be had within ourselves." [14]

In his letters it is evident that Washington promoted the homespun movement and boycotting English textiles. This was also evident in Washington's devotion to Royall Tyler's comedic play, *The Contrast*. Pitting American made goods against English goods, Tyler depicted American products as "natural versus artificial, sensibility versus appetite, masculine versus effeminate, virtue versus corruption."[15] Washington's fondness of the play demonstrates his belief in patriotic ideals, and the representation of those ideals through fashion.

On the international stage Washington was a popular figure, highly regarded for his taste in style and decorum. Though elegant, Washington's brown wool suit was regarded internationally as a shocking choice to wear for an inauguration. Yet because Washington possessed the role President of the new republic, so recently freed from Britain, he knew that he had to present himself as an emblem of liberty. Washington's clothes declared to all nations that America was independent, and in that independence powerful and beautiful, an ideal that his brown suit with gold eagle buttons embodied. The values projected in Washington's brown suit spoke also sent a message to Americans, calling on them to continue their patriotism in making homespun clothes and to also further their support of the nation as a whole.

Washington did not advocate homespun clothing just for himself. During the Revolutionary War, he ordered his troops to adopt clothing that was American-made and also suitable for the American climate. As the fight for independence progressed, it became apparent to Washington that his soldiers were in dire straits. In a letter to Congress, Washington argued for better supplies for his soldiers, especially with regard to clothing. Although he did not place blame on the Clothier General, he argued:

> "Ought not each state to be called upon to draw such supplies from the Country Manufactories as can be afforded? Particularly of shoes, stockings, shirts, and blankets; articles indispensably necessary and of which scarce too many can be provided."[16]

In his letter, Washington asked specifically for American made clothing for his troops. He routinely called on Americans to donate money for homespun uniforms, or to make uniforms on their own to support the cause. Washington's men would continue to request aid throughout the remainder of the war, but his letters show that there was an increase in the donations made by individuals spinning from home.

However, Washington had a specific design in mind for his uniforms when asking for the spinners at home for help. Believing his uniforms should have a natural aesthetic, he pushed for the soldiers to wear uniforms like that of the Native Americans. This was due in part to the fact that Washington realized the natives wore clothing that was more suitable for the harsh winter climate in North America. "In May 1758, he sent to Philadelphia for 'one thousand pair of Indian stockings

(leggings), the better to equip [his] men for the woods."[17] Although the stockings of the English military were of a better quality, the new American stockings were made of leather, a Native American material better suited to American climates and terrain, allowing soldiers to protect themselves "against the bite of serpents and poisonous insects, but likewise against the scratches of thorns, briars, scrubby bushes, and underwood."[18]

Fig. 10- Example of Leggings worn by American Soldiers, Baumgarten, 68

Fig. 11- Jacket, United States, from the Collection of Ed Charol.

Washington's Indian-style uniforms were not limited to leggings; they also included shirts and "some regiments wore Indian-style breechclouts, or loincloths, as well."[19] He was very specific as to the shirts he chose for his soldiers to wear. Since textile trade with Britain had been cut off, Washington found it very hard to acquire quality shirts for his soldiers. So in 1775 he sent to Connecticut and Rhode Island for

their coarse tow linen "for the purpose of making of Indian or Hunting shirts for the men, many of whom are destitute of clothing." [20] Along with this correspondence Washington "enclosed a pattern shirt to copy," in the hopes that the shirts, although made from a cheap material, would resemble uniform quality. "Washington's hunting shirt was not only cheap and convenient, but also symbolically appropriate for the newly independent states." [21] Using the dress of the Native Americans as a model for his uniforms, Washington embedded the uniforms with the ideal of the American spirit. The men conveyed patriotism, "fitted for a tough and tight defense of the liberties of their country." [22] Once again, by dressing his soldiers, Washington used clothing to portray patriotism during the Revolutionary War. This image of men dressed as the wild, free, American natives did not only instill patriotism in the soldiers, but in the hearts of American colonists all over the New England coast.

"The modesty with which American leaders, particularly America's first president, arrayed themselves poses a stark contrast to European courtly fashions. Washington was most often depicted wearing either his general's uniform or a plain homespun suit." [23] At a young age Washington set desired simplicity and practicality in his personal style. Requesting a new suit in a letter to his father in October of 1761, Washington stressed that he did not want luxurious items full of English frills. He wrote, "I want neither lace nor embroidery. Plain clothes, with a gold or silver button, (if worn in genteel dress), are all I desire." [24] And again, many years later, when ordering a suit as commander-in-chief, he asked for simplicity. He again rejected the frills of lace and embroidery, although he did have certain specifications for the patriotic symbols to be fixed on his suit, requesting cuffs "with blue flaps

passing through them," reminiscent of the blue coats that the American soldiers wore during the Revolution. He also asked that eagles and stars be incorporated to the suit, because they had "become part of the American cockade." [25] Washington wanted to dress in a suit that embodied, with color and symbols, the ideals of patriotism.

In all these ways George Washington used clothing to convey his patriotism. His brown wool suit with eagles on the buttons was a perfect choice to show his devotion to the free nation at his inauguration. His insistence that his soldiers wear homespun suits mimicking the dress of Native Americans showed his respect for the frontier on which America was founded; he wanted to instill fear in the hearts of British soldiers upon seeing the American army. And also his modesty in dress, and respect to the homespun movement showed his adoration for America. All of his homespun suits, whether they were for battle or ceremony, showed the public that George Washington was a true American patriot, who understood how to portray his ideological beliefs through dress.

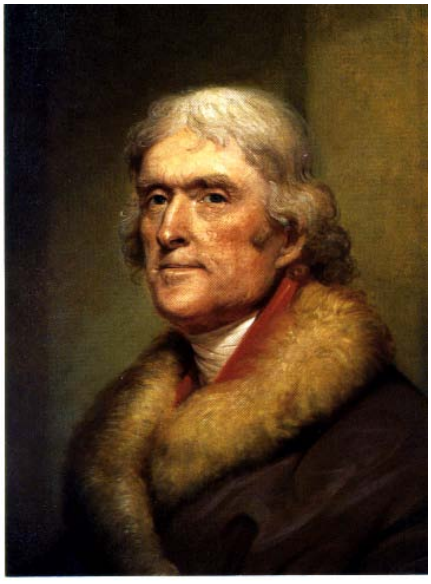

Fig. 12 Thomas Jefferson by John Trumball, 1788

Fig. 13- Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Rembrandt Peale 1805

Another founding father who believed whole-heartedly in liberty and the end of British tyranny was Thomas Jefferson. Clothing and dress always played an important role in Thomas Jefferson's life. As a young man, Jefferson regarded his own clothing as outdated and plain, often complaining in letters that his clothes did not have the degree of style and embroidery of his colleagues'. As Jefferson's stature grew, he improved his style. During his years in politics he often spent a great deal of money on fine suits, stockings, and hats.[26] Yet in 1769, in his first recorded public act, Jefferson signed a non-importation agreement boycotting eleven types of British cloth, as well as hats and stockings.[27] How could a man, so devoted to style, especially that of the English and the French, openly refuse to wear cloth from England? Like Washington before him, Jefferson had learned how to use clothing to project a political message.

Although clothing and high fashion were important to Jefferson, American freedom and the pursuit of liberty meant far more. Jefferson knew that in order to convey to the American public that he shared their devotion to American freedom, he would have to wear and promote homespun clothing.

> "A focus on Jefferson's personality makes him look like a sphinx, if not a hypocrite, for his obvious love of fashion and simultaneous refusal of it. A wider view of his sartorial politics reveals a politician in search of constituencies and a public man particularly sensitive to the accretion of political and economic meaning to clothing since the 1760s."[28]

Jefferson's abandonment of style and high fashion show how savvy he was as a politician and devoted as a patriot.

The homespun movement was dear to Jefferson's heart. During the years prior to and during the Revolutionary War, Jefferson played a significant role in clothing boycotts. In a letter to George Washington, Jefferson told Washington of his hope to send aid not only in men but also in clothing. Jefferson said he was embarrassed by his inability to send aid immediately: "It is mortifying to suppose that a people, able and zealous to contend with their enemy, should be reduced to fold their arms for want of aid." [29]

Jefferson's support for boycotting stemmed from more than a desire to promote his public image. Jefferson possessed a true hatred for the British. Jefferson believed that Britain was slowly reducing the citizens in the American colonies into slavery. In a letter to John Randolph, Jefferson wrote that although he wished to be live in a peaceful environment withdrawn from the public stage, he could not ignore the tyranny inflicted upon the colonies.[30] Jefferson knew that in order to gain independence from Britain, Americans had to stop importing British products.

This hatred for Britain and devotion to freedom pushed Jefferson into the sphere of boycotts and homespun clothing. However, it was not just publicly that Jefferson pushed for homespun; he also encouraged it in his home life. When Jefferson visited France in 1787, he wrote to his wife Martha, in response to her complaints of boredom, encouraging her to continue the "good" of spinning clothes from home. Although Jefferson and his wife could afford to buy manufactured clothing at this time, Jefferson thought that spinning textiles from home would be

beneficial for the growth of American made clothing and also cure his wife of boredom. He wrote, “No person will have occasion to complain of the want of time who never loses any. It is wonderful how much may be done if we are always doing. And that you may always be doing good, my dear, is the ardent prayer of yours affectionately.”[31] Jefferson’s letter encouraging her to spin was a lecture for her to do her civic duty, “good to all.”

Jefferson also personally requested homespun garments in a letter to his friend Abigail Adams, complaining that although the quality of cloth in France was nicer than a homespun American suit, he not attend the parties of French gentry wearing anything other than homespun. [32] This request for American cloth and refusal of the higher quality French cloth symbolizes how Jefferson was using clothing. Jefferson was choosing to wear the cloth in front of French gentry, a foreign power on the verge of democracy, to make a statement about his beliefs and patriotism for America.

Like Washington, Jefferson wore a homespun suit for his inauguration in 1801, reinforcing his devotion to American ideals. “The domestic fabrics and colors Jefferson wore in office, such as his green and brown inaugural suit, represented the American people.” [33] As President, Jefferson’s attire became a frequent subject of controversy in American political circles. On many occasions Jefferson’s colleagues regarded him as unfashionable and under dressed for such an important political figure.

This was the type of image that Jefferson created for himself while in office. His colleagues continually remarked on the “undress” in which Jefferson presented

himself. The same man who valued high French fashion and designed his home in elegant classical architecture, furnished with fine art and furniture, would dress down for his political appointments. Jefferson dressed with a political mindset. "[He was] was partaking of and adding to American mythology: this was a land of equality, homespun values, and agrarian simplicity." [35] Jefferson knew the importance of clothing way to project an identity in the public eye. He knew that in order to show his devotion to America he would have to be a President of moderation, devoted to American made products. All of this is why Jefferson chose wisely when dressing in "undress" during his presidency.

Like Washington, Jefferson is yet another perfect example of how political figures during the late eighteenth century knew how to use clothing. Clothes for these men were much more than the adornment for the body. Since Jefferson was such a public figure he used his clothing to show his patriotism. As portraits were made, and ceremonies performed, Jefferson's image was brought to the public eye. Thomas Jefferson made the same conscious decision that Washington had made before him; he chose to use clothing while he was in the public's eye. Through clothing, Jefferson was able to relate to his constituents and send a patriotic message to international elites. Both these influential Presidents were able to use clothing to show their patriotism for the newly freed republic of America.

Presidents weren't the only figures to use their clothing as a symbol of patriotism. Although never President, Benjamin Franklin, as stated in the beginning of this essay, was one of the most important contributors to the forming of the American republic. He purposely chose to wear a fur cap and fur trimmed jacket

while having his portrait made. However, this outfit was not just for a portrait. Franklin caused a considerable stir by wearing his famous leather and fur suit and fur hat during his second trip to France after the American colonies had announced their independence from Britain. “Franklin arrived in clothes-conscious Paris wearing a brown suit, his famous spectacles, and the marten fur cap he had picked up on a trip to Canada the year before.”[36] To his French friends and colleagues this came as a shock, for years before, Franklin would not have had the audacity to dress in such a manner. In his previous visit “Franklin displayed his knowledge of correct clothing and behavior when he appeared before the French court of Louis XV in 1767,” where he was “transformed,” looking like a Frenchman in a fine European suit and a powdered wig. [37] On this previous visit Franklin dressed the part of a Frenchman to show respect and to gain recognition in the French court. However, on this second trip, Franklin took the opportunity to emphasize his connection to the wilderness of America.

Franklin found the reactions of his French hosts humorous, telling his friends in letters home to “figure for yourself an old man, with gray hair appearing under a martin fur cap, among the powdered heads of Paris.” He also noted how much he wished that everyone else in Paris would dress in his fashion because it would save the Parisians money and provide for more comfortable dress. [38] At this point in American history Franklin’s attire was made up of American-made suits so it is not odd that he wore this suit. However, on this specific occasion he employed his dress as a performance. Franklin’s dress before the French court was intended to cause a

scene, part of a performance that would place America at the center of international conversation and promote the freedoms of American democracy.

Franklin did not dress in this manner just to seek attention and have a few laughs. Franklin purposely chose to dress in what he thought was the American style. Franklin took the opportunity of visiting France for a second time to show what America looked like through his dress. Franklin believed so much in the homespun movement that when put on trial by the British Parliament in 1776 for his involvement in creating a bill to repeal the Stamp Act for its infringement on the rights of colonial citizens, he fiercely advocated American homespun clothing over English imports. When asked by Parliament whether he agreed that Americans needed English textiles because they constituted "necessaries of life," Franklin answered, "I do not know a single article imported into the northern colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves." Asked by Parliament if Americans would be able to even find wool to replace British textiles, Franklin again assured them that the Americans would survive independently; he said, "[Americans] have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb; and very few lambs were killed last year." [39] Again and again throughout the trial, Franklin argued that America need to be dependent on Britain.

Franklin's devotion to the homespun movement defined his public life. But, the movement also had an affect on his home and private life in the same way that it did Jefferson's. In a letter to his wife while in London in 1772, Franklin thanked her for sending him homemade silk to give to his British hosts. He wrote that he would

"honor much every young lady, that I find on my return dressed in silk of her own raising." [40] Franklin was proud to carry finely made American silk to a British home. That pride for American made goods was made more evident in a letter to his daughter. In this letter he scolded her for asking for linen, lace, pins, and feathers from France:"your sending for long black pins, and lace, and feathers! disgusted me as much as if you had put salt into my strawberries. The spinning, I see, is laid aside, and you are to be dressed for the ball!" [41] Although this scolding may be humorous, it shows Franklin's insistence that his family be dressed in homespun American clothing. These letters show how devoted Franklin was to the homespun movement and how he wanted his family to dress, like him, to portray patriotism.

In another humorous incident, Benjamin Franklin concerned the wealth of American made goods. In his letter to his friend Peter Collinson, a loyalist, in 1764, Franklin wrote about discovering a beach on a bay near Philadelphia, "the pebbles of which are all in the Form of Buttons, whence it is called *Buttonmold Bay."* He sent in with the letter a "specimen of coat, waistcoat, and sleeve buttons" from the bay, adding that he believed England would be jealous of the natural commodity: "And where in your little Island (England) can you feed the sheep? Nature has put bounds to your abilities, tho none to your desires." [42] Though the tailors in England would want for those materials, England could not provide them. America, Franklin argued, naturally provided all the materials necessary for fine clothing. This story of Franklin boasting about American materials and goods is yet another example of his devotion to American made clothing and the homespun movement.

Benjamin Franklin proved to be devoted to the cause of the new republic and continued American freedom. This was made evident by his devotion to the homespun movement. Franklin embodied the movement in his dress in front of the French court. He defended the movement in his trial against Parliament in 1776. He also took the homespun movement into his personal life, praising his neighbor for making homespun silk, and lecturing his daughter against buying foreign made clothing. Also, he argued with a loyalist friend over the bounty of American materials for clothing. Throughout his life Benjamin Franklin used clothing and the homespun movement to portray his patriotism for his nation.

> "Exploring clothing's meaning and symbolism helps people today better understand those of the past, not just great and learned men who wrote most of the histories, but women who donned corsets and hoops, the illiterate slaves, Native Americans, children, and working people." [43]

In exploring early American clothing I have uncovered how the meaning of clothing changed during the period of the Revolutionary War. Although textile trade with Britain resumed when the years of war and struggle were over, American textile production was forever changed by the development of the homespun movement. The boycotts prior to the Revolutionary War and the homespun movement produced the first American made clothing products. For many years after the war influential figures would continue to use their American made clothing to make statements about American independence. For colonists during the revolutionary period this is especially true. The founding fathers of the American republic were especially conscious of using dress. The growth of the homespun

movement was due in part to the overwhelming control being imposed on the colonies by the British. Although the boycotting of tea seems to be the most popular of the Revolutionary boycotts, the textile boycott shaped American costume forever. As colonial families were aroused by the boycotts they began the work of independent manufacture. This independent production was a large enough display of patriotism, but the colonists went further. By embroidering national symbols, by using American made fabrics, dying materials earthen colors, the colonists used clothing to show patriotism.

This essay delved into how the founding fathers conveyed their patriotism through their dress. Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin were involved in a growing trend of using clothing as a political broadcast of their patriotism, instilling early American clothing with ideals representing the American public, and the voice of freedom.

Notes

[1] Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).100.
[2] Leora Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions: Everyday Life and Politics in Britain, North America, and France*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009). 84.
[4] Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions,* 83.
[5] Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions,* 84.
[6] Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions,* 86.
[7] *Virginia Gazette.* (Purdie and Dixon), Dec. 14, 1769.
[9] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America Persons, Houses, Cities*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 71.
[10] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 96.
[11] Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions,* 104.
[13] Kate Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth Century America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 214.
[14] "George Washington to Francis Dandridge, Sept. 20, 1765, in Letters and Addresses of George Washington, arranged by Jonas Viles, hereafter cited as GWL, *(*New York, New York: Unit Book Publishing, 1908*),37.*
[15] Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth Century America,* 208.
[16]" "George Washington to the Committee of Congress, July 19, 1777, GWL, (New York, New York: Unit Book Publishing, 1908), 133-135.
[17] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 68.
[18] John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America...*(Dublin, Ireland, 1784), I, p. 115.
[19] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 69.
[20] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 69.
[21] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 97.
[22] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 74.
[23] Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions,* 103.
[24] "George Washington to Richard Washington, Oct. 20, 1761, GWL, (New York, New York: Unit Book Publishing, 1908), 36.
[25] "George Washington to James McHenry, Secretary of War, Jan. 27, 1799, GWL, (New York, New York: Unit Book Publishing, 1908), 439-440.
[26] David Waldstreicher, "Why Thomas Jefferson and African Americans Wore Their Politics on Their Sleeves: Dress and Mobilization between American Revolutions," *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History or the Early American Republic* (2004),8227
[27] Waldstreicher. *Why Thomas Jefferson and African Americans Wore Their Politics on Their Sleeves,* 88.
[28] Waldstreicher, *Why Thomas Jefferson and African Americans Wore Their Politics on Their Sleeves,* 84.
[29] "Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, Oct. 22, 1780, in Thoughts on War and Revolution: Thomas Jefferson Annotated Correspondence, arranged by Brett F. Woods, hereafter cited as Thoughts on War, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 22-23
[30] "Thomas Jefferson to John Randolph, Aug. 25, 1775, in Jefferson's Letters, arranged by Willson Whitman, hereafter cited as TJL, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 11.
[31] "Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, in TJL, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 70.
[32]"Thomas Jefferson to Abigail Adams, in TJL, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 38-39
[33] Waldstreicher, *Why Thomas Jefferson and African Americans Wore Their Politics on Their Sleeves,* 84.
[35] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 102.
[36] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 99.

[37] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 98.
[38] "Benjamin Franklin to Mrs. Mary Hewson, Jan. 12, 1777, in The private correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D.: comprising a series of letters on miscellaneous, literary, and political subjects, from Sabina Americana 1500-1926.
[39] "House of Commons Hearing, The examination of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in Life and Letters, arranged by Benjamin Franklin, hereafter cited as BFL, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 136- 157.
[40]"Benjamin Franklin to his wife, Jan. 28, 1772, in BFL, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 190.
[41]"Benjamin Franklin to Mrs. Sarah Bache. Passy, June 3, 1779, in BFL, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Hale and Company), 263.
[42]"Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, April 30, 1764, in *The Portable Benjamin Franklin,* arranged by Larzer Ziff, (New York, New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 343-345.
[43] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 52.

Famine, Genocide, and Memory: Ukrainians and the Commemoration of the 1932-1933 Holodomor

By: Taylor Schmidt

Stalin and Stalinism

Final Paper

December 12, 2011

On Friday, April 18, 2008, the Toronto City Hall unveiled an exhibit prepared by the League of Ukrainian Canadians, approved by Toronto's mayor David Miller, and entitled, "Holodomor: Genocide by Famine." At the exhibit, posters displayed pictures of Joseph Stalin and other Communist leaders with labels proclaiming, "Organizers and Perpetrators of the Genocide." Other posters pronounced, "Holodomor: Genocide by Famine: 10,000,000, Ukraine, 1932-1933." A ceremony commenced in the hall in which a group of Ukrainians presented an elongated black torch—the "International Holodomor Remembrance Flame"—to a delegation that included the Canadian Minister of State Jason Kenney, the Ukrainian ambassador to Canada Ihor Ostash, and the Holodomor survivor Stefan Horlatsch. Upon receiving the torch, Horlatsch walked outside of the building and lit a candle held by a young child. The famine survivor then escorted the torch to fifteen Canadian cities over the next several weeks, and the torch afterwards visited 33 other countries, including the United States in May.[1]

On its worldwide tour, the Remembrance Torch reached Russia in October 2008. Upon its arrival, the Russian government prohibited any commemorative or educational events that even hinted the famine was genocide. As the Russian foreign minister claimed in September, "[Russians] can hardly agree with the pseudo-historical treatment by [the Ukrainian capital] Kyiv of the events connected with the famine of the 1930s in the USSR as some kind of 'genocide of the Ukrainian people.'"[2] The government likewise cancelled events in Orenburg, Tumen, Ufa, and St. Petersburg associated with

[1] "Holodomor Remembrance Flame presented at Toronto's City Hall," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 11, 2008, 11; "Holodomor Ukrainian Genocide 1932-33 Part 1," [n.d.], video clip, accessed November 13, 2011, YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lp1ksnsI7xc&feature=related; Tamara Olexy, "Holodomor Remembrance Flame enters U.S.," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 11, 2008, 27.
[2] "Russia denies a genocide," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 19, 2008, 6.

the Remembrance Torch.[3] Indeed, the contrast between the Russian and the Western countries' receptions of the Remembrance Flame illustrates the differing ways in which the Ukrainian famine is remembered today.

The episode concerning the Remembrance Flame raises the question as to how Ukrainians, both in North America and in Ukraine, remember the 1932-1933 famine. Do they categorize it as a tragedy created by bad ecological conditions and exacerbated by inept policies, or do they regard it as genocide committed by the Soviet government? Furthermore, how does the Ukrainians' commemoration of the famine affect Ukraine's current political relationship with Russia? Does the memory of the famine antagonize that relationship, or does it have no effect upon it at all?

In this paper, I argue that Ukrainians worldwide remember the 1932-1933 famine as genocide against the Ukrainian nation, that such a memory bolsters Ukrainian nationalism, and that it exacerbates the worsening political relationship between Ukraine and Russia today. The Ukrainians have chosen to remember the famine as genocide in ways affecting many aspects of life, including political resolutions, ceremonies, artistic venues, and public education. Such memories help the living to commemorate the victims, unify Ukrainians, and inform the world about the famine as genocide. In contrast, Russians regard the famine as a tragedy that affected many peoples, not merely the Ukrainians. Indeed, the memory of the famine as genocide incites anger from the Russians, as they believe that Ukrainians manipulate history on this topic to pursue political agendas.

[3] "Holodomor remembred in Russian capital despite government interference," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 19, 2008, 1; "International Holdomor Remembrance Flame arrives in Armenia," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 26, 2008, 5.

Current scholars have covered aspects of this paper, but have focused only upon the memory of the famine in the context of Ukrainian politics. In 2009, the researcher Mykola Riabchuk argued that the varying commemorations of the famine in Ukraine reflected an ideological battle between "two different visions of the Ukrainian past and future… and, as a matter of fact, two different national identities." He detailed how political factions within Ukraine portray the famine in varying ways to advance their agenda, thus politicizing the memory of the tragedy.[4] Likewise, in 2010, the political scientist Alexander Motyl wrote that the Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich downplayed the genocidal memory of the famine to "reestablish [Ukraine's] role as a client of Moscow." Yanukovich's policies concerning the memory of the famine revealed his pro-Russian policies by de-emphasizing the famine as genocide. The Ukrainian government therefore subjugated memory of the famine as genocide to improve relations with Russia.[5] Thus, both scholars examined the memory of the famine within the paradigm of Ukrainian politics. Yet neither looked at the commemorations of North American Ukrainians or how Russians regard the tragedy. This paper examines North American commemoration of the famine and the ways in which it affects the relationship between Ukraine and Russia, while looking at memories of Russians about the event.

The 1932-1933 Ukrainian famine—known as the "Holodomor"—destroyed much of Ukrainian culture and decimated its people. Such a tragedy was largely the result of the policies of Joseph Stalin and his initiative for modernization. Stalin's Five

[4] Mykola Riabchuk, "Holodomor: The Politics of Memory and Political Infighting in Contemporary Ukraine," *Harriman Review* 16, no. 2 (November 2008), http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/MEDIA/01290.pdf (accessed November 13, 2011), 3, 7-8.
[5] Alexander Motyl, "Deleting the Holodomor," *World Affairs* 173, no. 3 (September/October 2010), 26.

Year Plan to modernize the Soviet Union was approved in April 1929, with collectivization of agriculture as its central pillar.[6] To facilitate collectivization, the Soviet leaders recognized that they needed to subjugate the peasantry. As the historian Timothy Snyder writes, "[the future of communism] required heavy industry, which in turn required collectivized agriculture, which in turn required control of the largest social group in the Soviet Union, the peasantry."[7] To accomplish that goal, the authorities stigmatized and persecuted the "kulaks," who were viewed as the wealthy peasants who exploited other farmers. Such definitions resulted in over 113,000 peasants being deported to labor camps in the beginning of 1930, cowing the villagers into submission before the Soviet authorities.[8]

Yet many peasants, especially Ukrainian farmers, resisted Soviet policies. In such ways as slaughtering livestock on a massive scale, the peasants helped to destroy the countryside and make collectivization "a large and expensive debacle."[9] The Soviet leaders attributed such obstruction to the national sentiments that were concentrated within the peasantry. Stalin soon acted to dispel that threat, and the actions of the Soviet government from 1931-1932 contributed to the beginning of the famine. On December 5, 1931, with the Ukrainian grain quota unfilled, Stalin ordered that the authorities collect seed grain of the peasants to satisfy the demands of the state. Also, in July 1932, Stalin again demanded a quota of 7.7 million tons of grain out of a harvest of 14.7 million tons, ensuring shortages of food.[10] In addition, Soviet authorities physically trapped the

[6] Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: The Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 99, 107-108, 168.
[7] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 25.
[8] Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, 98; Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 26.
[9] Ibid., 159.
[10] Ibid., 159, 222.

peasants within their region. In December 1932, the governments introduced "internal passport[s]" that required peasants to have authorization to leave their farms, preventing them from leaving to search for food.[11] Thus, as Snyder writes, "[Ukraine] resembled a giant starvation camp, with watchtowers, sealed borders, pointless and painful labor, and endless and predictable death."[12]

In addition, environmental factors played a role in initiating the famine. As the historian Mark Tauger has pointed out, several ecological factors affected the yields of grain within certain regions in the early 1930s, including drought, excessive rain, infestations, and exhausted soil from lack of crop rotation. As a result, the harvests of grain in 1931-1932 were smaller than historians had previously thought.[13] In addition, the Soviet leaders did not have the logistics to recognize the environmental data and deal with potential issues like famine. Indeed, even if the government had possessed that information, Tauger claimed that those data "would have been swamped by the sheer volume and magnitude of crises in every aspect of the Soviet system."[14] Thus, the environment and political logistics contributed to the Ukrainian famine. Such aspects set the stage for the policies pursued by the Soviet government, which included the confiscation of the seed grain and the sealing of the Ukrainian borders. Those actions exacerbated the outcome of the environmental causes that enabled the famine.

As a result of government policies and ecological factors, the historian Robert Conquest calculated that six million Ukrainians died by starvation, adding that the

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[11] Ibid., 170, 327.
[12] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 43.
[13] Mark Tauger, "Natural Disaster and Human Actions in the Soviet Famine of 1931-1933," Carl Beck Paper in Russian & East European Studies 1506 (2001): 1, 20, 36-37, accessed October 31, 2011, http://www.as.wvu.edu/history/Faculty/Tauger/Tauger,%20Natural%20Disaster%20and%20Human%20Actions.pdf.
[14] Ibid. 41-42.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian intelligentsia were essentially destroyed.[15] In contrast, Snyder documents that at least three million Ukrainians died during the famine, a number smaller than that of Conquest.[16] Such a discrepancy between the two scholars reflects the different periods in which they are researching. Conquest wrote during the 1980s and used the sources available at the time, including Western reports of the estimates of Soviet officials and census data from 1925 to 1937. In contrast, Snyder writes in 2010 and mostly relies upon the recent estimates of scholars.[17] The difference in casualties therefore exhibits the varying resources available to the scholars. In addition, both writers point out that the famine affected regions in the Northern Caucasus, the Lower Volga, and Soviet Russia, killing roughly one million people in those areas in total.[18] Thus, the Soviet government wreaked destruction upon the Ukrainian people and its surrounding regions with its policies in the early 1930s.

The scholarly debate as to whether or not the famine constituted genocide persists to the present day. Conquest cited the lawyer Rafael Lemkin, who defined genocide in 1948 as acts "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group." Thus, as Conquest claimed, "it appears that a charge of genocide lies against the Soviet Union for its actions in the Ukraine."[19] Snyder uses a similar tactic, quoting Lemkin and hinting that the famine should be known as genocide.[20] But other historians have argued that the famine was not an intentional act of the Soviet government. For example, the historians R.W. Davies and Stephen Wheatcroft pointed

[15] Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, 303.
[16] Ibid., 51.
[17] Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, 300, 303-304, 388-389; Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 467.
[18] Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, 280-282, 197-198; Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 51.
[19] Ibid., 272.
[20] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 51.

out that the Soviet government attempted to ameliorate the famine by lowering collection quotas from 6.46 million tons to eventually 3.77 million tons. In addition, records from the Politburo at that time did not mention a policy for famine, and party leaders in Ukraine and Moscow even treated the event as a serious problem. According to Davis and Wheatcroft, such Soviet leaders would not have attempted to ameliorate the famine if they had known that Stalin intended the tragedy to happen.[21]

The historian Andrea Graziosi has also thoughtfully contributed to the debate concerning the famine as genocide. While pointing out that the famine was "pan-Soviet" and affected several regions, Graziosi claims that the famine particularly hurt the Ukrainians, calculating that the mortality rate in Ukraine almost tripled from 1926-1933. In contrast, the rate of other regions at the same time did not even double.[22] Graziosi concedes that the Soviet leaders did not plan the famine, but instead claims they manipulated it to suit their own needs. As Graziosi writes, "[t]he decision to *use the famine*…in order to impart a lesson to peasants who refused the new serfdom was thus taken in the fall of 1932."[23] In teaching that lesson, Soviet authorities removed all goods from stores, confiscated meat and potatoes, and criminalized peasants who fled villages to seek food. Pointing out such actions, Graziosi writes, "I believe that the answer to our question, 'Was the Holodomor a genocide?' cannot but be positive."[24] Thus, Graziosi claims that the famine was an act of genocide comparable to the Jewish Holocaust, with such an argument continuing to incite debate among historians today.

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[21] R.W. Davies and Stephen G. Wheatcroft, "Stalin and the Soviet Famine of 1932-33: A Reply to Ellman," *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (2006), 628-629.
[22] Andrea Graziosi, "The Soviet 1931-1933 Famines and the Ukrainian Holodomor: Is a New Interpretation Possible, and What Would Its Consequences Be?" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 27 (2004-2005), 101-102.
[23] Ibid., 103.
[24] Ibid., 104-107.

While historians debate the intent of the famine, Ukrainians around the world remember the famine as genocide committed by the Soviet government against Ukraine. Such a memory is exhibited in efforts to gain political recognition of the famine as genocide from governments. For example, the Ukrainian World Congress began to plan for international commemorations for the 75th anniversary of the famine in 2007 by creating an International Holodomor Committee. The committee aimed in part "to ensure that the Holodomor is recognized by national governments and the United Nations as genocide of the Ukrainian people."[25] Such words from the Congress represented the views of Ukrainians about the famine as genocide and the intent to gain recognition of the event.

Due to the efforts of organizations like the Ukrainian World Congress, several governments have recognized the famine as genocide over the past decade. In 2008, Canada, having a large Ukrainian population, officially recognized the tragedy as "a deliberate act of genocide." The Canadian Foreign Minister Jason Kenney lamented that the famine was not widely known outside of the Ukrainian community, saying that people should remember the famine as they do the Holocaust.[26] The United States also embraced the notion of the famine as genocide in 2003, albeit more carefully. In a vote of 382-0, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted House Resolution 365, which stated, "this man-made famine was designed and implemented by the Soviet regime as a deliberate act of terror and mass murder against the Ukrainian people." The resolution also affirmed the government's 1985 Commission on the Ukraine Famine report, which declared, "Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-

[25] "The 75th Anniversary of the Holodomor," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 13, 2008, 8.
[26] Clark Campbell, "Harper Government moves to recognize 1932-33 Ukrainian famine as genocide," *The Globe and Mail*, May 27, 2008, A4.

1933."[27] Indeed, by 2008, the legislative bodies of fourteen countries, including Georgia, Latvia, Canada and the United States, had recognized the famine as genocide.[28] The idea of famine as genocide therefore gained traction in recent years, thus helping to fulfill the goals of the Ukrainians in promoting their views about the famine to different nations.

International politics played a significant role in the creation of such political resolutions. In May 2008, the Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko gave a speech in Canada encouraging the passage of the bill that recognized the famine as genocide. In an interview, he claimed that international actions concerning recognition of the famine and NATO membership for Ukraine served as "potential rallying points" for his divided country.[29] Indeed, the Canadian government approved of Ukraine's entry into NATO.[30] Thus, the Canadian government's declaration of the famine as genocide may have intended to encourage the admission of Ukraine to NATO, a potential development that the Russian president Vladimir Putin supposedly adamantly opposed.[31]

In comparison, other countries chose words more carefully than Canada. Even the American declaration was comparatively tepid, calling the event a "man-made famine" and only proclaiming it as genocide through citation of its 1985 report. Similarly, when the Ukrainian government asked the United Nations to recognize the famine as genocide, the organization refused the motion until the authors replaced the word "genocide" with the phrase "crime against humanity." The organization supposedly

[27] "House of Representatives adopts resolution on Famine of 1932-1933," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 26, 2003, 1.
[28] "14 countries' parliaments recognize Holodomor," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 23, 2008, 8.
[29] Mark MacKinnon, "Yushchenko heads home to turmoil," *The Globe and Mail*, May 29, 2008, A14.
[30] Clark Campbell, "Harper government," A4.
[31] Gennady Sysoyev, "Russian-Ukrainian Talks Dominated by Troublesome Topic of Bloc," *Kommersant*, April 26, 2008, 10 in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 60, no. 15, (May 6, 2008), 17.

did not wish to provoke Russia, which sits on the Security Council.[32] Thus, politics played a role in the declarations given by governments concerning the famine. The memory of the famine therefore touches upon political tensions as much as it solicits emotional reactions.

While governments consider politics in remembering the famine, citizens in Western nations and Ukraine remember the famine in a myriad of cultural outlets. One such way is through ceremonies that take place upon holidays. Several countries and cities have designated days of commemoration for the famine that honor the victims. For example, in a 2008 statute, the Canadian Parliament designated that the fourth Saturday in November "shall be known as 'Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ('Holodomor') Memorial Day,'" with the holiday continuing to the present day.[33] In addition, in 1993, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council designated that June 1 be commemorated as the "National Day of Mourning" for the "7 million to 10 million victims" of the famine.[34] New York City participated in that holiday, holding a requiem for the victims at St. Patrick's Cathedral and hosting a talk by academics concerning the famine.[35] Chicago also commemorated the famine, with the city hosting ceremonies for the 75th Anniversary of the famine in 2008 and designating September 12-13 as days to remember the event. The city named that commemoration "Breaking the Silence on the Unknown Genocide," implying the

[32] Mark MacKinnon, "Ukraine's Holocaust slowly acknowledged," *The Globe and Mail*, September 22, 2003, A14.
[33] Canada, House of Commons, *An Act to establish a Ukrainian Famine and Genocide Memorial Day and to recognize the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as an act of genocide*, May 29, 2008, quoted in *Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine* (Ontario, Kashtan Press, 2008), 363.
[34] "Remembering the famine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, April 4, 1993, 6.
[35] Andrij Wynnyckyj, "New York commemorates 60th anniversary of famine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, June 6, 1993, 1.

need for Ukrainians for speak out about the famine in an attempt to inform the world.[36] Thus, cities have participated in an array of events to commemorate the famine and spread the news to other people.

It is noteworthy that these commemorations inflate the numbers of casualties beyond scholarly estimates. Commemorative events of the famine estimate the number of Ukrainian victims to be at least seven to ten million, a number larger than Snyder's and even Conquest's estimates. For example, in November 2003, the New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg issued a proclamation calling upon New Yorkers to gather together "to commemorate this 'hidden holocaust'" and honor the seven to ten million Ukrainian victims.[37] Such inflation is partly due to the misreading of scholastic works. In a 2008 article in the periodical *The Ukrainian Weekly*, a writer defended an increased number of casualties in part by citing Conquest. While noting that Conquest counted five million famine victims within Ukraine and one million outside of the country, the article inflated the casualties by combining the number of deaths from de-kulakization to the number of victims from the famine. Such arithmetic increased the total number of famine victims to roughly *nine* million, rather than five or six million. As the article reasoned, the "distinction between death from famine and death from de-kulakization…is difficult to define."[38] While the article cites other sources, its misuse of Conquest's work shows that scholarly estimates are often misinterpreted to calculate the number of victims of the famine.

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[36]Maria Kulczycky, "Chicago Holodomor commemoration engages and informs diverse audiences," *The Ukrainian Weekly,* October 19, 2008, 2.
[37] Michael Bloomberg, "New York City mayor's proclamation of Famine Remembrance Week," quoted in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 23, 2003, 9.
[38] Askold S. Lozynskyj, "The case for 7 million to 10 million," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 11, 2008, 6.

Indeed, the issue of casualties has provoked accusations of deliberate dishonesty toward the Ukrainians from other scholars. For example, in April 2011, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) attempted to secure a permanent exhibit for the famine in the new Canadian Museum for Human Rights. The UCC claimed that the exhibit for the famine should be as prominent as the one devoted to the Holocaust. In response, a group of international scholars wrote a letter to the UCC that chided the organization. The letter claimed that, even though scholars agreed that the number of deaths was between 2.6 to 3.9 million, the UCC raised the numbers to shock people and make the death toll larger than that of the Jewish genocide. According to the letter, such an action implied that the UCC believed that "the Holodomor deserves more attention than the Holocaust."[39] Such bitter accusations highlight the dispute that the casualties provoke. While the casualties are probably not always increased for political purposes, the inflated numbers do compel people to consider the famine as an enormous tragedy. Thus, there may indeed be an attempt to force people to reckon with the famine by increasing the numbers of casualties, representing the attempt to spread knowledge about the event as genocide to the public.

Regardless of the precise numbers of casualties, citizens continue to remember the famine in many different settings. One of the ways in which people commemorate the victims of the famine is through religious settings and ceremonies, which also contribute to Ukrainian nationalistic feelings. In October 1983, thousands of Ukrainian-Canadians "sang hymns in the streets and then prayed on the Legislature steps" to

[39]James Adams, "Ukrainian Canadian groups accused of historical dishonesty," *The Globe and Mail,* April 16, 2011, A11.

commemorate the victims of the famine.[40] In 2003 in Denver, the three-day commemoration of the famine ended with a High Mass performed by a priest from the Ukrainian Catholic Church, with survivors of the famine participating.[41] In Philadelphia, the 2008 commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the famine began at the House of Prayer of the First Ukrainian Evengelical Baptist Church. While the famine commemoration usually occurred at Orthodox cathedrals, the organizer proclaimed that that year it would be held at the home of "our Baptist brother[s] and sisters."[42] Likewise, the New York City commemoration began at the St. Patrick Cathedral in which requiem services were held.[43] Religious churches therefore act as centers for remembering the famine. Indeed, the Ukrainian Church holds national significance for many Ukrainians, as Ukrainian seminaries helped to achieve separation from the Russian Church in 1917 and the Soviets persecuted many Orthodox priests during the late 1920s.[44] As a result, religious settings signify Ukrainian resistance to Russian domination, giving nationalistic significance to the Ukrainians as they gather to commemorate the famine.

While religious ceremonies constitute important centers of memory, Westerners and Ukrainians also participate within secular ceremonies to commemorate the famine as genocide. For example, in Sacramento in January 2008, ceremonies were held at the Carmichael Public Library in which the Ukrainian flag was flown at half-mast and a candle was lit in the window. Afterwards, a Ukrainian vocalist performed the song

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[40] "Starvation in Ukraine remembered," *The Globe and Mail,* October 10, 1983.
[41] Ania Savage and Taras Bugir, "Denver hosts three-day commemoration of Ukrainian Famine-Genocide," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 23, 2003, 12.
[42] "Philadelphia community begins Holodomor commemorations," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, March 2, 2008, 22.
[43] "Series of events in NYC to commemorate 75th anniversary of Ukraine's Genocide," *the Ukrainian Weekly,* November 2, 2008, 10.
[44] Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, 41, 207-208, 210-212.

"Ballad About the Year 1933" that remembered the famine as genocide.[45] Clothing and accessories also attempted to spread knowledge. In 2007, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America created black "Remembrance Wristbands" that intended to spread awareness of the famine.[46] At New York City's 2008 commemorative services, the organizers encouraged participants to wear Ukrainian embroidered clothes and display Ukrainian flags framed with black ribbons.[47] Such solemn clothing reminded people of the nature of the event being commemorated, while the Ukrainian flag implied the special nature of the famine in affecting Ukraine. Such nationalistic symbols indicated the belief that the famine was not merely "pan-Soviet," but was a targeted attack upon the Ukrainian nation.

Thus, ceremonies and gatherings have marked the famine as genocide with solemn acts of remembrance. People also commemorate the famine and affirm Ukrainian nationalism through artistic venues, including film. Perhaps the most widespread film used to remember the famine is Slavko Nowytski's 1984 movie "Harvest of Despair." That work depicted documentary footage of the famine and its victims, although some question the authenticity of the footage.[48] Regardless, many people praise the film for its artistic power and its condemnation of the Soviet actions that led to the famine. Indeed, organizers screened the film in New York City during the 2003 Famine Remembrance Week and also at the San Francisco Public Library during the 75th anniversary of the

[45] Alex Kachmar, "Sacramento Ukrainians remember genocidal Holodomor of 1932-1933," *The Ukrainian Weekly,* January 6, 2008, 16.
[46] "The 75th anniversary of the Holodomor," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 13, 2008, 8.
[47] "Series of events in NYC," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 10.
[48] Don Cummings, "Stalin's war against the peasants," *Maclean's*, December 15, 1986, 56.

famine.[49] The film therefore characterizes the famine as genocide, and various groups often use it as a commemorative event.

Ukrainian filmmakers have made other works that portray the famine as genocide. For example, the documentary film "Holodomor: Ukraine's Genocide of 1932-33" used the expertise of historians like the professor Taras Hunczak in depicting the famine.[50] In addition, the October 1992 issue of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress's newsletter displayed an advertisement for a film entitled, "Famine '33." Directed by the Ukrainian Oles Yanchuk and based upon Vasyl Barka's 1962 novel *The Yellow Prince,* the film focused upon one village during the famine as "authorities confiscated food to brutally enforce collectivization." The film was advertised as winning many awards, claiming to draw the viewer into a "close circle of fear, grief and bewilderment."[51] Indeed, the general importance of movies in remembering the famine was illustrated by the international conference "Visualizing the Holodomor: The Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 on Film" at Columbia University in December 2008.[52] The event featured prominent film archivists and young filmmakers exhibiting their works about the famine. Thus, film exhibits the famine as genocide and promotes the event to the world while fostering a Ukrainian national identity.

In addition to film, paintings also have promulgated the famine as genocide to the public. In 1984, the Canadian artist William Burak restored several paintings of his

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[49] Helen Smindak, "Film screening, memorial concert reflect Ukraine's suffering," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 30, 2003, 11; "San Francisco to present special program on Famine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, April 13, 2008, 23.
[50] "Historian join 'Holodomor' documentary feature film team," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 17, 2008, 13.
[51] "Premiere Showing: 'Famine '33,'" in *Ukrainian Canadian Newsletter*, October 1992, 11. The advertisement appeared as a handout within the newsletter.
[52] Yuri Shevchuk, "Columbia U. conference to commemorate the Famine-Genocide," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 19, 2008, 10.

Ukrainian teacher Julian Bucmaniuk, who in the 1950s painted works depicting the Soviet regime. One work displayed Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler burning in hell during the Last Judgment, exhibiting Bucmaniuk's anger against Stalin in equating him with Hitler, a correlation that the famine most likely influenced.[53] The drawings of the artist Olexander Wlasenko also displayed art concerning the famine. In the 2008 exhibit entitled "As We Slept," Wlasenko's works juxtaposed Soviet propaganda of socialist images with pictures of victims of the famine. As Wlasenko wrote about the exhibit, "[it] explores the tension between artifice and actuality, participating in the contemporary discourse around ethics, identity and the rehabilitation of historical memory."[54] Indeed, Wlasenko's display exhibited the contrast between the Soviet state's ideals and the suffering of its people. It attempted to connect the famine with the Soviet government, creating the historical memory that the government initiated the famine.

Another powerful artistic display concerning the famine was Mykola Mykhaylovych Bondarenko's 2003 exhibit in New Jersey. Entitled "Ukraine 1933: A Cookbook," the drawings depicted the food that the Ukrainians consumed during the famine, including weeds, birds, and dead animals like cows, horses, and cats. The drawings also displayed hammers and sickles upon the iron rods that the villagers used, hinting that the Soviet government was to blame for the disaster.[55] Thus, paintings constituted a way in which Ukrainians expressed the deliberate nature of the famine, especially in portraying the suffering of the peasantry. Such art intended to spread the knowledge of the graphic nature of the famine to people.

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[53] "Rye bread used to restore murals in Ukrainian church," *The Globe and Mail*, January 21, 1984.
[54] "'As We Slept' exhibit recalls Ukrainians Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 12, 2008, 11.
[55] Oleksander Kopitonenko, "Works reflecting Ukraine of 1933 displayed in NJ," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 7, 2003.

While art spread memory concerning the famine as genocide, the most important method for Ukrainians in informing the world consisted of educating children about the event. In January 2003, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) affirmed at its executive board meeting that "[education is a] critical aspect of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide." In its promotion of education, the UCCA resolved to push high schools to teach about the famine in a course entitled "Genocide Around the World," and even to screen the film "The Harvest of Despair" on the Public Broadcasting Service.[56] Scholastic competition also attempted to educate children. In October 2008, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Foundation awarded a $1000 prize to the high school student who submitted the best essay about the famine.[57] Indeed, in Chicago in 2003, the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation organized an educational program about the famine for three hundred children. The kids watched "The Harvest of Despair," visited the Ukrainian National Museum to see exhibits about the famine and listened to guest speakers talk about the event.[58] That event exhibited the extent to which Ukrainians went to educate children about the genocidal nature of the famine.

Indeed, many Ukrainians in Canada have taken an active interest in promoting education of the famine as genocide. In June 2008, during a board meeting for the Toronto District School Board, a group of Ukrainian-Canadians sat in the room in order to force the school board to include the famine as a case study in a genocide course for high school students. In response, the board passed an amendment that said that other

[56] Tamara Gallo, "UCCA executive board meeting focuses on upcoming 70th anniversary of Great Famine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 9, 2003, 5.
[57] "Winnipeg student wins essay contest on theme of Ukraine's Holodomor," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 12, 2008, 27.
[58] Katya Mischenko-Mycyk, "Chicago Ukrainians mark 70th anniversary of Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 12, 2003, 11.

"crimes against humanity" existed like the Ukrainian famine, but they would not be included within the course.[59] Several Ukrainian Canadian outlets responded with resentment. As the historian Roman Serbyn wrote in a June 2008 letter to the editor, "[f]orced starvation has been a weapon in the genocidal extermination of peoples since time immemorial…. To leave the Holodomor, the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33, out of the curriculum makes no pedagogical sense."[60] The periodical *The Ukrainian Weekly* wrote on June 22, 2008, "It seems that victims of the Holodomor, at least to the trustees [of the Toronto school board], are only statistics… Ignoring or not including the Ukrainian genocide in the curriculum is both offensive and unacceptable, especially since 2008 is the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor."[61] The rejection of the famine as a feature in curriculum about genocide offended many Ukrainians. Such offense exhibits the extent to which Ukrainians feel that the famine constitutes genocide, and that the public schools should teach children the same idea.

Ukrainians have also attempted to use museum exhibits to educate the public about the famine as genocide. A prominent example of that effort is the current debate about exhibits within the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, which opens in Winnipeg in 2013. Funded by the Canadian government, the museum plans to contain two permanent galleries, one for the Canadian aborginals and the other for the Holocaust. In response, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress expressed fury in a report to the Canadian Heritage Minister James Moore, saying, "This is unacceptable… [the Holodomor] should

[59] Kate Hammer, "High-school course on genocide draws protests," *The Globe and Mail*, June 13, 2008, A12.
[60] Roman Serbyn, letter to the editor, *The Globe and Mail*, June 14, 2008, A24.
[61] Alex Chumak, "Toronto School Board trustees turn a blind eye to Holodomor," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, June 22, 2008, 6.

be provided no less coverage… than the Holocaust."[62] The UCC began a postcard campaign to Moore to force him to create an independent committee that determines the museum's content.[63] In a pamphlet directed to the content board, the UCC claimed, "[w]e would therefore anticipate and encourage the museum's curators to… secure/develop a prominent exhibit of the *Holodomor* (the genocidal Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine)." The UCC wanted a permanent display detailing "the experiences of those Canadians who fled persecution and genocide (including the *Holodomor*)."[64] Thus, the UCC desires a permanent exhibit for the famine within the museum, like the Holocaust. Such a position implied that the famine was as genocidal as the Holocaust, and Ukrainians wish to teach that theory through the museum's exhibits.

In addition to museum exhibits and education, the scholarly community contributed to spreading knowledge about the famine as genocide. One example is the semi-annual academic journal *Holodomor Studies*. Founded in 2009 and edited by Roman Serbyn, that journal includes many articles concerning the famine by scholars like Cormac O'Grada, Stephen Wheatcroft, and Roman Serbyn himself. The publisher Charles Schlacks explained the purpose of the journal in the preface of the first volume, "I decided to launch this journal for two reasons: first to document and explain genocidal acts against Ukraine; and second to counteract and expose 'Holodomor denial.'"[65] Another scholastic attempt of commemoration was the 2008 book *Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine*, edited by Lubomyr Y.

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[62] James Adams, "Group says rights museum slights suffering of Ukrainians," *The Globe and Mail*, December 11, 2010, A8.
[63] James Adams, "Rights Museum," *The Globe and Mail*, December 22, 2010, A3.
[64] "The Canadian Museum for Human Rights: A Canadian Ukrainian Perspective," Ottawa 2009, http://www.uccla.ca/CMHR_11June09.pdf (accessed November 13, 2011).
[65] Charles Schlacks, "Publisher's Preface," *Holodomor Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): iii.

Luciuk. That anthology included essays by scholars like Hiroaki Kuromiya, Andrea Graziosi and Alexander Motyl. In the foreword, Luciuk argued that the famine was insufficiently known around the world, though it should have the "unenviable status of being a crime against humanity arguably without parallel in European history."[66] While not specifically naming the famine as genocide, and indeed containing scholarly debates about its genocidal nature, the foreword implied that the famine should take its place among genocides as a monstrous act. Such scholarly attempts to commemorate the famine attempt to educate both scholars and the public about the nature of the famine.

Thus, Ukrainians within the West engage in many cultural activities to commemorate the famine as genocide. Such commemorations contrast with the memory of Russians, who regard the famine as a tragedy that affected many nations besides Ukraine. For example, on November 28, 2006, the Ukrainian legislative body passed an article declaring the famine as genocide against the Ukrainian people.[67] In response, the Russian State Duma in April 2008 made a resolution claiming, "[t]he famine…affected many regions of the Russian SFSR (the Volga Region, the Central Black-Earth Zone, the North Caucasus, the Urals, the Crimea and part of Western Siberia) and of Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus." After condemning the collectivization that resulted in the deaths of the famine, the resolution finished, "[t]here is no historical evidence that the famine was organized on ethnic grounds… This tragedy should not be the subject of present-day political exploitation."[68] Thus, the Russian government remembers the famine as a

[66] Lubomyr Luciuk, "Foreword: Reaping What They Once Sowed," in *Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine,* ed. Lubomyr Y. Luciuk (Ontario: Kashtan Press, 2008), v.
[67] Svetlana Stepanenko, "Famine Recognized as Genocide," *Vremya novostei*,November 29, 2006, 2, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 58, no. 48 (December 27, 2006), 20.
[68] Ksenia Veretennikova, "In Condemnation Mode," *Vremya novostei*, April 3, 2008, 2, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 60, no. 13 (April 22, 2008), 15,16.

tragedy that affected many peoples, not as genocide against the Ukrainians. Indeed, Russia claims that such genocidal claims represent "political exploitation" and not honest historical objectivity.

Such a contrast between Ukrainians and Russians in remembering the famine exacerbated the troubled relationship between Russia and Ukraine during the past decade. For example, in April 2008, the Russian foreign ministry listed factors that were damaging relations between Russian and Ukraine, which included, "the portrayal of the 1930s famine as genocide against the Ukrainian people." Such a position on the famine angered Russia as Ukraine attempted to enter NATO, which was also on the list of damaging factors.[69] Thus, according to the Russians, the commemoration of the famine as genocide was equally bad as the Ukrainian entry into NATO. Furthermore, in November 2007, activists from Russia's Eurasian Youth League vandalized the exhibit at the Moscow Ukrainian Cultural Center entitled, "Ukraine's Great Famine." The Youth League justified its attack by claiming that the Ukrainian display placed blame for the famine upon the Russian people.[70] Thus, the evidence suggests that the memory of the famine as genocide contributes to incendiary acts within Russia. That reaction demonstrates that the famine contributed to the worsening relationship between Russian and Ukraine over the past decade.

The memory of the famine as genocide has also solicited claims of dishonesty from Russians. For example, in July 2008, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) debated a resolution

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[69] Gennady Sysoyev, "Russian-Ukrainian Talks Dominated by Troublesome Topic of Bloc," *Kommersant* in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*.
[70] Natalya Makogon, Pavel Korobov and Yulia Taratuta, "Eurasians Find 'Food' for Violence," *Kommersant*, November 19, 2007, 6, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 59, no. 47, (December 19, 2007), 7.

introduced by the Ukrainian delegation that encouraged "all parliaments to adopt acts regarding recognition of the Holodomor." The Russian delegation reacted strongly, with the delegation member Natalya Karpovich claiming, "[w]e must acknowledge that the Holodomor was not only in Ukraine, that Russians, Poles, Kazakhs and other peoples suffered in this tragedy." Upon passage of the resolution, the speaker of the Russian Federation Council Sergei Mironov declared, "[i]t's complete nonsense… This is being done in defiance of the actual facts, the actual historical truth… When someone wants to revise history or see only some isolated fragment of history, that's simply deceit."[71] The countries that wished to promote the memory of the famine as a Ukrainian event did not exhibit historical truth, according to the Russians. Another charge of Ukrainian historical dishonesty came from the Nobel Prize winning writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn. As he wrote in a 2008 letter to the editor,

> "The provocative outcry about 'genocide' only began to take shape decades [after the famine] – at first quietly, inside spiteful, anti-Russian, chauvinistic minds – and now it has spun off into the government circles of modern-day Ukraine, who have thus outdone even the wild inventions of Bolshevik agitprop… This vicious defamation is easy to insinuate in Western minds. They have never understood our history: You can sell them any old fairy tale, even one as mindless as this."[72]

Solzhenitsyn thus compared promoting the famine as genocide with the lies of the Boleshevik regime under Stalin. According to Russians, the Ukrainian claims about the famine as genocide represent chauvinism and naïve belief in propaganda. Russians therefore feel that the West modifies history to remember the famine as genocide, painting the Russians as villains and ignoring other nationalities that were victims of the

[71] Nikolai Filchenko, "OSCE Allays Famine," *Kommersant*, July 4, 2008, 6, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 60, no. 26, (July 22, 2008), 15-16. The source is unclear as to whether or not the resolution declared the famine specifically as genocide.
[72] Alexander Solzhenitsyn, letter to the editor, *The Globe and Mail*, May 31, 2008, A21.

event. Such beliefs about the famine contributed to the worsening relationship between Russia and Ukrainian during the late 2000s. Thus, the memory of the famine contains international political dimensions as well as strictly commemorative ones.

Ukrainians around the world remember the 1932-1933 famine as genocide, while Russians remember it as a tragedy that affected many peoples. The evidence suggests that the contrast between the memories of Ukraine and Russia has harmed relations between the two countries over the past decade. Ukrainians remember the famine as genocide in many ways, including political resolutions, ceremonies, artistic venues, and public education. Such practices seek to educate the public about the genocidal view of the famine. Indeed, the rituals and practice exhibit the influence that memory can have upon the collective conscious of people, even if the facts are unconnected to historical reality, as the inflated numbers of victims of the famine demonstrates.

Thus, rituals like the International Holodomor Remembrance Flame represent more than the commemoration of the tragic event of the famine. The Remembrance Flame and similar rituals also convey the endurance of the Ukrainian national character. As with the Jews and the Holocaust, the circumstances of the famine forged strong bonds between Ukrainians, giving them strength after surviving the worst of experiences. Such bonds foster hope for a bright future built upon a tragic past, even as the memory of the famine polarizes political relationships in the present world.

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Tessa Blanchard
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The Legacy of Honor in War

"For the military, there is no value more conspicuous or important than honor"[1].

From the earliest accounts of warfare, honor has been central to the warrior ethos. But is honor today the same as it was thousands of years ago? From the Iliad to the Peloponnesian War, from the Romans to the Crusaders, and from the Victorians to the soldiers of World War I, honor has shaped warrior's conduct profoundly. While honor may mean different things to each culture, the core of honor has always been courage on the battlefield, but many facets of the idea, such as of virtue, religion, and how a soldier ought to defend his honor, have changed over time.

The *Iliad*

The oldest, and perhaps the greatest account of warfare is Homer's *Iliad*. It recounts in vivid detail the siege of Troy and the gore and glory of battle. It also gives a very candid glimpse of characters' thoughts and feelings, both on and off the battlefield, which has resonated with warriors through the ages since. A vital part of the psychology of warfare for the characters of the *Iliad* was honor. For them, honor was fundamental and personal. For example, when King Agamemnon is forced to give up Chryseis, a woman he had captured in the course of the war, he takes the captive Briseis from the hero Achilles as his own prize. In response, Achilles decides to leave the coalition against Troy. Agamemnon responds to Achille's decision with the words, "'Run away then, if your heart is demanding it; never for my sake I will entreat you to stay here-with me indeed there are others who will show honor to me."[2] Agamemnon feels that his honor has been doubly insulted. First, because he lost his own captive, he feels that it is not right for Achilles, who is not equal to his own rank, to have a captive as spoils of war if he himself has none. Secondly, Achilles' refusal to continue in the coalition against Troy, and thus as Agamemnon's subordinate, is an insult to the king personally. Agamemnon clearly feels that his own honor is connected to both his rank as king, and the esteem in which others hold him.

Achilles, too, bears wounded feelings after this encounter. After surrendering Briseis, he sits by the ocean, praying to his mother, the goddess Thetis:

> Since you, mother, have given me birth, although to live briefly, honor at least should Olympian Zeus who thunders above be ready to grant me; but now not even a little he gives me, seeing that Atreus' son, wide-governing Lord Agamemnon, has dishonored me, since he has taken my prize and he keeps it.[3]

As the son of a goddess, Achilles feels that because he is to die young the gods in heaven should give him renown. In terms of his personal honor, Achilles feels affronted and summarily dishonored by Agamemnon because he took Achilles "prize," Briseis. Like the honor Achilles desires from the gods, he believes that Briseis was a reward for his toil and suffering, this time on the battle field. When his mother speaks to Jove on Achilles' behalf, she notes that her son is '"is doomed to be quickest dying beyond all others; but now in fact Agamemnon, lord of the people, has dishonored him, since he has taken his prize.'"[4] Thus, by taking Achilles' woman, Agamemnon has devalued all of Achilles' efforts and victories, insulting him and his honor as a soldier profoundly.

Although honor to the soldiers in the Iliad was of a very personal nature, its origins were more religious. When later offered rewards and accolades, Achilles replies, "I do not need honor like this; I think by the purpose of Zeus am I honored."[5] By citing Zeus as the origin of his honor, Achilles implies a religious facet to the term. If honor is given by the gods, then one's conduct must be pleasing to them. That is not to say that one's conduct must necessarily be morally right by modern standards, because gods in the Greek pantheon were said to intervene on either side of conflicts where they deemed necessary or were invoked by loyal adherents. This suggests that Achilles gained honor because his mother, a goddess, persuaded Zeus to help him. In another instance, when the Trojan hero Hector exhorts the Trojans and Lycians to fight in a battle, he says "to me Zeus son of Kronos granted a mighty renown," thereby encouraging them

to follow his lead.[6] Clearly, as a valiant hero it is Hector's courage that wins him honor from the gods and makes him worthy to follow into battle. For the warriors of the *Iliad*, life was inseparable from religion and thus their honor was granted directly from the gods.

Perhaps the most important part of honor to the warriors of the Iliad was courage in battle. When the Hector is encouraging his men to charge, he says, "'remember your furious valor" so that they may "drive onward the single-hoofed horses... to win a renown yet greater.'"[7] Hector directly connects his troops' courage and tenacity in battle with the honor they stood to win. If, however, one was not brave enough in battle, dishonor also be gained. When none of the Greeks' accepted a challenge Hector leveled earlier in the story, Menelaus says to them, "'Shame outrageous will this be, certainly, baleful and baneful... every man who is sitting here [is]spiritless, wholly dishonored.'"[8] By failing to rise to Hector's challenge, in Menelaus' eyes the men have forfeited all honor. For a warrior, the basis of honor in the *Iliad* is courage in battle, and if that virtue was found wanting, he would be branded with dishonor.

The Peloponnesian War

By the time of the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta, the Greek concept of honor had become much deeper and more complex that it had been in the *Iliad*. A new feature of honor was that it no longer only applied to only individuals, but the city-states which made up the Hellenic world as well. For example, when Sthenelaidas, in Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War, accuses the Athenians of aggression, he then says, "Spartans, cast your votes for the honour of Sparta and for war!'"[9] Here, it is not the honor of an individual, but of the entire city and its autonomy that Sthenelaidas believes is at stake. Similarly, Pagondas says, "'to the Syracusans and their allies the cry was that it would be a glorious thing ... for each man to

bring honour to his own country by winning the victory."[10] The Greek soldier clearly understood that he fought not only for his own honor, but for that of his city and people back home.

Greek honor also had a very strong moral component against aggression. When Pagondas tries to convince the Beotians to attack the Athenians, he says, "'we make it a point of honour always to fight for the freedom of our country and never unjustly to enslave the country of others.'"[11] Pagondas uses justice as a moral appeal based on a polity's right to be free, and linking the honor of its warriors to defending that freedom. In this way, collective honor became a defense of freedom of the state. When Hermocrates addresses an assembly of Camarinaeans, he says that the honorable course is "'to come to the side of the victims of aggressions ... and prevent your Athenian friends from doing wrong."[12] In both views, aggression is unjust, and thus dishonorable, but the defense of freedom is closely tied to honor.

Another moral facet of Grecian honor was that of fulfilling obligations. When the Melians refused to capitulate to the Athenians, they placed their hope in their "'alliance with the Spartans, who are bound, if for no other reason, than for honour's sake ... to come to our help."[13] Their faith in the Spartans was based solely on the Spartans' word, demonstrating that integrity was essential to honor. This can be traced to phrases today, such as the promise "On my honor." In another instance, after the Spartans took the city of Plataea, they sent five judges to judge the city, which had been an ally of Athens. When the Plataeans defend themselves to the Spartan judges, they recount how Athens had aided them against Thebes when Sparta would not, and thus "'it was no longer honourable for us to forsake them,'" thereby justifying their relationship with Athens.[14] Because they were indebted to the Athenians, the Plataeans could not in good conscience fight against them in the war. By including this in their defense, they clearly believed that the Spartans would respond favorably to their loyalty to their ally, even if it was Sparta's

enemy. Thus, loyalty to comrades and allies, and integrity in fulfilling obligations to them became part of the moral facet of honor and was well understood throughout the Hellenic world.

The core of the concept of honor was still, of course, courage. When the Spartan commander Brasidas encourages his men before the battle of Amphipolis, he says, "'Remember that what makes a good soldier is his readiness to fight, his sense of honour."[15] Lack of readiness to fight was not only dishonorable, it was intolerable. The Peloponnesian commanders warn their troops that no one had, "'any excuse for playing the coward. Should anyone want to do so, he will be punished as he ought to be, but the brave shall be honoured with the rewards due to courage.'"[16] As in the *Iliad*, valor on the battle field was the most celebrated part of honor, and its want was the most disapproved of.

Selflessness was central to courage. In honor of the Athenian dead, Pericles said, "'In the fighting, they thought it more honourable to stand their ground and suffer death than to give in and save their lives ... abiding with life and limb the brunt of battle.'"[17] The realities of battle were horrifying to the extreme, and to be able to stand and fight in the midst of death and chaos, no matter the personal cost, was the ultimate test of courage and the greatest honor. Recalling their own history fighting in the Persian war, the Plataeans say that they were "those who, instead of meeting the invasion by acting in the interests of their own safety, chose the path of daring, of danger, and of honour."[18] They well understood that greatest honor went to those who were selfless and courageous, putting themselves in harm's way to do what is right. They believed this so deeply that it was the rhetoric they chose to defend their city and their very lives before the Spartan judges. Similarly, at the battle of Amphipolis when Brasidas encouraged his men, he says that the enemy had

> no sense of shame about giving up a position under pressure. To run forwards and to run backwards are equally honourable in their eyes, and so their courage can

> never really be tested, since, when every man is fighting on his own, there is always a good excuse for everyone saving his own skin.[19]

Once again, the dilemma of self-preservation or standing to fight is presented. In Brasidas' eyes, those who flee cannot have honor, because it is a fundamentally selfish act. The idea of selflessness bound together the honor of the state and the courage of the soldier by giving him something greater than himself to fight for.

Another facet of honor was self-control. Despite the Spartan's reputation for absolute ferocity, their king Archidamus says that the Spartans are "'brave, because self-control is based upon a sense of honour, and honour is based on courage.'"[20] To Archidamus, these virtues were decisions, not qualities. Without control of self, a warrior could never face the horrors of battle with courage, and thus could not gain honor. In discussing whether or not to go to war with Athens, he counsels that the Spartans should "'not be hurried, and in one short day's space come to a decision which will so profoundly affect ... the fates of cities and their national honour."[21] Despite the strength of the Spartan's constant readiness for war, the decision was based upon how the war would affect the "national honor" of both their city, and others that would fight in the war. It was to protect this honor that Archidamus advised in favor of careful decision making.

The last facet of Grecian honor is perhaps the most obvious: glory. At the funeral for the Athenian dead, Pericles hailed their "'good fortune - for men to end their lives with honour, as these have done, and for you [the people] honourably to lament them.'"[22] As a statesman, Pericles granted public acclaim to the fallen, and praised those who did likewise. At the siege of Syracuse, the Athenian generals addressed their allies, saying that "'we think that most of you are aware of the honour which we have won already and of the honour which remains to be won in the coming battle."[23] Here they are speaking of the acclaim and renown that their reputation as

warriors has won them. By referring to the battle ahead, they assert that the Athenians are as strong allies who will win more honors, and try and motivate their listeners to do the same.

The other side of glory is public shame. When a small group of cornered Spartans surrendered to their Athenian enemies, it sent shockwaves around the Hellenic world. The Spartans, known for their policy of never surrendering, were humiliated. Worse still the Spartans needed every man badly, and were thus compelled to negotiate for the hostages. Their emissaries in Athens told the Athenians that they wished to "'try to come to an arrangement with you which will do you good and bring us, in our present plight, as much honour as can be expected in the circumstances.'"[24] In light of their comrade's surrender, Spartan honor was clearly in jeopardy. While honor could be won from fighting on the battlefield, it could be lost in a moment.

The Peloponnesian War demonstrated that honor had evolved from only personal to that of the state. Honor that had come from the gods now came from virtues such as loyalty, integrity, selflessness, and self-control. As with the *Iliad*, however, the essential part of honor was still courage on the battlefield.

Rome

Roman honor was based not just combat but contests of all kinds. The real test of character was how strongly one competed. Part of what made Rome such a force to be reckoned was that its people took this to heart. "The greatest source of power for the ancient Romans had been their willingness, singly and as a group, to compete strenuously," says Carlin A. Barton, in her book *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones.*[25] When they did take to the battlefield, the Romans were a powerful fighting force indeed. Their values "were overwhelmingly those of a warrior culture. Soldiers of every status competed feverishly for the commendations, the

coronae, hastae, and *armillae* that recognized their courage and industry."[26] Both warriors and civilians alike took part in contests to gain and test their honor.

Nothing equaled the Roman war machine in its day, in large part because of its soldiers' collective mentality. On the battlefield, each man was part of the group, and that group took precedence over all else, even the life of the individual. Thus, a good Roman "above all ... willed himself to be expendable."[27] The law of the Romans said that "soldiers must either vanquish or die, so that, according to Polybius, there might be no hope for survival in case of defeat."[28] There was no room in the Roman warrior's ethos for notions of retreat. Livy recalled a story seared into Roman memory of a group of soldiers at the Caudine Forks who were cornered surrendered to the enemy. At news of their surrender, all of Rome "went into deep mourning ... Such contempt did the Romans feel for the soldiers and their officers who had chosen to live that they wished to deny them admission to city and home."[29] To surrender, or even to survive defeat was the ultimate capitulation and dishonor, a mortal sin in Rome.

The individualistic side to Roman honor was connected to the idea that one was "expendable." Even when unnecessary, being prepared to face extreme danger "was acknowledged as the supreme manifestation of personal courage at Rome and that won the decorations for valor."[30] In his book, *Imperatores Victi: Military Defeat and Aristocratic Competition in the Middle and Late Republic,* Nathan Rosenstein says,

> the generals who deliberately placed themselves in danger, or who refused to surrender or even survive when all was lost, were admired more than the soldiers of the line, for theirs was the product of an individual decision, not something expected of them because they were part of a group.[31]

Part of the warrior ethos was *virtus*, the core of which, *vir*, Cicero summed up when he said, "'Who, with the prospect of envy, death, and punishment staring him in the face, does not hesitate to defend the Republic, he truly can be reckoned a *vir.*'"[32] For a Roman, facing danger

was the test of courage, and thus of honor. Like the Greek ideal of selfless courage, the Roman ideal was "putting the dangerous and honorable before the salutary and expedient, 'led by the splendor of honor without any thought for their own interest.'"[33] No Greek would have been able to fathom looking for an opportunity for unnecessary, extreme danger in the name of honor, but to the Romans, the virtues of a *vir* were everything.

The other side of honor was shame. "To have a sense of honor in ancient Rome was to have a sense of shame," says Barton.[34] This was a more external quality, one in which other people's opinions were of utmost importance. Thus, any insult would be keenly felt, and "the stories of Roman sensitivity to insult are legion."[35] Shame was not, however, always considered a bad thing. Since shame was the opposite of honor, it was also the antidote to ego. It normalized a person in society by making them but one of the group instead of too outstanding. Even the triumph "shamed even as it honored."[36]

The shame of an individual was no great thing, but the shame of a city was something else entirely. If Rome was horrified at the result of the Caudine Forks, it was nothing compared to how they remembered the battle of Cannae. At this battle in the Punic Wars, Rome suffered the greatest defeat in Italian history, losing over 50,000 men in the course of a single day. Although the catastrophe was in large part due to the Roman commanders' incompetence, Rome shunned the survivors of Cannae and sent them off to Sicily "in disgrace and inactivity."[37] By daring to live when so many of their comrades had perished, the survivors were stripped of all honor. Livy's Torquatus considered them irredeemable as soldiers and as men, and said to them: "'Fifty thousand citizens and allies lay dead around you on that day. If so many *exempla virtutis* did not move you, nothing will ever move you; if such a disaster did not make you hold your lives cheaply, nothing will ever make you do so.'"[38] Whether or not it was really the soldiers'

choice to die in such a way was beside the point. Despite the staggering number of dead, the Roman people blamed the survivors for coming back at all.

The shame the survivors felt was almost unbearable. Relegated to the quiet island of Sicily, there was no chance to redeem themselves on the battlefield, which only "compounded the disgrace" and "they pleaded for the chance to fight and die."[39] They said,

> It is neither an end to our disgrace nor a reward for our valor that we ask; only let us prove our spirit ... and exercise our courage ... We ask for hardship and danger that we might fulfill the office of soldiers and of men."[40]

Rome never forgot the losses, nor the disgrace of Cannae. Not only had they been thoroughly defeated, but the return of the unfortunate survivors shattered the city's "vanquish or die" mentality, which to the people of Rome was unforgivable.

The Roman idea of honor was, like the Greeks', both for the individual and for the state. Unlike with the Greeks, it came from upholding the ideal of victory or death, instead of virtues such as integrity or self-control. Roman honor was selfless in that a person's life was supposed to be easily sacrificed for honor, but selfish in that they often sought out unnecessary opportunities to do so. Like their Greek predecessors, however, Romans found the core of their honor in courage on the battlefield, fighting and dying for their city. There too dwelt dishonor, should they fail and survive.

The Crusades

The rise of Christianity and the fall of the Roman Empire brought a new phase, and a new problem, into the understanding of honor. For the first time, the principles of Christianity were not only ostensibly held by the majority, but were used to rule nations. Christian doctrine, which emphasized love and forgiveness, needed to be adapted to governance, but one of the most indispensable tools of statecraft is war. In his book, *Honor: A History*, James Bowman states the problem succinctly: "In the early Middle Ages, Christianity was forced to come to terms with the

martial necessities of a chaotic and dangerous world."[41] The solution came in the form of a hero: the knight. The knight was, in theory, both a pious Christian and a warrior for God, "in spite of the pacifist tendency in Christian moral teaching."[42] Although the knight's purpose revolved around Church, that did not mean he was without martial honor. Like the characters in the Iliad, a knight's honor came from God. This meant that all earthly glory that a knight could attain must be subordinated to "a higher principle."[43]

The first and most sacred duty of the knight was to God. The principle reason of the Crusades in the Holy Land was "to avenge Jesus Christ's dishonour and to conquer Jerusalem, if God so permits."[44] These words were spoken by French barons asking the doge of Venice for ships to make a crusade to Jerusalem in 1197 A.D., recorded by Geoffrey of Villehardouin in his account of the Fourth Crusade, *The Conquest of Constantinople.* He and his compatriots saw the occupation of Jerusalem as not only an affront to Christianity, but an "injury" to Christ himself.[45] Although Christianity preaches peace, war to recover Jerusalem was considered the honorable course. When the doge of Venice approved the French barons' request, he did so with the stipulation that the material for war be used "to do service to God and Christendom, wherever that might take us."[46] Their "service," took them ultimately not to Jerusalem, but to Constantinople, which they conquered instead. Villehardouin says, "there was great rejoicing inside Constantinople and among the pilgrims in their camp on account of the honour and victory God had granted them."[47] The Crusaders believed God honored them because of their service to Him in conquering Constantinople. Thus, honor was earned by service to God through conquest.

Loyalty was an important component of honor during the Crusades. Villehardouin recalls a knight by the name of Nicholas of Jenlain, who when his was lord was badly wounded in a battle, "mounted his horse and protected his lord very well, so well that he was highly praised as

a result."[48] As with the Greeks and the Romans, Nicholas of Jenlain earned acclaim and honor through loyalty and courage in battle. Just as Roman soldiers were expected to subordinate their own lives and put the group ahead of themselves, so too was loyalty, especially in adversity, valued. Conversely, when a large part of the army wanted to desert during the journey, those who discovered the plot resolved to ask them to stay, and "beg them for God's sake to take pity on themselves and on us, to resist dishonouring themselves and not to impede the delivery of the land overseas."[49] Deserting both one's comrades and one's mission for God is seen as cowardly and greatly dishonoring. On the strength of that argument the would-be deserters were dissuaded. Loyalty to the cause and to one's comrades was an indispensable part of honor.

As with all forms of martial honor, the crusaders' honor was earned on the battlefield. Villehardouin tells a glowing tale of a knight named Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who coincidently has exactly the same name as he does. No mention of this anomaly is made, however, as Villehardouin continues to sing his own praises in third person. He says:

> Geoffrey heard that the marquis was laying siege to Nauplia and set out to join him with as many men as he could muster. In great danger he rode across the country for six days until he arrived at the besieging army's camp, where he was very warmly welcomed and shown great honour by the marquis himself and by the other people there. They were right to do so, for Geoffrey of Villehardouin was very worthy, very valiant, and an able knight.[50]

Villehardouin stakes his claim to honor on the fact that he placed himself in "great danger" to come to the aid of his allies. This attributes to him both loyalty and courage, which would of course make him so worthy, valiant, and able. While this self-flattery seems at first glance to be ridiculous, it is significant that out of all the ways he could have chosen to record himself in history, these are the principles to which he appeals to make himself seem as grand as possible to the reader. This demonstrates how important courage was in the judgment of honor.

Conversely, cowardice brought dishonor. Villehardouin recounts a battle in which the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat was killed, and when his men saw him dying, "they began to lose heart and despair, and their sense of proper conduct started to falter... his men began to panic and to flee," and thus they were defeated.[51] Although a critique of "proper conduct" is much less harsh than what Romans might have said, the fact remains that cowardice was equated with dishonor, and in this case defeat.

The Crusaders unified the idea from the *Iliad* that honor comes from God with the later Greeks' concept of virtue. For the Crusaders, the core virtues expected of the honorable knight were loyalty and duty to God. As with their predecessors, the fundamental origin of honor continued to derive from courage on the battlefield.

Victorian Europe

With the end of the medieval period and the coming of the Enlightenment, the idea of honor once again began to change. By the early 1700s, society had a new consciousness of honor. In his 1732 book, *An Enquiry into the Origin of Honour and the Usefulness of Christianity in War*, Englishman Bernard Mandeville contemplates the meaning and uses of honor. In defining the word, he says it is a "Compliment we make to Those who act, have, or are what we approve of."[52] Honor was a good thing, and its conference an effective way to express approval of someone. A person of honor is defined by "Courage and Intrepidity [which] always were, and ever will be the grand Characteristick of a Man of Honour."[53] The core of the idea of honor remained the same in that courage was still the best test of honor. Mandeville reaffirms that a man of honor is "brave in War, and dares to fight against the Enemies of his Country."[54] As in the Peloponnesian War, both courage and service to the state are essential parts of honor.

They were not, however, all there was to it, as Mandeville warns that courage "is this Part of the Character only."[55] For Mandeville, the label of honor "signifies likewise a Principle of Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity."[56] As in the ancient cultures, loyalty and righteous conduct were considered important facets of honor. It is clear that in the words "Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity," that the core of the concept of honor was much the same as the Greek's concept. The opposite of honor, shame, and its ability to motivate are acknowledged as well, in that "the Fear of Shame may act as powerfully upon bad Men, as it can upon good."[57] Thus far, the idea of honor was much the same as it had been in ages past.

The difference came with the Victorian concept of "the 'Christian gentleman'-a man of honor yet one who owed allegiance to a universal and ethical and not just a local and honorable standard."[58] Like the knight, the Christian gentleman owed much of his honor to religion and virtue. Because Europe's religious wars were winding down, however, "honor was no longer at odds with a Christian and democratic society's other value systems."[59] Honor became associated with the upper class, and thus it became "the way to virtue and social distinction."[60] As with many societies, the position of those at the top is jealously defended, and it was perhaps this defense which gave rise to one of the Victorian era's most distinctive features: the duel.

Mandeville says that a man of honor must "be ready to engage in private Quarrels, tho' the Laws of God and his Country forbid it. He must bear no Affront without resenting it, nor refuse a challenge, if it be sent to him in a proper Manner by a Man of Honour."[61] As the Romans were sensitive to insult in their contest culture, so too was a person of honor expected to defend it if insulted. While the duel had originated as a judicial process to decide which of two contesting parties' grievances was just, it was replaced by the duel for honor in the late fourteenth century.[62] Victorian Europe took the concept of insult to honor much further than

even the Romans did. In his article "The Code of Honor in *fin-de-siècle* Austria: Arthur Schnitzler's Rejection of the 'Duellzwang,'" A. Clive Roberts says that "the concept of honor was most dangerous in that it was something of which another person could deprive one through insult. Only through combat (a duel) could this sense of honor ... be restored."[63] In Victorian Europe, there was much of such combat.

The Prussian army was especially infamous for duels between its officers from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. This was in part because an institution called the "'Ehrengericht'" was created by the Prussian cabinet in 1843 "to determine under which circumstances military honor had been sufficiently offended to warrant the fighting of a duel."[64] This legalized and institutionalized the practice of dueling in the Prussian army and in civilian society. It made defense of one's honor of paramount importance, pairing the idea of honor with mortal combat off the battlefield. Although encouraging one's soldiers to kill each other over insults and slights seems counter-productive, it was thought that in periods of extended peacetime, "the duel satisfied the need for an outlet of physical aggression and also provided a means of toning up the soldiers' courage and weapons skills. In essence the duel represented a peacetime alternative to war."[65] Rowdy soldiers have always been a threat to the peace, and in extreme circumstances to the survival of the state. Duels kept soldiers occupied and personally motivated to keep their martial skills sharp. Although duels had the potential to fragment "army cohesion," this was not the case in Prussia. Duels were part of the army's code of honor which was itself cohesive in that it promoted an *espirt de corps,* and pride among the men of the army.[66] Despite the fact soldiers were killing each other, duels actually helped the army stay unified.

The type of honor defended in a duel was highly personal, not that of group or the state. As such, under this system, it was taken to an extreme. As the main character in Arthur Schnitzler's *Lieutenant Gustl* discovers, if it is impossible to exact satisfaction for an insult in the form a duel, then the insulted soldier is expected to commit suicide rather than endure an insult to his honor.[67] This led some in Prussian society, such as Schnitzler, to question what had now become the institution of honor and its usefulness in the military and in society. For a peacetime army, virtue that had to be won in combat became more of a blight than a boon.

Although the Victorian idea of honor had many of the same characteristics as honor had in the past (virtue, religion, and courage), it was, in practice, very different. Dueling made the practice of honor highly personalized and extreme. Like the Romans, Victorians were sensitive to insult and sought honor in life-and-death situations of their own making. This type of personal honor was soon to end, however, with the coming of the war to end all wars.

The Great War

> "Opinions will always differ as to whether the Great War could or should have been prevented. But one conclusion is undeniable: the ideals of chivalry worked with open accord in favour of war."[68]- Mark Girouarad

For many people, the death of honor came with World War I. The horrors of trench warfare, poison gas, and casualties in the millions made the Great War a reality worse than anyone could previously have imagined. In many ways the beginning of the war was much like other European wars had been, based in part on the honor of countries being offended. No one could have anticipated the horrific consequences of the application of twentieth century technology to a nineteenth century conflict. The lack of rules regulating the new and deadly technologies and styles of warfare was one of the most shocking things to the people of the day. Bowman says that "Victorian honor culture ... gave us the idea ... of fair play as it applied to warfare. Unfortunately, the idea of 'fighting fair' also helped inflame passions among

belligerents."[69] A country that did not fight fair did not have honor by the Victorian definition. The war had become, however, not just a contest between states, but a struggle for survival. No one could afford to fight fair.

It was at this time that some of the most powerful critiques of honor began to appear. In his wartime writings, Schnitzler criticized "the false notion of honor, at the same time demonstrating the parallel between the duel and war."[70] He fundamentally rejected the notion that the honor of an individual or a country can be offended by another. Honor, he believed, "can be lost only through one's actions."[71] Schnitzler's version of honor is the property of the individual, not society, which was the antithesis of the Victorian age's honor. By the war's end, the tide of opinion on the idea of honor had ebbed to an all-time low. Honor was blamed for causing the war, which "created a wave of revulsion against honor in Europe and America," the effects of which are still felt today.[72]

Despite its overall effect on honor, one of the most famous aspects of World War I was the air battles. The famous "Knights of the Air," as the pilots were known, were said to have flown and fought with chivalry and honor that is remembered even today. This, in part, was due to the traditions of the pilots themselves. German pilot Baron von Gerstoff-Richthofen, popularly known as the Red Baron, was perhaps the most famous flying ace of the war. In his journal he recorded an air battle against Britain's top ace, Major Lanoe George Hawker, saying that "the gallant fellow was full of pluck, and when we had got down to about 3,000 feet he merrily waved at me as if to say, Well, how do you do?"[73] The gallantry and strange friendliness recorded in Richthofen's account was part of the emerging legend of the Knights of the Air, who were a world apart from the horror of the war below.

In this world, honor was not something reserved for one side or the other. Britain lost its best pilot the day Richthofen shot down Major Hawker, whose plane crashed behind German lines. In a mark of deepest respect for Hawker, he was "given a burial with full military honors by Richthofen's flying mates."[74] Although he did not attend the funeral, "Richthofen personally dropped a note from the air behind the English lines addressed to Hawker's comrades of the Royal Flying Corps," to notify them of Hawker's death and "expressing the widespread admiration of German air-men for him as an exceptionally brave airman and a chivalrous foe."[75] The English too, observed this practice, by dropping wreaths over the German lines with the inscription "'To the memory of Captain Boelcke, our brave and chivalrous foe,'" one of Germany's top pilots who had died in combat.[76] Perhaps the reason these extraordinary traditions are remembered is the contrast in which they stood to battle on the ground, where life was cheap and men died horrible deaths every minute. To value and honor the life of an enemy bestowed honor upon both sides, because to value life was a way to retain one's humanity in the most deadly war the world had ever seen.

The reality for the pilots, however, was just as dangerous as it was for soldiers on the ground. Casualties were so high that for the British "the life of the average pilot in the fall of 1916 was three weeks."[77] Quentin Reynolds, in his book *They Fought for the Sky,* writes that "There was no more ghastly death than to be caught in a flaming machine of wires, wood and fabric at ten thousand feet, and each side respected the other because each faced the same destruction."[78] The respect the pilots gave each other underlines their understanding of exactly how dangerous their job was. Fighting in the air required a mentality in which

> You either accepted the spurious but comforting belief that you were invulnerable, or the alternative-that it was merely a matter of time before your turn came. If you accepted the latter, you were passing a death sentence on

> yourself, for such an attitude slowed your reflexes in combat and clouded your judgement.[79]

Thus, in many ways the chivalric attitude pilots had towards each other, and the seemingly arrogant regard in which they held themselves, were two sides to the same coin. Each was a facet of the pilots' attempts to come to terms with how close to their own mortality they were. In this sense, honor came from a close proximity to death and an intimate awareness of that fact.

One of the most famous acts of heroism, and subsequent embodiments of honor, in the war was performed by Corporal Alvin York, who received the Medal of Honor. He grew up in the mountains of Tennessee in a very religious household, and initially opposed being sent to fight in Europe because he believed that God called him to be a pacifist. Together with his company captain, he found a passage in the Bible that said, "'If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight,'" to which York said "'All right; I'm satisfied,'" and went to war.[80] Before he could fight, York had to see for himself both the justice and the "righteousness" of the war.[81] York's personal honor and his decision to go to war hinged upon sense of right and wrong, and of duty to God. Like the Crusaders and the Victorians, the basis of York's actions and thought, and thus his honor, was his religion.

While in Europe, Corporal York captured by himself 132 German prisoners in the forest of Argonne after single-handedly fighting "a battalion of German machine gunners until he made them come down that hill to him with their hands in the air."[82] It was for this action that he was awarded the Medal of Honor, and is still one of the most renowned war heroes in the United States today. When he commended York, Major-General C.P. Summerall said:

> I desire to express to you my pleasure and commendation for the courage, skill, and gallantry which you displayed on that occasion. It is an honor to command such soldiers as you. Your conduct reflects great credit not only upon the American army, but on the American people. Your deeds will be recorded in the history of this great war and they will live as an inspiration not only to your comrades but to the generations that will come after us"[83]

Here Summerall demonstrates that the idea of honor during World War I was actually much the same as it had been throughout history. Central to honor was still "courage," on the battlefield. The honor that York had won applied not only to himself, but to the army and his country. Honor was still something held both collectively and individually, and the honor of one reflected on the honor of the other.

Although the reputation of honor suffered greatly because of the war, its survival was due in large part to the feats of such soldier's whose heroism kept it alive. The Knights of the Air retained a sense of honor through gallantry and honoring even one's enemies, as well as through the raw nerve it took to fight air battles. York's contribution to honor came from both his dedication to religious ideals and his courage on the battlefield. Although damaged and battered by the war, the central themes of honor survived.

Today

In the nearly one hundred years after the Great War, honor has suffered through a second world war, the Cold War and its many proxy conflicts, and more recently the War on Terror. Today, honor has many qualities ascribed to it. A person of honor is "'honest and true,' someone who is above all else consistent ... He or she is committed to a code that admits no exceptions."[84] For soldiers and civilians alike, the idea of honor has become inexorably linked to the ideas of truth and justice, and the idea that these ideals ought never to be surrendered. Barton says, "what is 'honorable' in our Euro-American culture is also 'just,' and there is a perfect consonance between justice and the just and honorable person."[85] Part of that duty to truth and justice means that honor is now a very individual idea, in which "'character and honor depend upon a man's own life and conduct; not upon what another may say of him. Armed with truth and backed up by common sense, he is well nigh invulnerable.'"[86] Gone are the days when dueling to defend

one's honor is an acceptable means to solve a conflict. The honor of today has stronger connections with virtue than ego.

Honor continues to be recognized as both an individual and a collective quality. Personal honor is now solely a product of one's actions. This entails the idea of "'dignity:' a dispassionate demeanor, faultless self-possession, and a private reserve of security that ensures [people's] autonomy even while allowing their faithful and voluntary submission to the laws of their code."[87] It is each person's responsibility to uphold their own ideals and honor in the way that is best to them. In organizations, especially the military, individual honor still reflects on the group, and vice versa. Listed first under its "Core Values," the Untied States Marine Corps says of honor that "Marines are held to the highest standards, ethically and morally. Respect for others is essential. Marines are expected to act responsibly in a manner befitting the title they've earned."[88] Today, the honor of the soldier, citizen, and country all depend on their actions in defense of moral values.

The legacy of honor in warfare still revolves around courage in the face of adversity. Like the ancient Greeks, Romans, Crusaders, Victorians, and soldiers of the Great War, the greatest military honor is given for great deeds on the battlefield. Honor includes the ideas of loyalty and self-sacrifice because it places the needs of the group before the needs of one's self. From the Christian moral tradition there is an emphasis on truth and justice associated with honor and the dedication to uphold those ideals. Today, honor is the intersection of courage and moral conduct to which soldiers and civilians alike still aspire.

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[66] Sked, Alan. *The Survival of the Hapsburg Empire.* London: Longman Group,1979., pp.27-28.
[67] Ibid., 35.
[68] Mark Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981., p. 276.
[69] Bowman, 103.
[70] Roberts, 31.
[71] Roberts, 31.
[72] Bowman 47.
[73] Reynolds, Quentin. *They Fought for the Sky.* New York, Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc. 1957., p. 129.
[74] Ibid., 130.
[75] Ibid., 130.
[76] Ibid., 126.
[77] Ibid., 121.
[78] Ibid., 288.
[79] Ibid., 121.

[80] Cowan, Sam K. *Sergeant York And His People.*New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1922. Ebook 2011 by Cherry Lane Ebooks. Location 1743 of 2139.
[81] Ibid., 1743 of 2139.
[82] Ibid., 11 of 2139.
[83] Ibid., 300-308 of 2139.
[84] Barton, 270.
[85] Ibid., 271.
[86] Savannah Sunday Morning News, April 24, 1894. Quoted in Ayers, Edward. *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth-Century American South,* Oxford, 1984., p. 272.
[87] Barton 271.
[88] "Core Values: The Values That Define A Marine"

The Influence of Indigenous Artists in the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas

By Mark Brockway

Thursday, March 15, 2012

In the late sixteenth century the Spanish cosmographer López de Velasco ordered maps of cities and towns in America to be produced and returned to Spain to gain a more accurate understanding of Spanish territory in the New World. His instructions known as the Relación Geográfica questionnaire was disseminated to local officials in towns across the Viceroys of New Spain and Peru. In some cases Spanish government officials living in the Americas enlisted indigenous artists and cartographers, particularly those in New Spain. As a result, the maps vary in distinct ways from Spanish and European maps of the same time period. By analyzing the differences in the two types of maps, it becomes possible to gain a unique perspective into spatial viewpoints of native peoples in early colonial America. My research is aimed at describing specific spatial patterns of representation used by indigenous artists in depicting early Latin American towns. These maps communicated many aspects of indigenous art and thought back to the Iberian Peninsula.

Much of the scholarship on the maps of the Relaciones Geográficas has focused on identifying indigenous iconography and toponymy. This valuable scholarship has allowed categorization of map features specific to indigenous artists and, in some cases, related these characteristics to pre-Hispanic traditions. This research expands interest in native influence to include particular methods of

spatial orientation distinctive to native artists. This orientation will be seen almost exclusively in representations of buildings and structures in town maps. Native peoples viewed the built environment in a way that is fundamentally different than the dominant cartographic views of their European contemporaries.

The Relaciones Geográficas sought to gather a variety of data sets on land, resources, cities and towns, and population demographics in Spanish territorial holdings of the late sixteenth century. Juan de Ovando y Godoy, the Spanish Visitor to the Council of Indies, began forming survey expeditions and ordinances aimed at gathering greater understanding of Spanish holdings in the New World (Haring, 102-105). One of these ordinances allowed the creation of the position of Principal Royal Chronicler-Cosmographer, a position filled by the principal enactor of the Relaciones Geográficas, Juan López de Velasco.[1] López de Velasco 's solicitations were carefully delineated questions seeking systematic replies to political and environmental concerns, maritime information, biogeography, surveys of native languages and traditions, among other areas. Spanish officials in the areas specified by the questionnaire could answer most items in writing; however, the questionnaire also asked for maps depicting physical locations. The complexity of local town and village systems made coordinated responses to the questionnaire difficult because López de Velasco did not specify how responses in these complex

[1] Juan Lopez de Velasco and Justo Zaragoza 1894. *Geografia y Derscripcion Universal De Las Indias*. University of California Libraries. accessed February 29, 2012, http://www.archive.org/details/sixteenthcent00lboprich. VI.

local hierarchies ought to be organized.[2] The variety of the eventual responses reflects a composite image of many different document sources.

Although López de Velasco sent questionnaires across the empire and even to the Philippines, but the responses received were inconsistent. Viceroys in the Indies exercised power in arbitrary ways and obeyed mandates from Spain as they saw fit.[3] Many officials eventually overcame barriers of communication and space to add to the project but many did not. Communities in New Spain were the most responsive. New Spain contributed 166 total documents with South America offering 40 and the Caribbean only 2. Most of the documents were sent back between 1579-1581, two years after the original publication of the questionnaire in May of 1577. In New Spain alone, 71 of these documents contained maps.[4]

It is important to note that while questions 10, 42, and 47 of the questionnaire specifically asked for maps of various kinds, not all respondents included them with their written responses. This disparity can be attributed to several factors. First, Spanish bureaucrats preferred the written word as the principle and most esteemed form of communication. Writing allowed hierarchical order to be imposed on illiterate populations of both indigenous and European ancestry from a small, specialized group of educated leaders and administrators.[5]

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[2]Howard F. Cline 1964. "The Relaciones Geograficas of the Spanish Indies, 1577-1586." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 44 (3): 341–374. 348.
[3]Lyle N. McAlister 1984. *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700*. University of Minnesota Press. 203-207.
[4] Cline, "The Relaciones Geograficas of the Spanish Indies, 1577-1586." 352.
[5]Ángel Rama and John Charles Chasteen. 1996. *The Lettered City*. Duke University Press. 16-20

Many times maps went unattributed while the accompanying written descriptions were unmistakably signed. Question 10 of the survey asked for a description of towns and their surrounding geography including elevation and orientation. The architectural layout of streets, plazas, and monasteries were to be depicted in maps taking into account structure and proportion.

Because of their knowledge of the skills of native cartographers, many officials in New Spain enlisted the help of native cartographers, especially in answering item 10 on the questionnaire, even though López de Velasco meant this item to be fulfilled by the local officials themselves and only in segregated Spanish towns.[6] Any artistic pursuits were widely viewed with suspicion by Spanish colonialists due to art's close association with native religious practices. Within the requests for items 10 and 42, López de Velasco inadvertently used the word "pintura", a word colonialists associated with native art.[7] Pre-established colonial associations of Native peoples with artistic talents also encouraged the majority of local officials to use native artists to depict the requirements of questions 10 and 42.

Pre-Hispanic maps from central Mexico depict imagery that contains both historical and religious narratives and physical landscape depictions of time and

[6]Barbara E. Mundy 1996. *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. University of Chicago Press. 32.
[7]Howard F. Cline 1972. *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. University of Texas Press. 237-240.

space.[8] Because of the complexity of their content, indigenous maps contain diverse artistic qualities that portray both metaphysical and physical qualities.[9]

By the time the Relaciones Geográficas map went out; however, indigenous artists were one or two generations removed from pre-Hispanic artists. These traditions were kept alive largely in Catholic monasteries aimed at educating native elites, the same populations previously trained as Tlacuilo or Nahuatl scribes. Because few of the religious priests and monks were artistically trained, older generations were encouraged to train younger ones in the arts. Through this training, artists who were alive before the colonization period were able to pass down pictographic knowledge and traditions that also contained metaphysical subject matter.[10] Many of these students, who are a few steps detached from the original source, made up the talent pool tapped to create the cartographic responses to the Relaciones Geográficas questionnaire.

The close relationship of the Catholic Church to the education of native painters had a direct impact on the imagery of the maps created from indigenous involvement and distinguished them from the maps created by government officials. One of the most important organizing markers is the centrality of the local mission.

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[8]Eduardo de J. Douglas 2010. *In the Palace of Nezahualcoyotl: Painting Manuscripts, Writing the pre-Hispanic Past in Early Colonial Period Tetzcoco, Mexico*. University of Texas Press. 36-37

[9] Dana Leibsohn 1995. "Colony and Cartography: Shitfting Signs on Indigenous Maps of New Spain." in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, Claire J. Farago 1995. Yale University Press. 266.

[10] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 80-81.

This characteristic is seen in several maps in both dense urban and sparse rural areas (See fig. 1, fig. 2). In many maps (see below) corresponding churches represent communities large and small. As the indigenous communities came more and more to identify with the Catholic Church, the religion of the colonizer became the central aspect of native interaction with Spanish rulers. In the case of the Cholula map (fig. 2), the image of the church is superimposed on native imagery, reinforcing the centrality of this interaction to native life. Cholula rested on the site of a pre-Hispanic pyramid depicted in the upper-right hand section of the map.[11] The two opposing motivations inherent in the artist's work go a long way to explain the hybrid nature of maps created for the Relaciones Geográficas.

The confluence of Spanish colonial and bureaucratic interests with the talents of local artists created a wide variety of maps that survived. Of the 71 maps that survived from New Spain, 69 are attributed to either native or non-native artist origination. Of these, 45 of the maps are attributable to indigenous artists. The majority of the artists only produced a single map but 4 artists produced multiple maps.[12] Maps from monastic towns were slightly more likely to be penned by

[11]Geoffery McCafferty. "Mountain if Heaven, Mountain of Earth: The Great Pyramid of Cholula as Sacred Landscape." in *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica*, edited by Rex Koontz, Kathryn Reese-Taylor, and Annabeth Headrick. Westview Press 2001

[12] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 30

indigenous artists (71 percent) as opposed to secular town maps (61 percent of indigenous origin).[13]

Maps that depict two types of areas, rural and urban, display various overlapping characteristics. In rural maps, monasteries typical denote the presence of sparsely distributed towns along roads and streams. Usually these maps use a single structure to show the presence of a larger human settlement (See Fig. 1). This group of maps displays many indigenous markers such as pictographic imagery and place name hybridization.[14] Rural maps are used to depict large, less densely populated areas. They also carry some, usually minor, spatial orientation markers. Because rural maps showed larger, more varied spaces, they tend to have greater variations of native signals. They are not, however, the most applicable to the unique depictions of spatial orientation seen in more urban map representations.

[13] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 74
[14] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 100

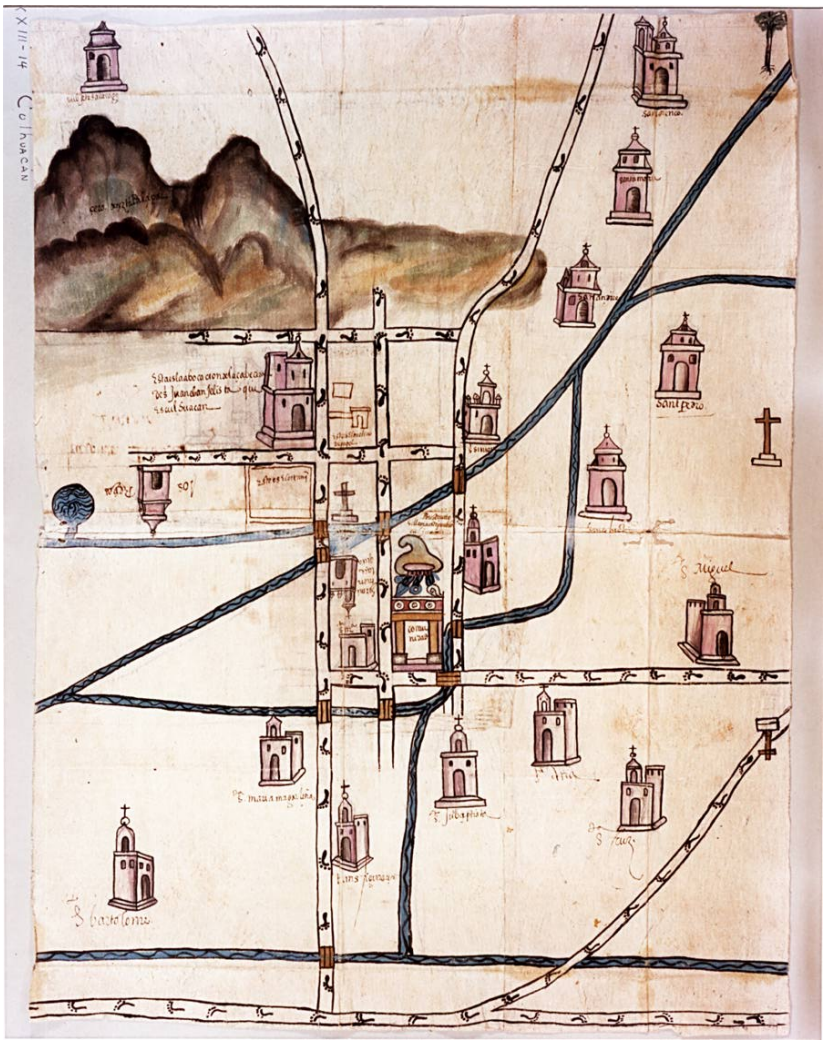

Figure 1. The Relación Geográphica map of Culhuacán, 1580. Courtesy of the Benson Latin American Collection, The General Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

The urban map of the Relaciones Geográficas offers the best opportunity to observe the unique spatial relationship between native artists, buildings and formations in RG maps. Exemplified by the map of Cholula (fig. 2), urban mapping outlines the density and nature of urban settlements in New Spain from the perspective of an indigenous artist. Before the conquest, Cholula was a major city, holding some 100,000 people. By the time the RG was created, that number had

dwindled to 9,000.[15] The map is set out in a grid pattern typical of Spanish colonial settlements. These grid patterns were decreed by the Crown and then imposed on the landscape.[16] Each block within the grid shows either smaller structures, or is dominated by a monastery.

The urban setting of the Cholula map is much more densely planned than maps of rural settings and the monasteries associated with the two areas followed this pattern. Land topography and existing human settlement dictated the spread of small monasteries across large rural areas separated by long distances. In rural settings, monasteries were able to exist closely due to the higher density of the population. This meant that many monasteries could be placed onto a single grid structure within one city giving increasing significance to the monastery's location in relation to the central cathedral.[18] As a result, smaller structures, organized around the monasteries, we subject to the same restrictions of the strict grid system. The artist who painted the Cholula map formed nearly all his depictions into this method of grid organization, even when those things he was depicting (see pyramid in fig. 3) would not have fit into a grid pattern.

The ability for indigenous artists to both acquiesce to Spanish constraints, and portray native imagery forms the basis for hybrid spatial interpretations in the

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[15] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 127

[16]Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías. 2000. *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 1493-1793. Yale University Press. 28-33.

[18]Richard L. Kagan "Projecting Order." in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, edited by Jordana Dym, and Karl Offen. 2011. University of Chicago Press. 46-49.

Cholula map. Local people have seen one of the most populated areas of New Spain radically transformed into an idealized creation of Spanish city planning and still link aspects of the old city to the new colonial system. The grid pattern is laid-over relicts of previous generations.[19] These efforts are not always simple or the grid pattern completely realized but the effort to establish uniform patterns on previously inhabited spaces is a condition worth noting as it has direct impacts the way in which indigenous people view the landscape. The native populations were not strangers to the grid pattern, it was used in Aztec city planning, but the Spanish used the grid method more extensively and methodologically than the Aztecs.

The goal of a strict framework of urban structuring was as much control as it was logic. At the time of Cortez's arrival, Aztec cities were already highly organized. While not planned with hard-line grid patterns, this existing organization fell in line with Cortez's view of how a city out to function.[20] When the Spanish urban plan was then brought in to replace this organization, it created a shift from one developed civilization to another. By reordering the physical environment of the colonized people, Spanish officials believed that the minds of the local people would likewise be rearranged.[21] The Cholula map (Fig. 2) demonstrates that local artists were able to incorporate these new colonial ideals while not completely losing sight of their cultural history.

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[19]Dora P. Couch, Daniel J. Garr and Axel I. Mundigo. 1982. *Spanish City Planning in North America*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1982. 1-4.
[20] Jay Kinsbruner 2005. *The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism*. University of Texas Press. 18-19.
[21]Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías. 2000. Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793. Yale University Press. 28-38.

The map of the Spanish town of Cholula demonstrates the density of a modern colonial town while simultaneously merging those Spanish elements with images of Indigenous life. Images and place names are both used to show Spanish and indigenous influences in the city. The mounds that are set behind images of Catholic missions are related to early religious iconography of Mesoamerican cultures. The author of the map goes so far as to list two separate names, one Spanish, one Indian, for the town.[22]

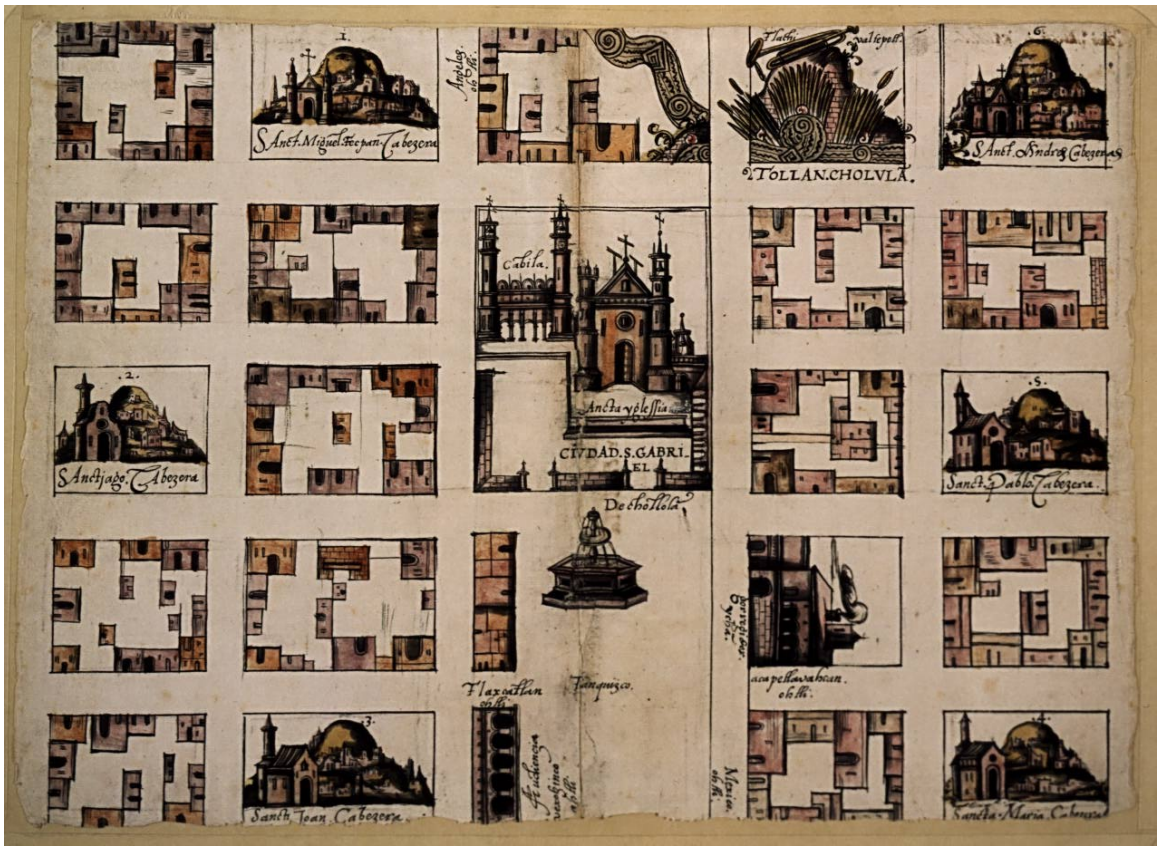

Figure 2. The Relacón Geográphica map of Cholula, 1581. Courtesy of the Benson Latin American Collection, The General Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

[22]Barbara E. Mundy. "Hybrid Space" in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, edited by Jordana Dym, and Karl Offen. 2011. University of Chicago Press. 53

In rural maps of the RG, broader landscapes allow for greater separation of colonial and indigenous imagery in one map. Usually, missions stand alone in the landscape and only border, for example, a river that might carry a native symbol of a water to delineate the stream from the surrounding area. It is rare to see a rural map with native imagery superimposed on depictions of Spanish architecture or vice versa. The effect of this lack of density in rural maps is the creation of clear distinctions between decidedly new landscape aspects such as mission structures and natural or indigenous landforms that had a longer history. One exception to this rule might be footpaths that connect mission towns. These paths are highways between Spanish cities but are in many cases marked with a Native foot symbol (See fig. 1).

Because it would have been impossible for the artist of the Cholula map to draw such a crowded urban landscape that separately depicts both native and colonial aspects of the town in the field area of the map, he choose to integrate both aspects into one space. This type of representation is also spatially accurate. The new Spanish town, as stated above, was established on the conquered land of the ancient city of Cholula.[23] In many cases, the main plaza of the new Spanish city was laid directly on the plaza of the old Aztec city.[24] Layering is an integral aspect of any city with a diverse heritage but it takes on special meaning with a city like Cholula, caught between the old and new religious tradition. Concentrating on the specific manner in which this layering was accomplished will allow a unique perspective on

[23] Kagan and Marías. *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*. 29
[24] Kinsbruner, *The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism*. 26-27

one artist who was in a position to draw a distinctive view of a city in transition between two significant time periods.

Layering is one of the spatial features that set the urban Cholula map drastically apart from its rural counterparts. The most easily understood example of layering in the map of Cholula is the overlapping of mission churches on indigenous mountain iconographic symbols (See fig. 2).[25] The first item to focus on in terms of spatial relationships is the primacy of the church in relation to the drawing of the hill. The author again reminds us that he is drawing a map for a Spanish audience and that the Catholic Church has taken over the metaphysical space of Aztec and indigenous spiritual practices. Both pictures are physical objects that occupy space.

Also, the relationship between the church and the mountain is not a dependant one; it is based on historical connection. By setting the church in front, the artist only acknowledges the presence of a past dogma and tradition as one would on a timeline of events, connected but not dependent. It is also interesting to note that the houses in these drawings are themselves set on the hillside above the church. These drawings do not depict actual hills, so by setting structures in an imaginary space, the author points to a metaphysical connection with the land. This might be explained by pure necessity; however, given the symbolic nature of these depictions, the author could be describing a greater connection between the local community and pre-colonial religious practices. Because many of the local people

[25] Mundy, "Hybrid Space" in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*. 53

would have been of mixed heritage, many individuals would have had connections to both Catholic and ancient religious traditions.

The next spatial example of layering in the Cholula map is the illustration of the hill and native imagery in the upper right hand section of the map (Fig. 3). This image is made up primarily of indigenous symbolism with only a hint of a man-made structure and symbol displayed by the brick structure and trumpet above the hill. The section also has the local Nahuatl name for the city inscribed below it.[27] Indigenous water imagery almost completely engulfs the structure and highlights the presence of the mountain rising above it. Although these symbols are purely native, they are drawn almost entirely within a grid square, again suggesting the hybrid lens that local peoples are view their new environment through. The grid format of cities by this time has shaped local views so extensively that even pictures and symbols, well established before the formation of the town, are still observed as existing within the Spanish colonial framework.

Figure 3. Inset image of the Cholula Map highlights the upper-right portion of the larger map of Cholula.

Close inspection of the grid section reveals reeds bursting out from the boundaries of the square. Subtle and profound, the artist is communicating volumes

[27] Mundy, "Hybrid Space" in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*. 53

about the influence of ancient religious practices. The square seems to say, "We live in your city, but our spirit grows beyond your borders." Any Spanish official would not have given a second look to this symbolism, but to the local artist, and to us, it can be observed as an action aimed at holding onto some sort of identity in a place where Spanish rule was overwhelming. The density of images in this small section is unlike any of the images in other RG maps.

One of the more exciting elements in this map is the stream that flows in the above-mentioned segment and in the section adjacent to it. The river is depicted with indigenous imagery and looks like many other streams in other RG maps.[28] What is different about this stream is that it is completely bisected by a grid border element. Even the mountain trails off into the bottom right corner of the adjacent square. This is undoubtedly the same waterway. By tracing the line of one stream, it is easy to see that it intersects exactly with the border of the other. The symbols also follow a distinctly similar pattern. The other structure in these squares is the Cholula pyramid, a pyramid with a long history and a significant pilgrimage to indigenous people before the Spanish conquest. The pyramid had a very large base and low height.[29]

There is a possible connection between the map, the pyramid, and the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios church present in modern Cholula. The church

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[28] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 149

[29] Barbara Mundy and Dana Leibsohn "Map of Cholula." in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*, edited by Donna Pierce, et al. 2004. University of Texas Press. 113-114.

today sits directly on top of the pyramid depicted in these grid segments. The Cholula Pyramid has the largest base of any pyramid in Mexico and was eventually covered up by the establishment of the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios church that was built directly on top of the pyramid in the late 16th century through the early 17th century. The pyramid was a pilgrimage site for indigenous peoples and the sanctuary to the Virgin Mary took its place after an icon of the virgin was discovered and brought to the area. It is this church and pyramid that seems to be depicted on the adjoining squares of the RG Cholula map.

Modern archaeology has uncovered this brick structure directly underneath the Iglesia church. In the map segments, the bricks form a clear stepped pyramid shape that extends between the two squares with what would be the apex in the main segment.[30] The image even seems to trickle over into the grid segment on the right, giving the hint of the tail end of the pyramid structure. At what would be the top of the pyramid, barely visible above the reeds, is a small dome that tops the remains of the pyramid. This dome is visible in the modern structure of the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios church. The dome also carries the red coloration of both the bricks below it and the other churches drawn in the map. The reddish color sets this dome section apart from the mountain behind it. None of the other churches in the Cholula map consist of segmented brick construction that is visible. The capping of the brick structure with a dome is an item that was not present in the construction of the original pyramid.

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[30] Mundy and Leibsohn, "Map of Cholula." in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*. 113-114.

The artist of this map was an observer to a very unique time in the life of both the pyramid and the church. Just as the sanctuary was being built on top of the pyramid, the ancient monument was crumbling purposefully underneath it. The artist captures this moment in time. The simultaneous existence of an important indigenous structure and an important Catholic shrine on the exact same location and their overlapping position in the RG map is an important insight into a period at the intersection of declining indigenous power and the rise of Spanish colonial power. The Cholula map depiction is both photographic and politically, culturally, and spiritually descriptive of one of the most transformative periods in the history of Latin America.

Another important hybrid spatial representation is demonstrated in the layout and orientation of buildings on the grid pattern. The blocks of smaller buildings are not exact depictions but instead represent larger city sections. The orientation of the buildings is not typical of a European single-point perspective and instead displays the buildings using multiple perspectives.[31] Even though the map shows an aerial view, no roofs are shown. By painting the buildings in the manner, the artist shows the building faces as they would appear on the street, a more descriptive viewpoint of the city that European maps would seek to portray. A single-point perspective would have eliminated much of the information about the orientation and direction of the buildings in relation to the streets and internal courtyards shown in the map. This method puts the viewer on every street from a single vantage point. A single perspective would have necessarily not allowed the

[31] Mundy, "Hybrid Space" in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*. 54.

viewer to see, for example, many of the doorways opening up onto either the streets or courtyards of the city blocks. By grounding and firmly directing the doorways, we get a clear view of each structure. The map is drawn by a person who appears to be walking through the city instead of rising above it.

Alteration of traditional perspective is also shown in the drawing of the main church on the center square. The artist takes a particular head-on view of the front side of the church. Clearly the most important structure in the map, the artist wanted to show the importance of the church by displaying its main architectural features clearly without alteration. Many of the smaller churches are shown with a skewed angle but the central cathedral is depicted in its full splendor. The walls around the main courtyard are all oriented in towards the church invoking a containment and isolation of the cathedral. Spatial patterns underscore the tension between the indigenous artist and his colonial subject matter.

The Relación Geográfica questionnaire was largely seen as a failure at the time of its distribution and reception. The map images that were created were not what Juan Lopez de Velasco intended to receive back and they did not allow him to fill in the figurate blank spaces of the New World as he hoped to do. The system of bureaucracy that López de Velasco was reliant upon to produce the maps used Spanish colonial bureaucratic methods to delegate the production of the images to native artists. This fault, while detrimental at the time, produced some of the most stunning cartography from the colonial time period in New Spain and offers unique insight into certain aspects of Central Mexican forms of representation and

cartographic design in the early colonial period. The late 16th century was a time of turmoil, reorganization, and shifting focuses from classical Mesoamerican civilizations to a global colonial system. The urban environment is a dense microcosm of the relationship between Spaniards and Latin American Indians. The RG map of Cholula shows spatial patterns favored by indigenous artists intermingling and being filtered by loose adherence to the instructions from Spain.

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Michael Lewis Carter

"The Death Dealer"

Amid the horrific legacy of war, death camps and the emotional scarring that today contributes to the intrinsic identity of Jews across the world, generations have grown up with the conception of the Nazis as the archetype of unmitigated evil.

The post-war confessions of Rudolf Höss, who, as commandant of Auschwitz, supervised the mass killing of Jews, however, invite readers to re-examine the role of evil as part of the historical commentary on the SS. In Höss's memoir, *The Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, written in a Polish prison between October 1946 and April 1947, Höss makes no attempt to conceal his crimes. Placing them in the context of careerism and the values of military service, Höss posits that he and other soldiers are in many respects not dissimilar from us. Rather, his actions belong to the current of duty to country, self-sacrifice and obedience that remains an intrinsic, yet problematic, part of military culture in armies including our own.

Höss contends that embedded in his role as an administrator of the death camp is a devotion to duty and country, an unwavering commitment to carrying out orders as given.

Höss's inflated sense of duty to the Nazis is traced back to his first experience in the German army during the First World War, when the young Höss, following a family tradition of military service set forth by his father and grandfather, left home and joined a German regiment. As a combat soldier, fighting British forces on the Ottoman front line, Höss received the concept of duty, first informed as a military value. The impact of seeing comrades killed by machine gun fire, their lives sacrificed for the nation; and, for the

first time, repressing the emotional consequences of killing for the fatherland were crucial. Collectively, these experiences nurtured a code of duty, obedience and patriotism, equating the core values of an ideal soldier with survival, but also a sense of belonging and purpose.

These military values cast the mold of Höss's involvement with the Nazi party. Himmler's invitation, years after the war, to join the SS and administer what Nazi managers hoped would become "the largest human killing center in all of history," was an opportunity to reclaim the feeling of purpose made void by the absence of the responsibility of military service.[1] Becoming "again a soldier" in this organization was to re-join the military culture introduced during Höss's formative years on the Ottoman front.[2] It was an irresistible call, an inescapable obligation which transcended both personal will and emotion, enabling Höss to dismiss the moral and psychological conflict of killing.

Höss's descriptions of the crimes which defined the daily administration of Auschwitz are horrendous; but it is not his intention to excuse them. Instead, Höss's memoir is the attempt to account for how a sane man is able to function psychologically in the face of unprecedented horrors, but also the unimaginable responsibility and obedience which military duty demands of soldiers. Arguing against evil as a prerequisite for killing, Höss offers an opportunity to gain a better understanding of our own soldiers, asked to die and kill for duty and the good of the nation.

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[1] Höss, Rudolf. *The Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz.* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1992), 153.

[2] Ibid., 60.

Bibliography

Höss, Rudolf. *The Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz.* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1992), 153.