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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Welcome Letter 1
Lew Taylor

Reconnecting America: P.T. Barnum and the Transcontinental Railroad 3
Chelsea Tatham Zukowski

Soviet Russia’s Reaction to the Nazi Holocaust and the Implications of the Suppression of Jewish Suffering 17
Mike Pratt

Tea Table Sisterhood and Rebel Dames: The Contributions of Women Jacobites 1688–1788 37
Gina Pittington

The Hitler Youth & Communism: The Impacts of a Brainwashed Generation in Post-War Politics in Eastern Germany 63
Devin Davis

The Effects of the Bolshevik Revolution Of 1917: A Case Study 81
Mason Krebsbach

Reinhard Heydrich and the Development of the *Einsatzgruppen*, 1938–1942 99
William E. Brennan

Book Review: Tom Chaffin. *Revolutionary Brothers: Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Friendship that Helped Forge Two Nations* 115
Peggy Kurkowski

Book Review: Albion Tourgee. *A Fool’s Errand, By One of the Fools: A Novel of the South During Reconstruction* 119
Meg Groeling

cont’d.



Book Review: Nancy Goldstone. <i>Daughters of the Winter Queen: Four Remarkable Sisters, the Crown of Bohemia, and the Enduring Legacy of Mary, Queen of Scots</i>	123
<i>Kathleen Guler</i>	
Review: Stagville State Historic Site	127
<i>Deanna Simmons</i>	
Saber & Scroll Historical Journal Submission Guidelines	131

Welcome Letter

Welcome to the Spring 2020 issue of *The Saber & Scroll Journal*. The journal staff hopes that all of you are surviving “shelter-in-place” and “social distancing” during this challenging period and that everyone is in good health. Fortunately for the staff of the *Saber & Scroll*, social distancing is not a problem because we are spread all over the country.

We believe you will enjoy this issue of the journal because, like other issues, it covers a broad range of topics. Included are featured articles from “Tea-Table Sisterhood and Rebel Dames” to “P.T. Barnum and the Transcontinental Railroad.” Other manuscripts include “Reinhard Heydrich and the Development of the Einsatzgruppen,” “The Hitler Youth & Communism,” and “The Effects of the Bolshevik Revolution.” Also in this issue, you will find several excellent book reviews and a museum review.

If you would like to submit an article, book, or museum review for consideration, please check out the submission guidelines included in this issue. Do you have any comments you would like to make? If so, please submit those as well, as a “Letter to the Editor.”

Again, we hope everyone is well. This crisis, like many others we have faced, will pass. Our hope is that it makes us all stronger and wiser.

Lew Taylor

EIC, *The Saber & Scroll Journal*

Reconnecting America: P.T. Barnum and the Transcontinental Railroad

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ABSTRACT

Two uniquely American elements formed during Reconstruction that carried the country into the Gilded Age in the late nineteenth century: P.T. Barnum's Greatest Show and the Transcontinental Railroad. While the Transcontinental Railroad—completed in 1869—physically connected America's east and west coasts for the first time, Barnum's family-friendly, extravagant circus of animals and curiosities connected cultures and showed the profitability and importance of technology-driven entertainment. Barnum's circus was considered an "amusement miracle" in the nineteenth century, and reporters compared the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad to the first shot fired at Lexington. Both marked other revolutions in American history: technology, transportation, and entertainment. Both the Transcontinental Railroad and Barnum's circus made the country feel less like a vast frontier and more like a connected community during the Reconstruction years of political, economic, and cultural upheaval.

Keywords: Transcontinental Railroad, railroad, nineteenth century, golden spike, P.T. Barnum, greatest show, circus, gilded age, reconstruction, post-civil war

Reconectando a Estados Unidos: P.T. Barnum y el ferrocarril transcontinental

RESUMEN

Dos elementos exclusivamente estadounidenses se formaron durante la Reconstrucción que llevó al país a la Edad Dorada a fines del siglo XIX: P.T. El mayor espectáculo de Barnum y el ferrocarril transcontinental. Mientras que el Ferrocarril Transcontinental, terminado en 1869, conectaba físicamente las costas este y oeste de

Estados Unidos por primera vez, el circo extravagante de animales y curiosidades de Barnum, familiar, conectaba culturas y mostraba la rentabilidad e importancia del entretenimiento impulsado por la tecnología. El circo de Barnum fue considerado un “milagro de diversión” en el siglo XIX, y los periodistas compararon la finalización del Ferrocarril Transcontinental con el primer disparo contra Lexington. Ambos marcaron otras revoluciones en la historia estadounidense: tecnología, transporte y entretenimiento. Tanto el Ferrocarril Transcontinental como el circo de Barnum hicieron que el país se sintiera menos como una vasta frontera y más como una comunidad conectada durante los años de Reconstrucción de agitación política, económica y cultural.

Palabras clave: ferrocarril transcontinental, ferrocarril, siglo XIX, espiga dorada, P.T. Barnum, gran espectáculo, circo, edad dorada, reconstrucción, post Guerra Civil

重新连接美国：P.T.巴纳姆与横贯大陆铁路

摘要

十九世纪末美国重建时期形成的两个美国元素将该国带入镀金时代：P. T. 巴纳姆的最棒的表演和横贯大陆铁路。1869年建成的横贯大陆铁路从客观上第一次连接了美国的东海岸，而巴纳姆带领的老少皆宜的、由动物与罕物组成的奇特马戏团则连接了不同文化，展现了由科技驱动的娱乐模式的盈利性和重要性。巴纳姆的马戏团被视为19世纪的“娱乐奇迹”，而横贯大陆铁路的建成被记者比作莱克星顿打响的第一枪。二者都标志着美国历史上的其他革命：技术、运输、娱乐。二者都让人感觉美国在发生政治、经济、文化剧变的重建时期更像一个互联的社群，而不是一个广阔的边远地区。

关键词：横贯大陆铁路，铁路，十九世纪，金色道钉，P. T. 巴纳姆，最棒的表演，马戏团，镀金时代，重建（时期），内战后时期

Following the Civil War, two uniquely American elements carried the country into the Gilded Age and the beginning of the twentieth century: P.T. Barnum's Greatest Show and the Transcontinental Railroad. While England's Philip Astley is credited with founding the modern circus and bringing some of his acts to the United States in the later 1700s, the father of the modern American circus is Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810–1891). His original American Museum flourished during and after the Civil War despite multiple fires destroying much of his curiosities. Barnum took to the rails with his extravagant showmanship and a circus of animals and actors, which he marketed as family-friendly and educational. Barnum began using the newly finished Transcontinental Railroad in 1872, a ribbon of iron that stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and for the first time, connected America's east and west coasts.

The completion of the railroad known as the Pacific Railway revolutionized the country's economy and culture during Reconstruction. It not only provided more efficient means of transporting goods and people around the country, it physically connected a nation that was struggling to reunify itself after secession and civil war. When the Golden Spike was pounded into the ground to signal the completion of the Pacific Railway, the United States was in the middle of an era of redemption and rebirth that saw the country wanting to rebrand itself as a progressive, technology-driven Western country. Reconstruction and the later years of

the nineteenth century saw the United States establish the foundations of a unique culture of entertainment and leisure held up by economic progress and advances in technology. Barnum's traveling circus and the Transcontinental Railroad were two of the biggest drivers of Reconstruction and Gilded Age American culture going into the turn of the twentieth century.

At 2:47 p.m. on May 10, 1869, the "Continent was spanned with iron" as the last spike was driven into the ground, marking the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad by joining the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railways.¹ A *New York Times* article printed the telegrams that were sent across the country during the momentous moment and described the Golden Spike ceremony at Promontory Point in Utah that celebrated one of the greatest achievements of Americans of the nineteenth century after winning the Civil War and abolishing slavery.² Connecting the two railway lines from Omaha, Nebraska, to Sacramento, California, is still considered a feat of engineering and has been called the "Eighth Wonder of the World."³ A now-iconic photograph from the Golden Spike ceremony shows dozens of men gathered at the site where locomotives from the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railways met for the first time. Samuel S. Montague, Central Pacific Railroad's chief engineer, and Grenville M. Dodge, Union Pacific Railroad's chief engineer, are seen shaking hands between the two locomotives.⁴ With the railway connecting America's east and west coasts with the telegraph line beside it, the "inhab-

itants of the Atlantic seaboard and the dwellers on the Pacific slopes are henceforth emphatically one people.”⁵ This railroad, like other railroads around the country, was a symbol and creator of a “new industrial order” and signaled the arrival of a new modern age of technology and a new, uniquely American culture.⁶

From 1862 to 1872, the federal government awarded more than 100 million acres of land and millions of dollars “in direct aid to support railroad construction.” Most of this money went to finance the transcontinental lines that were established during and after the Civil War.⁷ The idea of a transcontinental line dates to the early 1800s and memorably to the last session of Congress in November 1845. Asa Whitney, a New York merchant, presented a proposal and a request of public lands “for the purpose of constructing a Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific.”⁸ The short article in *The Cadiz Sentinel* described the proposal as “so vast and apparently chimerical” and few political leaders seemed willing to entertain the idea.⁹ When the United States acquired California in 1848 after the Mexican War, the idea of a transcontinental line gained momentum. Whitney even helped keep the proposal at the forefront of political and economic discussion by publishing outlines of possible rail routes.¹⁰ Ten years earlier, before the railway had even begun to be built, the project had gained notoriety even in England. The *Manchester Weekly Times and Examiner* in June 1851 had this to say about “Mr. Asa Whitney’s American Railroad:” “Within little more than half

a century a series of subject dependencies numbering a population ... has risen to the rank of a great nation, equal in its resources to the mightiest of the empires of the old world.”¹¹

Congress decided to connect the two coasts in 1862 for several reasons: to strengthen ties with California and Nevada and keep them in the Union during the Civil War; to create a way to transport military goods and personnel west in probable future wars against the Indians; to push more settlers to the West and mid-West; and to form a way to more cheaply transport goods to the Pacific coast and from there into Asia.¹² During Reconstruction, American businessmen and politicians were just beginning to redefine “the territorial and symbolic borders of both the state and of the nation in it.”¹³ This era also redefined what it meant to be American—culturally, politically, and socially. While General Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox marked the end of the Civil War and signaled the permanent bonding of the Union, North and South, the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad and the Golden Spike ceremony symbolized the Union being held together, East and West.¹⁴ As the South rebuilt its economy and infrastructure alongside the often violent political and economic issues of the time, former Confederates joined former Yankee Union soldiers to celebrate the feat.¹⁵

The two most prominent men to lead the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad were Leland Stanford and Grenville Dodge. Stanford, Governor of California at the time, headed

the Central Pacific Railroad and guided his company as it started building eastward from Sacramento in 1861. Dodge was the lead engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad, and at the same time begin building tracks heading westward from Omaha, Nebraska. The two railways finally met eight years later.¹⁶ Although Dodge was not the only engineer to take stock of the west side of the Missouri River for the Transcontinental Railroad, he convinced President Abraham Lincoln that the railway “should be on the road running almost straight out the forty-second parallel from Omaha, alongside the Platte Valley until it reached the Rocky Mountains and then over the mountains to meet the railroad coming east from California.” Lincoln and Dodge, with help from others, founded and signed off on “the greatest building project of the nineteenth century.”¹⁷ Dodge later told William T. Sherman that the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad had “advanced the country 100 years.”¹⁸

The railways’ workforce had as many as 15,000 on each line, working at an urgent pace on “the last great building project to be done mostly by hand.”¹⁹ This sense of urgency and tracking of time became dominant elements during the building and completion of the railroad. The government had set up railway work as a race—the company that built more and built quicker got more financial aid, a concept still relevant in modern American economics and democracy.²⁰ Congress gave out massive public land grants and government bonds on internal improvements like the Transcontinental Railroad,²¹ which



Phineas Taylor Barnum, July 5 1810–April 7, 1891, photographed by Matthew Brady. National Portrait Gallery NPG.97.63

when completed became just as much about technology and industrialization as cultural representation and a conquering of time and space.²² Railroads operated on strict time schedules, and during this time of railroad expansion, time became so important that popular phrases developed, such as “time is wasting,” “time’s up,” and “the train is leaving the station.” The railroads are also a main reason that the country was divided into four time zones.²³

The Transcontinental Railroad became the longest stretch of iron ever built.²⁴ With this cross-country stretch of railway, a person could travel at six-

ty miles per hour, a feat not seen before in America. With the telegraph built beside the railway, ideas, messages, cultures, statistics, and anything that could be put to paper could be transmitted across thousands of miles almost instantly.²⁵ In 1865, it took some one months and often more than \$1,000 to go from New York to San Francisco. Just days after the Golden Spike was driven into the dirt, it only took seven days, including stops along the way.²⁶ Before this railway and telegraph line, these actions would have been considered magic and “beyond the reach of human intellect, enterprise, and ingenuity.”²⁷ During this time, only in the United States was there enough labor, energy, and imagination to build a railroad to connect the nation.²⁸

Only in the United States could the same energy, imagination, and entrepreneurial spirit of P.T. Barnum have room to grow and infiltrate and expand a new modern American culture. Barnum’s “Greatest Show on Earth” was called the “great amusement of the nineteenth century,” as his circus of curiosities and creatures traveled the country via the Transcontinental Railroad.²⁹ Before the Civil War, Barnum had an “eagerness to court the rapidly evolving middle class” and “square his entertainments with bourgeois expectations.”³⁰ During and after the Civil War, Barnum aimed to reshape American theater and entertainment by advertising his American museum as “the special place of family amusement in the United States.”³¹ In 1835, Barnum got his big break in showmanship at age twenty-five when he exhibited an Afri-

can American slave named Joice Heth, whom Barnum claimed was the former nurse of President George Washington. Barnum exhibited the woman as 161 years old and “the greatest curiosity in the world of kind.”³² After this big break with Heth, Barnum founded his American Museum of curiosities and entertainers that promised family-friendly amusements and educational elements. One of his most famous entertainers was the dwarf “General Tom Thumb,” whom Barnum even introduced to President Lincoln in 1862 during the “dark days of the rebellion.”³³ Barnum said in his autobiography that with his American Museum he also intended to make it “the nucleus of a great free national institution” of “useful information and wholesome amusement.”³⁴

Five fires devastated Barnum’s American Museum throughout his lifetime, destroying many of his most valuable collections, but in 1870 and 1872, Barnum got his second big break. When Barnum retired briefly in 1868, his American Museum had just burned down for the second time. Two years later, Dan Castello and William Coup convinced him to join them to form the museum, menagerie, and circus.³⁵ Barnum said his “great show enterprise” required “five hundred men and horses to transport it through the country.” He described in his autobiography large tents covering three acres in Brooklyn “filled with ten thousand delighted spectators” in “the inauguration of this, my greatest show.”³⁶ In 1872, Barnum put his circus on the rails, adhering to the strict schedules and times perpetuated by the railroad to make the

performances themselves move “like clockwork.”³⁷ Barnum said during these years he “worked unremittingly, re-organizing and re-enforcing my great traveling show.”³⁸ He said he negotiated with all the railway companies between New York and Nebraska to organize the transport of his show by railroad, which he said required sixty to seventy freight cars, six passenger cars, and three engines.³⁹ Often traveling a hundred miles in a night, Barnum’s show visited more than a dozen different states.⁴⁰ By 1874, Barnum had formed a second traveling roadshow, P.T. Barnum’s Great Roman Hippodrome, which he touted as alcohol-free.⁴¹

Barnum transformed the circus from “an unsavory source of cheap adult entertainment into a purified setting for children, young and old.”⁴² Especially in rural America and growing settlements out west, Barnum’s circus had an ever-growing appeal. Barnum said his Hippodrome “afforded a treat to the American public that will probably not be witnessed again in this generation.”⁴³ The Hippodrome and Barnum’s Greatest Show on Earth boasted aerial divers (acrobats) and a human cannonball “shot from an 80-ton gun.”⁴⁴ The traveling shows touted “one hundred thousand curiosities,” “marvelous mechanical effects,” Fiji cannibals, giants, dwarfs, four elephants, sixteen camels, and buildings heated by steam.⁴⁵ An article in *The Sunbury Gazette* promoting his Great Traveling World’s Fair in 1873 said, “P.T. Barnum exhibits all he advertises.”⁴⁶ His illustrated advertisements for when he show was coming to town included promotions for “70 museum

cages, chariots and vans,” “live sea lions,” a “huge rhinoceros,” “four Asiatic and African elephants,” “1,600 rare and beautiful birds,” “forty ring horses, the finest in America,” and a “three circus, arena and spectacular rings.”⁴⁷ Barnum touted the fact that “children would learn more natural history by one visit to our menagerie than they could acquire by months of reading.”⁴⁸

By the 1880s, Barnum had partnered with James A. Bailey to produce the Greatest Show on Earth and thousands around the country packed circus tents to see the spectacle.⁴⁹ It was not just the actual nighttime shows that drew in crowds. When the circus rolled into town aboard long trains of colorful carriages, communities flocked to see the unloading of the cars and the welcome parades down main streets. Barnum was not along for every ride, but he did make a habit of joining his Greatest Show at railroad centers to greet guests and see his creation, where he knew “thousands will come in by excursion trains.”⁵⁰ Even before Barnum’s traveling show arrived in town, his company sent ahead an advertising car, which carried members of the press and a “paste brigade” of men to disperse colored advertisements, programs, lithographs, photographs, posters and the like “for fifty miles around each place of exhibition.”⁵¹ Barnum often boasted of his show in his autobiography, saying “up to 1880, no traveling show in the world bore any comparison with my justly-called ‘Greatest Show on Earth,’” and that his show cost millions of dollars.⁵²

As Barnum and Bailey's Greatest Show on Earth carried acrobats, clowns, sideshow curiosities, and massive menageries throughout the country through railways, the American entertainment industry emerged with the elephant, notably Jumbo, as its centerpiece. The elephant remained a symbol of the traveling circus until the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey show closed its doors for good in 2017, 148 years later. During Reconstruction, Americans had a great curiosity for elephants, animals only found in Asia and Africa. They were so idolized that circuses were beginning to be judged not by the number of trained horses in the show, but by the number and size of their elephants.⁵³ With Jumbo, reportedly the largest elephant in captivity at the time, Barnum recognized the market for such grandiose and awe-inspiring animals. Barnum was known for his business prowess and his ability to "sell nearly anything," but he knew Americans wanted to see elephants and was "rewarded for bringing the largest one he could find" to be a part of his traveling show.⁵⁴ When Jumbo was killed by a train car in 1885, Barnum described him as "the biggest, noblest, most famous, popular, and valuable of beasts," before having parts of Jumbo—including his skeleton and hide—become part of his traveling shows.⁵⁵

Barnum's circus and other similar amusements utilized ongoing changes in transportation and communication, while epitomizing the rhythms of new industry and the rise of corporate America.⁵⁶ From 1884 to 1889, the number of traveling circuses

jumped from fourteen to twenty-two. By the 1890s, Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth and other circuses were being studied by the U.S. War Department for information on how to more efficiently move personnel and animals and to enjoy reputations for being family-friendly and educational.⁵⁷ Alongside this more moral environment were freak shows and side exhibitions, as circus-goers made their way to the main tents and the big top, show the circuses' "diverse collection of social outsiders" who found homes and acceptance in a "nomadic community of oddballs."⁵⁸ Despite circuses often being considered "low" entertainment because of their "sawdust, dirt, animal smells, and the bizarre," they continued to grow in popularity because they offered upbeat, optimistic performances and a culture that audience members craved and found reassuring during Reconstruction.⁵⁹ Even in his later years, Barnum said he "found the great American public appreciative and ready to respond in proportion to the sum expended for their gratification and amusement."⁶⁰ Barnum even claimed he was not in show business just to make money, but that his showmanship was his mission to "provide clean, moral and healthful recreation for the public to which I have so long catered."⁶¹ His critics and audiences alike questioned his limits for grandiosity, but even in his later years Barnum said he had "never yet found that limit."⁶²

Just as Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth heralded the beginning of the American entertainment industry, the Transcontinental Railroad expanded

the national market and pushed capital into the west.⁶³ Both the Trans-Siberian and Canadian Pacific railways were longer than the Pacific Railroad, but Americans created a transcontinental line first.⁶⁴ Both the modern American circus and the Transcontinental Railroad were created by men whose grandiose expectations and goals spanned decades and eventually brought together and helped define the new American culture in the nineteenth century. The Transcontinental Railroad had been talked about and promoted for three decades, and the American people wanted it because it was necessary to reunify the nation.⁶⁵ The American people may not have specifically asked for Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth, but it is clear they craved entertainment and diversions. They wanted to be awed and wanted something uniquely American. The modern circus, like the rest of the burgeoning popular culture industry in the Gilded Age, reflected the country's industrial move toward "efficiency, organization, incorporation, discipline, and punctuality."⁶⁶ It reflected all this while also "pitting excess and escapism against discipline, fun against work ... pleasurable abandon against restraint, and unfamiliar, alternative worlds against the traditional and the respectable."⁶⁷ Both Barnum's circus and the Transcontinental Railroad became worlds of clocks and times that infiltrated and influenced everyday life.

Those who lived through the last half of the nineteenth century in America are often seen as those who lived through the country's greatest change.⁶⁸ The decades after the Civil War saw

such massive cultural, economic, political, and social changes that the country was perfectly ripe to welcome the first cross-country railway line and culture-defining entertainment. Reporters compared the coming of the Transcontinental Railroad to the first shot fired at Lexington nearly one hundred years prior and Barnum's traveling show was considered an "amusement miracle" in the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ The railroad helped create a nationwide stock market and economy and a continent-wide culture that saw entertainers like Barnum easily being able to move from one city to another in just hours. While the victory of the Civil War held the Union together, the Transcontinental Railroad and Barnum's circus made the country feel a bit smaller and the changes of Reconstruction not so overwhelming. The railroad showed that any town or industry could be established anywhere there were tracks tying it to the Union, and Barnum's circus showed the profitability and importance of a technology-driven American entertainment industry.⁷⁰ When the bells pealed and the telegrams sent the message of "DONE" during the Golden Spike ceremony, and when Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth and its mile-long train rolled into dozens of cities, they both were inaugurated in the new American century.⁷¹

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Soviet Russia's Reaction to the Nazi Holocaust and the Implications of the Suppression of Jewish Suffering

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ABSTRACT

The Holocaust remains a salient topic today, but its legacy has been unevenly shaped across time and space. This paper seeks to answer the following question: How did the liberating Red Army and Soviet authorities hinder the spreading of awareness of the Nazi concentration camps, and how did that action impact the Holocaust's legacy? Primary and secondary sources reveal the Soviet authorities' motives behind purposeful suppression to have been ideological and fear-driven and had a detrimental impact on Holocaust legacy and its current discourse. The death camps Treblinka, Bełżec, Sobibór, and Majdanek are deservedly addressed as the focus for Holocaust discussion here because their explicit purpose was to kill. These camps are not given enough attention in current general discourse because Auschwitz, not the death camps, retains the focus. This paper's call to action intends to change that so as not to let these death camps fall out of memory. Considering the rise of nationalist and populist movements in Europe today, it is vital to keep alive the notion that the slope from minor prejudice to holocaust is a slippery one.

Keywords: Holocaust, liberation, Soviets, Jews, Reinhard, camps, suppression, communism, the Final Solution

La reacción de la Rusia soviética al holocausto nazi y las implicaciones de la represión del sufrimiento judío

RESUMEN

El Holocausto sigue siendo un tema destacado hoy en día, pero su legado se ha formado de manera desigual en el tiempo y el espacio. Este documento busca responder a la siguiente pregunta: ¿Cómo el Ejército Rojo liberador y las autoridades soviéticas impidieron

la difusión de la conciencia sobre los campos de concentración nazis, y cómo esa acción impactó el legado del Holocausto? Fuentes primarias y secundarias revelan que los motivos de las autoridades soviéticas detrás de la supresión intencional de haber sido ideológicos y motivados por el miedo y haber tenido un impacto perjudicial en el legado del Holocausto y su discurso actual. Los campos de exterminio de Treblinka, Belżec, Sobibór y Majdanek se abordan merecidamente como el foco de la discusión sobre el Holocausto aquí porque su propósito explícito era matar. Estos campos no reciben suficiente atención en el discurso general actual porque Auschwitz, no los campos de exterminio, mantiene el foco. El llamado a la acción de este documento tiene la intención de cambiar eso para no dejar que estos campos de exterminio se pierdan de memoria. Considerando el auge de los movimientos nacionalistas y populistas en Europa hoy, es vital mantener viva la noción de que la pendiente del prejuicio menor al holocausto es resbaladiza.

Palabras clave: Holocausto, liberación, soviéticos, judíos, Reinhard, campamentos, represión, comunismo, la solución final

苏维埃俄国对纳粹大屠杀的反应及 犹太人被折磨压迫的意义

摘要

大屠杀在如今依旧是一个重要话题，但其遗留问题却没有在跨越时空的过程中被均衡研究。本文试图回答下列问题：解放红军与苏联政府如何阻碍了纳粹集中营意识的扩散，此举如何影响了大屠杀的遗留问题？原始资料与次级资料显示，苏联政府对意识故意压制一事背后的动机是由思想和恐惧所驱动的，并且对大屠杀遗留问题及其当前话语产生了不良影响。特雷布林卡、贝尔赛克、索比堡、马伊达内克死亡营在此处值得作为大屠杀探讨重点进行研究，因为其明确目的是杀戮。这些集中营在当前的普遍话语中没有受到足够的关注，因为保持关注的是奥斯威辛集中营，而不是（这些）死亡营。本文对相关行动的呼吁旨在改变这一现象，以期不让这些死亡营被记忆遗忘。鉴于当前欧洲民族主义者和民粹主义运动的兴起，值得保持的观念是，从少数偏见到大屠杀这一倾斜过程是危险的。

关键词：大屠杀，解放，苏联人，犹太人，莱因哈德，集中营，压迫，共产主义，最终解决方案

A great many accounts about a great many things litter the historical record of the Second World War. One of the aspects of the war that retains contemporary relevance is the study of the Holocaust—more specifically, the splintered legacy that developed after the discovery of Nazi concentration camps. When Auschwitz is mentioned, the general public has a basic understanding of what it is, but it is fair to say that there is not nearly enough general awareness and understanding regarding the death camps. Although Auschwitz was larger and claimed the highest number of lives for a single camp by the war's end, the explicit purpose of the death camps should warrant increased discussion, whether among academics or the masses at large, especially in the United States; it cannot all be boiled down to just Auschwitz.

Given that the Red Army discovered these camps in 1945, it fell to them to document and publicize the camps' existence. However, Stalin aimed to suppress knowledge of the camps upon their liberation, and specifically of the Jewish suffering that occurred there. This paper seeks to answer the following question: how did the liberating Red Army and the Soviet authorities hinder the spreading of awareness of the Nazi concentration camps, and how did that action impact the Holocaust's legacy? Soviet motives behind purposeful suppression were ideological and fear-driven and had a detrimental impact on Holocaust legacy and its current discourse.

The exploration of this topic resulted from a comment in the Introduction of Vasily Grossman's wartime memoir *A Writer at War* (2005). Grossman's editor, Antony Beevor, noted that when the Red Army first learned of the camps, Grossman was determined to discover as much as he could about the Holocaust, a subject that the Soviet authorities tried to suppress. Grossman, a talented writer with a troubled past, quickly "proved to be the most perceptive and honest eyewitness of the Soviet frontlines between 1941 and 1945."¹ He held no affection for Stalin, but he also did not make waves that would arouse the wrath of the Party or the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs or NKVD. The fact that someone who genuinely reported on war events sought to bypass (or even disregard) Soviet policy regarding the Holocaust proves the dire need for that effort to be studied.

The Holocaust targeted mostly Jews, and so the event was suppressed in the Soviet Union primarily because there was also plenty of prejudice against Jews in the Soviet Union and Stalin wanted to correlate the two. The Soviet leader did not want to have his anti-Semitic policy likened to that of Hitler's, so instead he steered the authorities to emphasize Soviet heroism and glory in defending the Motherland against the fascist invaders. In the initial years after 1945, "under the influence of Cold War events, the 'stories' about WWII and the Nazi occupation of the Soviet Union became not only a subject of scholarly research or a part of popular culture, but an important tool in state [political] propaganda The nar-

rative of the War was masterfully used by the authorities for the formation of a unifying Soviet identity.”²

When Stalin died in 1953, Khrushchev’s anti-Semitic policies grew more discreet compared to Stalin’s tactic of overt physical and propagandist assault. “Although the worst excesses subsided after the death of Stalin ... the inhibitions, taboos, and distortions regarding ‘Jewish’ matters lingered for decades in the Soviet Union.”³ This era of the Soviet suppression of Jewish suffering formed a gap in Holocaust discourse (especially in comparison to the West) and developed a tainted legacy. Understanding how and why it happened can not only lead to a better understanding of Soviet policy, but also help form a concerted effort to fill in the gap it left.

Concentration Camps in Question

Auschwitz, Treblinka, Bełżec, Sobibór, and Majdanek were in Nazi-occupied territory until their liberation. Treblinka, Bełżec, and Sobibór were the manifestation of the Operation Reinhard objectives: initially prisoners (e.g., Poles and communist political prisoners) would be sent to work in an effort to bolster the intended economic colonization of the territory in and around Poland, but these camps very quickly took on the role of killing centers. From the Nazi perspective, *Reichsführer-SS* Himmler was “careful not to issue written orders on the extermination of the Jews ... for fear of the verdict of history. [Verbal orders alone set]

Operation Reinhard into motion.”⁴ The lack of documentation handicapped any effort for the Holocaust and the Jews’ struggle within it to survive posterity; from the Soviet perspective, this only aided their attempts to suppress knowledge of it within Union borders.

Sent from ghettos in large cities (and later transferred from overwhelmed *Einsatzgruppen* in the east), Jews and others who suffered arrived at these camps to meet their doom. Treblinka was positioned a little over sixty miles northeast of Warsaw and in operation between the summer of 1942 and fall of 1943. The guards and staff maintained the ruse that the camp was merely a transit hub to other camps. “The Jews who arrived at Treblinka were misled about the true nature of the camp. David Novodvorski, from Warsaw, who was taken to Treblinka and escaped during the first week of August 1942, related, after returning to the ghetto, that when his transport had first arrived in the camp, no one was suspicious. Only after two days did he discover its true purpose.”⁵

Bełżec was almost 200 miles southeast of Warsaw and was in operation throughout 1942. With “secrecy and deception of the victims”⁶ as “cornerstones of [the] extermination process,” deportees who arrived could not escape their fate. *Reichsminister* Goebbels noted in his diary on March 27, 1942, that “the former Gauleiter of Vienna [Globocnik], who is to carry [the measure of liquidation and forced labor in the Lublin district] through, is doing it with considerable circumspec-

tion and according to a method that does not attract too much attention. Fortunately, a whole series of possibilities presents itself for us in wartime that would be denied us in peacetime. We shall have to profit by this.”⁷ The relative organization and discretion with which camp commandants operated their killing centers certainly contributed to a low profile concerning what truly occurred there. This lack of information helped the Soviet suppression: if no one knew what really happened, then no one could spread awareness about it.

Sobibór, which lay around 150 miles east of Warsaw, carried out its first “routine mass exterminations” in May 1942. SS *Oberscharfuhrer* Kurt Bolender, who served in Sobibor, testified as to the killing process:

Before the Jews undressed, *Oberscharfuhrer* [Hermann] Michel [deputy commander of the camp] made a speech to them. On these occasions, he used to wear a white coat to give the impression [that he was] a physician. Michel announced to the Jews that they would be sent to work. But before this they would have to take baths and undergo disinfection so as to prevent the spread of diseases After undressing, the Jews were taken through the so-called *Schlauch*. They were led to the gas chambers not by the Germans but by Ukrainians.⁸

Bolender's account is just one instance of compliance in the Holocaust by non-Germans/non-Nazis. Another was involved in a mass shooting of

more than five hundred Jewish men, women, and children by Ukrainian nationalists in the village of Varvarivka in November 1941. Authorities erected a memorial in commemoration of this event. “According to this late Soviet-era memorial, ‘German-fascist invaders’ killed ‘peaceful citizens’ at this spot in 1941. There was no reference to the Jewish identity of the victims.”⁹ The memorial's wording is clear, physical proof of the Soviet suppression of Holocaust facts, hiding the Soviet Jewish experience of those tragic times from public knowledge.

Auschwitz lay about 200 miles south of Warsaw and was the scene of the execution of well over one million people between 1940–45. Modeled on the previous three camps in terms of infrastructure and eventually functionality (after the killing process had been tested and innovated at the Reinhard camps), Auschwitz grew into a massive complex. Given that this camp was not demolished and erased from physical memory like the others, it was unofficially adopted as center of all Holocaust suffering. For Westerners, this included anyone who opposed the Third Reich, but most notably Jews. For those in the Soviet Union, this excluded Jews from the list. With fewer sites to physically remind and spark curiosity among the public east of the Iron Curtain, the Soviet authorities had a relatively easier time with their suppressive efforts. Despite this, however, those entering Auschwitz still experienced something they knew was dark and foreboding.

“Liberation” of the Death Camps

When the Nazi war machine invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, orders were carried out with the understanding that all communists (and especially Soviet commissars) were to be treated ruthlessly and without fear of the penalties resulting from international law violations. German soldiers understood the enemy to behave barbarically and inhumanely; their response could then only be to treat any subhuman opposing Nazi advances “immediately and with maximum severity.”¹⁰ This response resulted in atrocities, rapes, and summary murder of all types of individuals the Germans encountered: men, women, children; Poles, Ukrainians, Russians; and anyone considered a threat to the Reich.

After the German retreat following Stalingrad and Kursk in early 1943 and the increasing momentum of the Soviet push toward Berlin, these atrocities were repaid on German civilians in the conquered territories (and eventually in Germany proper). When it came to the concentration camps, these atrocities sometimes continued depending on the circumstance. The notion of prisoners going from one hell to another (i.e., rape, murder, and oppression of various kinds by those who freed them) is why the word “liberation” in this section’s heading is in quotations. This reality partially fueled the Soviet hatred of the Germans while simultaneously acting as a justifiable retaliation for atrocious actions against the Soviet people (Jews excluded).

Returning to Grossman’s experience with the advancing Red Army, the Soviets discovered massacres in the Ukraine and Poland by summer 1944—but it was later when they found “even more ghastly revelations.” Majdanek, a work camp-turned-extermination camp and the first to be discovered by the Red Army, was liberated¹¹ and deemed an appropriate case study for Soviet propaganda “since many non-Jewish Poles and Russian prisoners” had suffered there. No specific mention of Jewish suffering was made, playing right into the authorities’ ideological and propagandist agenda.¹² Historian Richard Overy states: “They found around 1,000 sick, emaciated prisoners. The Jewish inmates had been taken westward on one of the hundreds of death marches. Most of those who remained were Soviet prisoners of war ... Maidanek [sic] was given wide publicity among the troops. By the time the Red Army reached Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, those camps had been obliterated by the German authorities, the land ploughed [sic] under and farmed once again.”¹³ The fact that the Soviets found their own people imprisoned and the remains of this camp were intact underscores the sloppiness by the Germans in fully erasing this camp (which was just like the other three death camps) and the opportunity was seized by Soviet authorities to carefully use it to their advantage.

Around the same time, Soviet troops discovered Treblinka farther north. Separated into two camps—Treblinka I for the forced labor of prisoners and Treblinka II for the extermination

of Jews—the relatively small complex grounds were a mere shadow of what the camp was during its prime operation. Grossman points out that despite the camp being physically destroyed, “it was the Red Army that stopped Himmler from [completely] keeping the secret of Treblinka.” Based on interviews and eyewitness accounts from locals and some who escaped, which were “from a variety of sources” and “consistent in every detail,” Grossman constructed an understanding of the camp’s inner workings, broken down into “the circles of the Hell of Treblinka.” From the construction of the camp (and the rail spur leading to it) to the demography of those trained into the camp to the process of separating and exterminating new arrivals each day, Grossman “came to believe that what [he] had heard was true.”¹⁴

Part of the reason prisoners escaped from Treblinka and lived to give eyewitness accounts stems from the fact that a prisoner uprising occurred in August 1943. Richard Glazar, a survivor, recounted the uprising led by “prisoner functionaries,”¹⁵ describing the underground network of prisoners who organized and carried out the uprising, the logistics of planning, the gathering of weapons and using them against the guards, and finally escaping the camp and hiding out in a nearby pond until it was clear to move on.¹⁶ Others made it out after their stint at the work camp (Treblinka I) ended or they escaped the train prior to its arrival at the camp. Many accounts were ignored or held in disbelief; it would not be until the Allies liberated more camps that news spread

(especially in the West), revealing what occurred inside them.

When Grossman entered the grounds that constituted Treblinka, he recorded what he experienced with such vivid description:

We enter the camp and walk on the ground of Treblinka...The earth is throwing out crushed bones, teeth, clothes, papers. It does not want to keep secrets and the objects are climbing out from the earth, from its unhealing wounds. Here they are, half ruined by decay, shirts of the murdered people, their trousers, shoes, cigarette cases ... a child's shoes with red pompons ... lace underwear, corsets, bandages. And a little further on, heaps of plates and dishes have made their way to the surface. And further on—it is as if someone's hand is pushing them up into the light, from the bottomless bulging earth—emerge the things that the Germans had tried to bury, Soviet passports, notebooks with Bulgarian writing in them, photographs of children from Warsaw and Vienna ... a book of poetry, food ration cards from Germany A terrible smell of putrefaction hangs over everything, the smell that neither fire, nor sun, rains, snow and winds could dispel We walk on ... and suddenly we stop. Some yellow hair, wavy, fine and light, glowing like brass, is trampled into the earth, and blonde curls next to

it, and then heavy black plaits on the light-coloured [sic] sand, and then more and more Everything is true. The last, lunatic hope that everything was only a dream is ruined And one feels as if one's heart could stop right now, seized with such sorrow, such grief, that a human being cannot possibly stand it.¹⁷

It surely took quite some time for the experience to set in, not just for Grossman but for those with him. As the late Treblinka survivor Samuel Willenberg said, "Here [the corpses of the gassed prisoners] were buried in enormous ditches It is difficult to believe that such a crime could have been carried out within such a small space [of 200 meters by 300 meters] It is difficult The scale of the crime is beyond normal comprehension."¹⁸

An uprising similar to the one in Treblinka occurred at Sobibór on October 14, 1943. Instrumental to the uprising were "blacksmiths, cobblers, cabinetmakers, and tailors"—very similar to the skilled prisoner functionaries at Treblinka. These few men, led by a Soviet Jewish officer named Alexander Pechersky whose unit was encircled and captured by the Nazis in October 1941, organized a concerted and discreet killing spree against their SS captors:

At 4pm, the conspirators in Camp I acted. Pechersky monitored everything from the cabinetmakers' shop. The prisoners relied on the punctuality of the Nazis and on their greed and vanity. After inviting him to try on a new coat in

the tailors' workshop, Alexander Shubayev, one of Pechersky's fellow soldiers, dispatched Johann Niemann, the SS deputy commandant, with an ax-blow to the head. His body was pushed under a bed. A second Nazi followed fifteen minutes later. He, too, was slain. Shortly thereafter, Lerner and Arkady Wajspapir finished off Siegfried Graetschus, who directed Sobibór's Ukrainian contingent. Another Nazi succumbed while he looked at a pair of boots. In all, about a dozen SS met their end through these ruses. Runners kept everyone informed of the progress made Just before 4:30, the insurgents cut the telegraph and telephone cables, preventing the remaining Germans from notifying their superiors When the Kapo called everyone to line up for roll-call near the front of the camp, no SS men showed up. Then, the inmates realized what was at hand and became restless ... scores of Jewish prisoners surged toward the front gate. German and Ukrainian fire claimed many of them before they could get to it. The Soviets, including Pechersky, and those who had hidden arms shot back. Some frantically cut through the barbed wire. Others, far more desperate, climbed the fence and took their chances with the mines the Germans had planted outside the wire. After getting through the fence, Pechersky recalled, he ran across

an open field before getting to the treeline ... Pechersky ordered his men to move only at night. They walked single-file and never uttered a word to one another. During the day, they concealed themselves as best they could ... 300 of them—and that number leaps off the page—escaped during the commotion at Sobibor. Leydesdorff believes 184 could not escape. Scores of prisoners came so close to making it out. The Germans mowed down 41 of them during the uprising. 58 out of the 300 who escaped lived to see the war's end. Terribly, some of those who got to the forest, feeling weary and exhausted, returned to Sobibor—and to certain death. Still, 58 survived.

Killing actions at Sobibór “ceased right after the uprising. SS men killed those inmates who had not escaped. Subsequently, on Himmler’s orders, they dismantled Sobibor’s killing facilities, bulldozing much of what had been there and planting trees to cover the site.”¹⁹

The Soviets found the camp plowed over just like Treblinka, and a Ukrainian family occupied the farmhouse built there. It eventually became known that Jews were prisoners at Sobibór, but again the Soviet authorities did not dwell on this aspect. The soldiers learned that “crematoria were never installed at Sobibor. Men and women living near the camp remembered the skies illuminated, at night, by the burning of corpses in mass graves.

The infernal stench [was overwhelming].”²⁰ The corpses were all labeled as non-Jews when word began to spread within the Soviet Union.

Bełżec experienced much the same fate as the other Reinhard camps: the Nazis attempted to cover up all traces of it by destroying its structures and plowing over the earth to make farmland. Liberation came in July 1944, and Red Army soldiers gradually discovered more about what happened. Survivors—who could “be counted on one hand”²¹—that escaped and found refuge nearby or had come forth after the war were the only ones who could give an account of what happened. Their stories may have found more traction in Western media, but there were too few that were too powerless when sharing their experiences in the Soviet Union.

Lastly, Auschwitz was liberated by Red Army troops in January 1945, just months before the war ended in Europe. Soviet soldier Ivan Martynushkin commented on his unit’s arrival at the camp: “Only the highest-ranking officers of the General Staff had perhaps heard of the camp ... We knew nothing.” As they searched the camp, Martynushkin and his comrades “noticed people behind barbed wire.” He continues: “It was hard to watch them. I remember their faces, especially their eyes which betrayed their ordeal.” Martynushkin’s unit found “roughly 7,000 prisoners left behind—those too weak or sick to walk. They also discovered about 600 corpses.”²²

Genry Koptev Gomolov was eighteen when he first saw Auschwitz.

“It was cold and gloomy with wet snow falling We saw the barbed wire and we understood it was a camp.” Once inside, he and his comrades “found thousands of wraithlike people laughing and crying, singing and shouting, or simply staring dumbly at their liberators. He saw corpses stacked like cordwood and abandoned before the Nazis could set them on fire. He saw the crematories and the subterranean rooms he later learned were gas chambers. ‘It made a deep impression.’”²³ Mykola Karpenko, a Ukrainian veteran, saw piles of clothes, shoes, piles of human hair and bones, and other items in a central square of the camp. Also, there were “wooden logs ... and dead bodies stacked on top Then another layer of wood, and then again bodies.” When thinking of Auschwitz now, all he feels is “hatred.”²⁴

The notion of the surviving prisoners going from one hell to another as they changed hands from the Nazis to the Soviets usually tends to be overshadowed by the inherent joy of liberation. Ivan Martynushkin explained that he and his fellow Red Army comrades “have not been hailed as heroes,” as the war has faded farther into memory. “Former Soviet satellite countries—including Poland and Baltic states—insist that Red Army troops that liberated Eastern Europe from Nazi totalitarianism merely replaced [Nazi brutality] with a Soviet form.”²⁵

Another account, like many others, is one of “abuse, rape, theft and terrible betrayal.” Helena Citronova and her elder sister, two liberated women

trying to get home to Czechoslovakia, “trudged the roads of Poland by day ... and then sheltered in hedgerows or barns at night. Often, they would share whatever shelter they could find with other women, also newly freed from Nazi camps. They soon discovered that, in the darkness, Red Army soldiers [who were totally drunk and acting like wild animals] would search for women. There were cases where they were raped to death. They strangled them.” On one occasion, Helena found a bicycle and went for a short ride, eventually crossing paths with a Red Army soldier on a motorbike. He dismounted and tried to overtake her. “I kicked and I bit and I screamed and he asked me all the time if I was German. I said: ‘No, I am Jewish from the camp.’ I showed him the number on my arm. And at that moment he recoiled. Maybe he himself was Jewish. I don't know what he was. He turned, stood up and ran.” When hearing this account, it is not too much of a stretch to say that this soldier's recoiling is indicative of the Soviet mindset when it came to Jews, and if that man was not Jewish, then that very well could have been the case.²⁶

At Auschwitz at least, “the Russians were strangely unaffected by what they saw ... despite being friendly to the victims.” Surely, the liberation was “hardly reported in the Soviet Press—on February 2, 1945, there was a small report in *Pravda*, but hardly the coverage [one] would imagine. One reason is that many of the Soviet soldiers who first arrived at Auschwitz had themselves endured unimaginable horrors on the Eastern Front.” To these soldiers,

Auschwitz was “just one more terrible sight in a war already overflowing with atrocity. Soviet liberator Ivan Marty-nushkin added to his account: “I had seen towns destroyed I had seen the destruction of villages. I had seen the suffering of our own people. I had seen small children maimed.”²⁷ Another factor was that the Soviets wanted to make political capital out of the death camps. Soviet Marxist propaganda “downplayed the suffering of the Jews—even though [virtually all of the 1,000,000 killed there] were Jews—in order to claim that the murder factory was an example of fascist capitalism's exploitation of expendable workers In Soviet minds, there was little suggestion that this was genocide, no real belief that the souls they had liberated deserved special sympathy.”²⁸ Despite the intention of freeing the survivors, many viewed the Red Army as an occupying force that replaced National Socialism and extended communist ideology over the region.

Soviet Suppression and Its Legacy

The Soviet authorities took advantage of the reality they faced upon forcing the Nazi armies back to Germany and winning the war with the Americans, British, and liberated French at their side. In terms of the news reaching the public,

nothing so placed the horrors committed by the Third Reich in front of the public in the Western allied nations as clearly as the arrival of their troops at

concentration and labor camps in 1945 Pictures had been printed in the United States and Great Britain In an age when newsreels and magazines like *Life* provided the main visual impressions of events, the pictures of the camps brought reality to the home front But somehow these places seemed far away, even if the numbers murdered in them were [vast].²⁹

When it came time for Allied authorities to put the captured Nazis on trial at Nuremberg, newsreel images proved to be the final nail in the Nazi coffin.

The Soviets found their circumstances improved. Not only did their authorities view the trials as “an expression of the ultimate triumph of the Soviet Union over its bitter enemy, a source of legitimate pride and inspiration,”³⁰ but the trials facilitated the execution of a broader agenda:

From the Soviet perspective, Nazism was not simply evil in itself. It was part of a broader phenomenon and a more lasting enemy—capitalism and ‘capitalism's highest stage,’ imperialism. Soviet ideologues conceived of Nazism and fascism as systems developed by the ruling capitalist classes for the purpose of maintaining their domination and alleviating fundamental economic and social problems of capitalism through the use of violence, nationalism, and aggression³¹.... In 1945 Pravda's chief editor Petr Pospelov explained to Boris

Polevoi, fascism and Nazism were not just matters of the past. They were ‘the quintessence of world imperialism, its extreme manifestation.’ According to the Bulgarian communist leader and a former head of Comintern Georgii Dimitrov whom Boris Polevoi met shortly before his departure for Nuremberg, ‘Nazism is the most dreadful off-spring that imperialism has ever produced ... but perhaps the most rational for modern imperialism.’ Pospelov and Dimitrov were essentially suggesting that in response to new crises of the capitalist system, it would be both natural and rational for capitalists to try to preserve their domination through the creation of new Nazi-style regimes in the West. Such cataclysmic crises, according to the communist worldview, were not only possible—they were inevitable as capitalism was nearing its equally inevitable collapse It seems therefore that from the standpoint of the Soviet leaders, exposing the crimes of the Nazi leadership in great detail could boost the Soviet Union’s stance in its future confrontations with capitalism.³²

This illustrates why Soviet authorities wanted to cover the Nuremberg trials – they wanted to make the event an ideological triumph to round out the military one just months before. With this as the primary Party focus, ignoring

and denying the suffering of any particular group (i.e., Jews) did not matter in the grand scope of communist ideology.

A slew of Soviet journalists covered the trials, but the fact remains that they were “personally approved”³³ by Party leadership. This meant they either were complicit with Party directives or the leadership knew them well enough to expect them to keep their stories in line. The resulting trial news regarding the Jews was censored by the time it reached the Soviet people. Aside from the pervading fear surrounding prohibited free speech, this seems to be the only plausible reason as to why so much attention to the Jews at Nuremberg did not translate into Soviet media.

Stalin struggled with other Allied leaders over Poland’s future, which “he demanded would come under Moscow’s rule, via communist puppets.” The Soviet leader was prepared to see only one narrative, “one in which the Soviet Union had been Hitler’s victim and the brave soldiers of the Red Army had fought back, until victory was declared on the roof of the Reichstag in Berlin. Polish, and Jewish suffering was to have no part in the Soviet narrative.”³⁴

In the postwar Soviet Union, we see what [French philosopher] Paul Ricoeur called ‘organized forgetting’ transformed into a state policy. The Soviet cultivation of its own interpretation of historical memory aimed to conceal the joint Nazi-Soviet responsibility for instigating the war; to hide its crimes against its own citizens and those of other

states; and to replace the memories of individuals and communities with the narrative of the new imagined community—the Soviet people ... the Soviets moved to destroy the institutional and individual memory-bearers. Examples include the dissolution of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the only representative body for Jews in the USSR, and the execution of its most prominent members ... It deported en masse members of the intelligentsia from the Union's western territories. In all these cases, any attempts at recollection were considered attempts to resist the official narrative and to advance an opposing narrative based upon other values.³⁵

“Although the number of Jewish party leaders remained high in the immediate postwar years [in the Soviet bloc], the percentage of Jews in the state apparatus began to fall after 1948.”³⁶ This Soviet attempt to limit Jewish presence in Soviet society lasted a while longer under Stalin's successors,³⁷ but it was doomed to fail.

A new generation of Soviet Jews “began reawakening to their roots, emboldened by Israel's victory in the Six-Day War in 1967.” Jewish communities in places like Kiev and Riga (which were occupied by the Nazis during the war) saw “gatherings at the killing fields outside of town, where for the first time Kaddish was said for the dead—no longer anonymous ‘victims of fascism.’ This was where the campaign to

allow Soviet Jews to emigrate began, at the sites where Stalin had sought to rewrite history. Two decades later, the Soviet Union ceased to exist” and more Holocaust accounts began to surface.³⁸ In Russia today, “the war is widely understood as an attempt to exterminate above all the Russian people, rather than Jews. Victory is, therefore, proof of the nation's greatness, its moral rectitude, which grants it an open license to define anything it opposes as fascism. It teaches no universal lesson, only a specifically Russian one.”³⁹

Conclusion

Historian Timothy Snyder's book *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (2015) addresses many relevant aspects of this horrendous period in world history, while also touching on the spirit of Holocaust memory. He says that Auschwitz has become a convenient symbol in post-communist Russia today. “If the Holocaust is reduced to Auschwitz, then it can easily be forgotten that the German mass killing of Jews began in places that the Soviet Union had just conquered ... If the Holocaust is identified only with Auschwitz, [the experience of hundreds of thousands of people participating in, witnessing, and being aware of the mass killing process] can be excluded from history and commemoration.”⁴⁰ The camp at Oświęcim indeed claimed the lives of countless millions, mostly Jews, but that was not the only camp to do so.

Some Soviet citizens were “recruited by the Germans for the mass

shootings of Jews” and they “built and guarded the gassing facilities at Treblinka, Belżec, and Sobibór.” Despite this, Soviet propaganda after the war was “helpless to explain how so many people produced by the Soviet system had proven to be useful collaborators in the mass murder of so many other people produced by the Soviet system.” By extension, the reality that this mass killing by Soviets of Soviets (and others) was facilitated and encouraged by “a totally alien system (Nazism)” poses a problem for Soviet communist purists and those who try to whitewash this history.⁴¹

Identifying the Holocaust solely with Auschwitz can also lead to separating “the mass murder of Jews from human choices and actions” and isolating that geographical location from everywhere else that was affected by it. The perimeter of the camp “[seems] to contain an evil that ... extended from Paris to Smolensk.” This evil might manifest itself through images of “mechanized killing, or ruthless bureaucracy, or the march of modernity, or even the endpoint of enlightenment” when one thinks of it. This minimalist approach turns “the murder of children, women, and men [into] an inhuman process,” when in fact it was a very human process. “When the mass murder of Jews is limited to an exceptional place and treated as the result of impersonal procedures, then we need not confront the fact that people not very different from us murdered other people not very different from us at close quarters.”⁴²

We must not repeat the mistakes of the past: we must not suppress, re-

duce, or forget the truth. Until his final breath in 2016, Samuel Willenberg, the last survivor of Treblinka, “urged the world never to forget Treblinka.”⁴³ That urging should extend to include all camps that were part of the Final Solution, whether they have physically survived or not. Former Israeli president Moshe Katsav stated in 2005 that the Allies “‘did not do enough’ to prevent the killing of Jews in World War II” and that the European Union today should “not allow Nazism to live in the imagination of the youth of Europe like some kind of horror show.”⁴⁴ Rather, scholars and authorities should confront that period and its atrocities for what they were and are, not suppressed and ignored for the benefit of ideology.

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Notes

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- 2 Olga Baranova, "Politics of Memory of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union," *Institute for Human Sciences*, last modified 2015, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://www.iwm.at/publications/5-junior-visiting-fellows-conferences/vol-xxxiv/politics-of-memory-of-the-holocaust-in-the-soviet-union/>. "Soviet official multi-volume monographs, based primarily on documents from Soviet State and Party archives that primarily included the directives of the Higher Command and the records kept by the partisan units, represented the war as a genuine popular resistance and defensive struggle for liberation against the Nazi invader. Moreover, it was presented as a unifying experience that was supposed to reinforce the feeling of community among the Soviet people." The article goes on to say: "Western scholars argued that it was a deliberate policy of the Soviet regime to conceal the murder of the Jews because of Stalin's anti-Semitism, its legacy and traditional hostility towards Jewish culture."
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 16.
- 5 Ibid., 84.
- 6 Ibid., 68.
- 7 Joseph Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries*, ed. Louis P. Lochner (New York: Charter New York, 1948), 175–76.
- 8 Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 76.
- 9 Jared McBride, "Ukrainian Holocaust Perpetrators Are Being Honored in Place of Their Victims," *Tablet Magazine*, July 20, 2016, <https://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/208439/holocaust-perpetrators-honored>.
- 10 Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: 1936-1945 Nemesis* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2000), 357–58.
- 11 USC Shoah Foundation, "The Red Army Enters Majdanek," *Facing History*, accessed June 2, 2019, <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/video/red-army-enters-majdanek>. Bernhard Storch, a Pole who joined the army in Soviet territory and wound up transferring to the Red Army, was among the first to enter Majdanek on July 23, 1944: "We entered very, very carefully ... we opened the doors ... there was a gate ... with (barbed) wires and everything ... we still didn't know it was an extermination camp, nobody told us that ... we thought it was a barracks, military barracks ... we caught four SS people and two Polish collaborators ... we thought [there was] a factory, of course we saw a chimney ... we saw a tremendous amount of ashes, but we still didn't know ... maybe that's industrial waste ... we saw showerheads in the ceiling, we thought that was

water for shower ...” An officer came around eventually and confirmed what the troops had feared, informing them, “That’s where they [prisoners] were gassed.”

12 Grossman, *A Writer at War*, 280–81.

13 Richard Overy, *Russia’s War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941-1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 260–61.

14 Vasily Grossman, *The Hell of Treblinka*, ed. Martin Zwickler, trans. Olga Reznik (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016), 14–31.

15 Miles Lerman Center for the Study of Jewish Resistance, “Treblinka Death Camp Revolt,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed June 2, 2019, <https://www.ushmm.org/research/the-center-for-advanced-holocaust-studies/miles-lerman-center-for-the-study-of-jewish-resistance/medals-of-resistance-award/treblinka-death-camp-revolt>. “A group of Jewish prisoners, calling themselves the ‘Organizing Committee,’ [planned] an uprising and mass escape. Composed mainly of the camp’s prisoner functionaries, the Committee included over time former Polish army officer Dr. Julian Chorazycki, ‘camp elder’ Marceli Galewski, former Czech army officer Zelo Bloch, as well as Zev Kurland, kapo at the camp’s ‘hospital,’ and Jankiel Wiernik, a carpenter who worked in the extermination area.”

16 Richard Glazar, *Trap with a Green Fence* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 137–46.

17 Grossman, *A Writer at War*, 305–06.

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20 Ibid.

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23 Craig S. Smith, “Liberators and Survivors Recall the Auschwitz that Was,” *New York Times*, January 28, 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/28/world/europe/liberators-and-survivors-recall-the-auschwitz-that-was.html>.

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- 27 Ishaan Tharoor, "What a Soviet Soldier Saw When His Unit Liberated Auschwitz 70 Years Ago," *The Washington Post*, January 27, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/01/27/what-a-soviet-soldier-saw-when-his-unit-liberated-auschwitz-70-years-ago/?utm_term=.50d1ef9f9b40.
- 28 Rees, "Raped by Their Saviours."
- 29 Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 2005), 834.
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- 31 *Ibid.*, 49–50. Joseph Stalin argued that "fascism was the offshoot of the profound economic crisis of the capitalist system, an indication that "the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are. [...] zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarianism and bourgeois democracy [...] and resorting to openly terrorist methods of maintaining their dictatorship. Soviet court officials in Nuremberg echoed this view when they proclaimed to Robert Jackson that 'Nazism was the child of capitalism.'"
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*, 51.
- 34 Anshel Pfeffer, "The Polish Were Once Victims of Historical Whitewashing, Now They Are Doing the Same," *Haaretz*, January 28, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/polish-victims-of-the-whitewashing-of-history-are-now-the-perpetrators-1.5767939>.
- 35 Ola Hnatiuk, "How the Soviet Union Suppressed the Holocaust to Fight 'Nationalism,'" *The Odessa Review*, November 16, 2017, <http://odessareview.com/soviet-union-suppressed-holocaust-fight-nationalism/>. Following the war, Soviet authorities "took up the task of 'cleansing' society of 'suspicious' elements. The authorities and secret police conducted systematic and meticulous investigations of the activities of their citizens during the occupation. Those imprisoned by the Nazis had to pass through filtration camp designed by the NKVD (Soviet secret police) before repatriation to the USSR."

- 36 Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944–56* (New York: Anchor Books, 2012), 144.
- 37 According to Dawsey’s “Remembering the Sobibor Uprising,” Pechersky, the hero of the Sobibor uprising, “wrote his own account of the events, testified against Ukrainian collaborators on trial in the USSR in 1962, and provided statements to a West German trial of Sobibor perpetrators in 1984. Despite his commitment to communist politics, he felt, with good reason, the Soviet regime disdained him and used the KGB to intimidate him.”
- 38 Pfeffer, “The Polish Were Once Victims.”
- 39 Jeremy Hicks, “Why Doesn’t Russia Make a Big Deal about Its Role in Liberating Nazi Holocaust Death Camps?” *The Conversation*, January 27, 2015, <https://theconversation.com/why-doesnt-russia-make-a-big-deal-about-its-role-in-liberating-nazi-holocaust-death-camps-36538>.
- 40 Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2015), 208.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid., 208–09.
- 43 Dominique Mosbergen, “Last Survivor of Treblinka Nazi Death Camp Dies at 93,” *Huffington Post*, February 22, 2016, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/samuel-willenberg-dead-treblinka-survivor_n_56cacb94e4b0928f5a6c5d1d?guccounter=1.
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Tea Table Sisterhood and Rebel Dames: The Contributions of Women Jacobites 1688–1788

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ABSTRACT

Women played several roles throughout a century to restore the Stuart Dynasty following the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Women supporters of the House of Stuart participated in espionage, planning invasions of a Stuart return to Scottish soil, and raising men or monies for the Stuart cause. By 1745, many Highland clans lost interest in the Jacobite cause; it was the female supporters who provided men and money, spread communications, and badgered their menfolk to follow Prince Charles, which brought early successes during the final revolt of 1745.

This study examines the multiple roles women played to progress and support Jacobitism during the many Jacobite Uprisings from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to the Final Battle at Culloden Moor 1746. Also, including an in-depth investigation into gender acceptance of the seventeenth century. Three crucial uprisings, including the revolts of 1689, 1715, and 1745 provide plenty of documentation to reasonably investigate the participation of women from private bedrooms, tea-tables, battlefields, and courts, spanning the British Isles and across Europe.

This study concludes women Jacobites progressed the House of Stuart goals of restoration for over a century, until the death of Prince Charles in 1788. Women used many means to show support, such as political marriages (Jacobite to Jacobite) and how they raised children regarding religion and loyalty to the Stuart cause. They passed down through the generations a strong feeling of support to the House of Stuart. Women felt national pride and loyalty fighting for their beliefs on various fields of battle.

Keywords: Scottish History, Jacobite History, Gender History, Women's History, Jacobite Rebellion, Women Jacobites, Scottish Women, Stuart Dynasty 1688–1788.

Hermanidad de mesa de té y damas rebeldes: Las contribuciones de las mujeres jacobitas 1688-1788

RESUMEN

Las mujeres desempeñaron varios papeles a lo largo de un siglo para restaurar la dinastía Stuart después de la Revolución Gloriosa de 1688. Las mujeres partidarios de la Casa de Stuart participaron en el espionaje, planificando invasiones de un regreso de Stuart al suelo escocés y criando hombres o dinero para la causa de Stuart. Para 1745, muchos clanes de las Tierras Altas perdieron interés en la causa jacobita; Fueron las mujeres partidarios las que proporcionaron hombres y dinero, difundieron comunicaciones y acosaron a sus hombres para que siguieran al Príncipe Carlos, lo que trajo éxitos tempranos durante la revuelta final de 1745.

Este estudio examina los múltiples roles que las mujeres desempeñaron para progresar y apoyar el jacobitismo durante los muchos levantamientos jacobitas desde la Revolución Gloriosa de 1688 hasta la Batalla Final en Culloden Moor 1746. Además, incluye una investigación en profundidad sobre la aceptación de género del siglo XVII. Tres levantamientos cruciales, incluidas las revueltas de 1689, 1715 y 1745, proporcionan abundante documentación para investigar razonablemente la participación de mujeres de habitaciones privadas, mesas de té, campos de batalla y tribunales, que abarcan las Islas Británicas y en toda Europa.

Este estudio concluye que las mujeres jacobitas progresaron en los objetivos de restauración de la Casa de Estuardo durante más de un siglo, hasta la muerte del príncipe Carlos en 1788. Las mujeres usaron muchos medios para mostrar su apoyo, como los matrimonios políticos (de jacobita a jacobita) y cómo criaron hijos con respecto a religión y lealtad a la causa Stuart. Transmitieron de generación en generación un fuerte sentimiento de apoyo a la Casa de Estuardo. Las mujeres sintieron orgullo nacional y lealtad luchando por sus creencias en varios campos de batalla.

Palabras clave: historia escocesa, historia jacobita, historia de género, historia de las mujeres, rebelión jacobita, mujeres jacobitas, mujeres escocesas, dinastía Stuart 1688–1788

茶桌姐妹会与反叛女士：1688年至1788年间女性詹姆斯二世党人所作的贡献

摘要

继1688年光荣革命后的一百年里，女性为复辟斯图亚特王朝一事发挥了不同作用。斯图亚特王朝的女性支持者参与了间谍活动、为斯图尔特重回苏格兰国土谋划袭击、为斯图尔特事业培育人力或提供金钱资助。1745年期间，许多苏格兰高地氏族对詹姆斯二世党人事业失去兴趣；是女性支持者提供了人力和金钱，传播消息，并不断督促男人追随查尔斯王子，这些努力为1745年的最后反抗带来了早期胜利。

本研究检验了自1688年光荣革命至1746年卡洛登最后战役期间女性在诸多詹姆斯二世党人起义中为推进和支持相关运动而发挥的多重作用。本文还对17世纪的性别接受一事进行了深入调查。三次关键性起义，包括1689年、1715年和1745年发生的叛乱都提供了充足证据，以合理地研究从不列颠群岛到跨越欧洲范围内女性的参与活动，包括从私人卧室、茶桌、战场、到宫廷。

本研究结论认为，女性詹姆斯二世党人在一百年里推进了斯图亚特王朝的复辟事业，直至1788年查尔斯王子去世。女性使用了很多方式表示支持，例如政治婚姻（詹姆斯二世党人相互通婚），以及出于宗教目的和为忠心于斯图尔特事业养育儿童。她们给后代传承了支持斯图尔特王朝的强烈情感。女性对在不同战场领域为信仰作战而感到民族自豪和忠诚。

关键词：苏格兰历史，詹姆斯二世党人历史，性别历史，女性历史，詹姆斯二世党人叛乱，女性詹姆斯二世党人，苏格兰女性，斯图亚特王朝（1688年至1788年）

Introduction

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was a religious war as much as a political one. King James II of England and VII of Scotland was a Catholic king that leaned towards re-

ligious tolerance. England broke with the Catholic Church under Henry VIII. The break continued with Elizabeth I's reign and her successor James I of England and VI of Scotland. King James II of England and VII of Scotland married a Catholic woman who posed a signifi-

cant threat to the state under the divine rights of kings. The Whig Party's concern advanced when he overturned a long-standing parliament law concerning the exclusion of Catholics to hold office under the Test Act.¹ James II's views of religious tolerance heightened concerns for the State, and following the birth of James and his Catholic wife's son, panic ensued throughout the Protestant nobles. The Whig party's fear of popery determined their actions. Their primary objective was to remove James II as England's monarch and replace the line of succession with a Protestant one over the newly born Catholic heir.

A small group of men known as the Immortal Seven sent an invitation to the Dutch Prince, William III of Orange, inviting him and his wife Mary to invade England to usurp James II. The Immortal Seven included the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, and six noblemen—Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire, Thomas Osborne, 1st Duke of Leeds, Richard Lumley, 1st Earl of Scarbrough, Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford, and Henry Sydney, 1st Earl of Romney—who inscribed the letter to William III and initiated the Glorious Revolution. William had married Princess Mary, the daughter of James II. Because both were Protestant, they made perfect replacements.² Most Jacobites, and the Tory Party, rejected a Hanoverian government and supported James II, as they continued to believe in the “traditional doctrine of divine right.”³ The non-Jacobites or Whig Party, on the other hand, railed against an absolute monarchy. They be-

lieved the king's power remained limited and included checks and balances through parliament.⁴ The Jacobite uprisings divided England, Ireland, and Scotland in a civil war of religion, and government support over who the rightful king was. William III landed in southern England at Brixham on November 5, 1688, and in response, James II gathered his forces for battle. James II's quickly learned he did not have the full support of the Tory Party. Many of the Noble officials defected from James and pledged allegiance to William due to the uncertainty of James's religious plans for England.⁵

James II, with his wife and infant son, fled to France. This provided Parliament with an opportunity to claim that James had abdicated the throne. Hence, Parliament placed William III and his wife Mary on the throne.⁶ The division between political parties opened avenues for propaganda that circulated from both sides in the form of sermons, history books, political pamphlets, playwrights, and newspapers.⁷ Jacobite clubs swelled across England, Scotland, Wales and in educational institutions, such as Westminster, Oxford, and Winchester, that became pro-Jacobite schools.⁸ The anti-Whig and anti-dissenter riots that occurred across Great Britain held Jacobite undertones and hostility towards the Hanoverian government but did not involve a plot to remove William III or restore the Stuarts to the throne.⁹ Staunch supporters of James followed him to France in 1689 or retired from public view in Britain. Those that escaped to the continent often joined armies of different countries

who supported James II or found success in business on mainland Europe.

Jacobite families raised their children to support the House of Stuart and often married their children into other Jacobite families. Women, mainly, took an active role in raising their children to have strong ties to the House of Stuart. Jacobite sons, daughters, grandsons, and granddaughters supported James Francis Edward Stuart, James III of England and VIII of Scotland, following the death of his father James II in 1701. James III's son, Charles Edward Stuart, who was known as Bonnie Prince Charlie, would attempt to unite the clans for a final attempt to restore his father's throne in the last uprising on Scottish soil in 1745. Jacobite women raised their families to support the Stuart Dynasty. In addition, many involved themselves in court intrigue, secret political groups, planning restoration attempts, and espionage to restore the throne. James II, James III, and Prince Charles understood the importance of women's involvement, as they were less suspect of any conspiracy due to the expectations of gender roles. The Jacobite rebellions realized setbacks and successes, but never ultimate defeat until the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The involvement of women in the Stuart cause, fighting off the battlefield, helped the Stuart restoration campaign succeed and move forward through its many attempts to reclaim the throne.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, expectations for women consisted of marrying into a family of their father's or head-of-

household's choosing, then move to their husband's home (who held complete control over their lives), provide heirs for their spouses, and raise their children.¹⁰ Nevertheless, women of different social standing broke convention to support the Stuarts, a cause they strongly supported. Openly supporting James II, James III, or Prince Charles was a serious charge for men, women, or the family unit as a whole. Female contributions to the Stuart restoration continued for a century but did not come without sacrifices. If uncovered, women faced a ruined reputation, deportation to the Americas or the Caribbean, execution, imprisonment, or exile. This forced them to live outside the traditional roles of wife and mother.

Women participated in different roles, including the adventure of politics, duty, religion, loyalty to the House of Stuart, and national pride. Jacobitism was a way of life, an unwavering commitment to the Stuart Restoration. Without the great Jacobite heroines' participation around tea-tables, at royal courts, following army campaigns, and in bedrooms, the Stuart cause would have been less successful. Women such as Lady Eleanor Oglethorpe and Lady Margaret Nairne realized equality equal to men. They built this on a foundation of duty and the gift of influence, which maintained the momentum against the Hanoverian government for a century.

Oglethorpe Women: 1689–1745

A prime example of one loyal family that remained by James II's side is the Oglethorpe fam-

ily from Yorkshire, whose women outshined the men in the active participation in all Jacobite Rebellions. Eleanor Wall married Theophilus Oglethorpe; she was Irish Catholic and served Charles II's mistress, Louise de Querailles, Duchess of Portsmouth.¹¹ Eleanor's loyalty to the Stuarts was beyond mere religious affiliation, and she was a faithful supporter of James II as she held service in the King's household. Both King James and his wife Queen Mary trusted Eleanor to such an extent that they asked her to keep some of the Queen's diamonds during the Glorious revolution of 1688. She later traveled to the King's court at St. Germain, France, and returned them.¹² While attempting to restore his throne from William III, James II found less support than he had anticipated during his rising of 1689. Nevertheless, Elenore provided assistance by transporting intelligence to her husband, stationed in Ireland, who held command of some of the King's troops. Eleanor and her husband were very active in James II's court before the Glorious Revolution and managed to purchase a home, Westbrook Place, in 1688.¹³ The Oglethorpe house became the staging area for the plot of the rising in 1689 since it contained a "secret passage" for private meetings and provided a safe haven for hiding.¹⁴ During the 1689 uprising, the government considered both Eleanor and Theophilus a threat and ordered their arrest. In February 1690, Hanover soldiers captured Eleanor while attempting to deliver messages to Ireland for King James II.¹⁵ The Hanoverian government released her shortly after her

arrest, and she returned home; what they wanted was to find her husband, Theophilus, who remained hidden for over a year, and probably hid part of the time at Westbrook Place in the secret passage.¹⁶ The secret passage had a tunnel running from the house to a building in the nearby village called the "King's Arm."¹⁷ Jacobites used the tunnel to pass along messages or hide from government men. Following the arrest of both Eleanor and Theophilus, the Oglethorpes used the tunnel to escape to France. There, they spent a few years in service to James II at his court in St. Germain. In 1696, the Oglethorpes returned to England, but they left two of their daughters, Anne and Eleanor, in France with James's wife, Queen Mary of Modena. These two girls would become known as the "Barker Sisters." They continued the efforts to restore the Stuart throne their entire lives.¹⁸

Under the pretext of visiting her daughters, Lady Elenore continued her Jacobite activities. Before James II died in 1701, he trusted her to carry one final letter to his daughter, Princess Anne, in England. James II believed that Anne's half-brother, James III, was the legitimate heir to the throne, and he requested that she use her influence to help him.¹⁹ Although Princess Anne was sympathetic to her brother's plight, she was unwilling to hand over the throne to a Catholic monarch; she became Queen upon the death of her brother-in-law William III in 1702.²⁰ During her reign, she declared the Act of Union in 1707, uniting Scotland and England as one country—Great Britain.²¹ Upon her death in 1714, the Whig Party hastily

enforced the Acts of Settlement proclaimed by William III of Orange, which prevented any Catholic from inheriting the throne of Great Britain, and placed Queen Anne's cousin, George I, on the throne.²²

Lady Eleanor continued her support to the Stuarts until her death in 1732. She ran Westbrook Place as a Jacobite underground, arranging political Jacobite marriages for three of her daughters to the French royal family, and provided strict guidance in her children's roles to restore the throne to the Stuart Dynasty.²³ There were at least seven separate uprisings from the course of 1688 to 1745. But the real battles took place in parlors, bedrooms, and public places. Women were superior to men for carrying messages and gaining secrets because women were considered inferior in intelligence to men. Women were easier to use since they were less suspected of political involvement. Such was the case when young Eleanor married a French Jacobite distantly related to the French Royal family and became Madame de Mezieres. She was notoriously known in the French court for gathering intelligence for both the French and Jacobite interest. As such, she remained part of the inner Jacobite circle, the same as her mother.²⁴ She led an active role as advisor to James III at his French court in St. Germain and arranged a political marriage for her daughter to the Prince de Lignes. Once James III lost interest in restoring his crown following the failure of the rebellion in 1715—lost before James could land in Scotland—the Oglethorpe women turned their

support to the young Prince Charles. Prince Charles returned to France and requested the assistance of King Louis XV's minister of finance to help him restore the Stuart line to the throne. One minister, the Duc de Richelieu, favored Charles because he had powerful female supporters, including two of Louis XV's "mistresses the Duchess de Chateauroux and Madame de Pompadour, and Madame de Mezieres, that indefatigable Jacobite plotter."²⁵ The young Eleanor continued to plot for the Stuart cause long after the 1745 uprising. She wrote the Prince a letter in May 1759 and begged him to approach the French once again to support him in a new campaign in England.²⁶ The letter shows the depth of loyalty the Oglethorpe women provided to the House of Stuart, which continued throughout the generations. Eleanor wrote, "All my ancestors have given marks of their zeal to Your majesty's august house; their blood runs in my veins, and I have always sought the opportunity to prove it."²⁷

Unlike her sister Eleanor, Mistress Anne Oglethorpe loved adventure and excitement. She used several aliases, such as Mrs. Worthy and Mrs. Fidelia. Anne chose an unconventional lifestyle and opted to become the mistress of England's Secretary of State, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, the minister to Queen Anne of England. Anne met Harley in 1704 when Hanoverians intercepted the boat she was traveling on from France to England. The Hanoverians questioned Anne and the other passengers and searched for Jacobite plans. Anne used her beauty and flirtation to pit Robert Harley, the Sec-

retary of State, and the Lord Treasurer, Sidney Godolphin, against each other. Finally, Harley believed he won her attention when he allowed her release and the continuation of her mission. When she arrived at her home, Westbrook, in England, she safely delivered the crucial messages from St Germain, where the King's court was held. She found herself before Harley again in 1707 when Frances Shaftoe, a servant, accused both Oglethorpe women of kidnapping her. The servant accused them of taking her to France to convert her to Catholicism, which failed.²⁸

Hired by the Oglethorpes in 1699, Frances Shaftoe claimed she overheard a secret conversation between Anne and Eleanor.²⁹ During the conversation, Anne had confided that James II's infant son died at five- to six-weeks-old of convulsions.³⁰ And upon receiving the news of the royal heir's death, Lady Eleanor Oglethorpe rushed to England with her newborn son to switch King's the dead baby boy for her living son.³¹ With this news, Court gossip and Whig propaganda claimed the infant son to be a pretender, the son of Theophilus and Eleanor Oglethorpe, instead of the true Stuart heir. The scandal over James III's legitimacy continued his entire life and earning him the nickname, The Old Pretender.³² Even though the episode was vexing, Harley's interest in Anne grew, and she became his official mistress.³³ And with Jacobite flair, she employed the influence and power of her position in the realm of international diplomacy.³⁴ As such, Anne helped to arrange peace talks between France and Spain in the hopes of gaining Spanish

support for James III.³⁵

The Oglethorpes' participation in the Jacobite rebellions, particularly Lady Eleanor Oglethorpe, Madame de Mezieres, and Miss Anne Oglethorpe, included strong women, staunch in their families' belief in supporting a Stuart restoration. They supported James II, James III (the Old Pretender), and Prince Charles Stuart (the Young Pretender). Their involvement in reclaiming the throne of England, Ireland, and Scotland faced both failures and successes during the multiple uprisings that occurred between 1689–1745.

Nevertheless, their work within the Stuart inner circle was not their only contribution. The Meziereses bought several properties around Paris that provided accommodations for Jacobite families in exile. Furthermore, to support the Jacobite refugees she took in, Anne sold most of her possessions and ended up bankrupt. When James III became aware of Anne's hardship, he provided a pension for her. He genuinely appreciated her loyalty.³⁶ In thanks, Anne wrote to James III. "I have refused great profers of wealth and honor to be true to my principles To my dying day, I still should do the same... My great passion all my life always has been and always shall be your service and interest."³⁷

Lady Nairne and Lady Nithsdale: 1715

“Twenty-eight out of fifty” Highland clans rose behind the Earl of Mar in 1715 to

again bring about a Stuart restoration to the throne.³⁸ The support of the clan system for the House of Stuart affected men, women, and children alike. Although women continued their support, and had worked for the restoration of the House of Stuart since 1688, by 1715, there was a heightened participation of Scottish Noblewomen. Mar appreciated the work women continued to do in planning, spying, and gathering support for the cause. Still, he also became frustrated at times with pushy bold women and their squabbles.³⁹ Life was not easy for the noblewoman of the early eighteenth century, isolated on family estates; letters were their primary means of communication and companionship. The state of Scotland became divided by politics and religion. Still, women overcame those differences within the extended family or clan, by building friendships so strong that they named their children after each other.

Women of the eighteenth century contended with the raising of children, including childbirth and breastfeeding. Furthermore, running an estate often fell to the lady of the house, and chores, such as sewing, candle making, checking food stores, cleaning, laundry, and accounts were time-consuming. Women focused on strengthening their family's interests through marriages and friendships. Even so, women found time for personal interests, such as poetry, music, and reading, all within the realm of gender acceptance for women. Personal letters provide an insight into daily life and the expectations of women; they also included their political interests in the state of affairs. Politics

was a man's business. Women lived in the social parameter, but Lady Nairne chose to overstep those boundaries.⁴⁰ Women, like men, had a strong national identity in eighteenth century Scotland, and Lady Nairne had great pride as a Scot and a Jacobite.⁴¹

Lady Nairne spent years building a network of contacts, often from favors she gained during her political endeavors. For example, in correspondence with John Campbell, the Earl of Breadalbane, Lady Nairne shared plans she had drawn up to update her home, and that she wished to purchase slate from Breadalbane mines. Interwoven in her correspondence were political opinions, and invites to see progress on her home.⁴² Lady Nairne's invitations were more of a political nature than sharing her home's progress.⁴³ Most letters were written as direct communication from Lady Nairne, but she often used her husband's sickness as an excuse to write correspondence for him. Lady Nairne communicated for her husband frequently to remain involved in the Jacobite political circles.⁴⁴ *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask* is a book written by T. L. Kington Oliphant, which contains several letters and records from the Oliphants of Gask, including a letter from the Earl of Mar to the Lady Nairne.⁴⁵ In his letter dated October 23, 1715, Mar explains the state of the current army positions, including horse and foot brigades. Mar requested "a copie of the paper tonight" from Lady Nairne and wishes her "a good, quick, & safe journie."⁴⁶ Lady Nairne used her political pull and that of her husband's, as he held command in Mar's upcoming ex-



Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale (d. 1749), wife of the 5th Earl of Nithsdale
Portrait of woman, sitting outside, with scenery in background, hand on a small
dog from the National Library of Scotland. Blaikie.SNPG.16.16.

petition, to support the King over the water.

Lady Nairne had an uncanny way of getting men to do her bidding. In doing so, she earned the disapproval of her relatives. Her brother-in-law, the Duke of Atholl, wrote in a letter to Lord James Murray, “I hope you will have as little to do with my Lady Nairne as possible, for there cannot be a worse woman. I inpute the ruine of my 3 sons to her artifices,” which clearly expresses

the influence Margaret Nairne had on those around her.⁴⁷ The Duke of Atholl communicated to the Majesty’s Magistrates of a possible and planned return of the Pretender, James III, in 1714, raising men to defend against a Jacobite rising.⁴⁸ Atholl’s sons, on the other hand, sided with the Jacobites and fought in the 1715 uprising against his wishes.⁴⁹

Lady Nairne continued her part to restore the Stuart Dynasty until her



Margaret, Lady Nairne from "A Military History of Perthshire" p. 313 Portrait of woman seated, with long light coloured hair from the National Library of Scotland, Blaikie.SNPG.16.11.

death. She instilled in her children and grandchild the Jacobite spirit, and duty to the Stuart cause. And indeed, they became involved and sided with the Jacobites during the 1745 uprising when Bonnie Prince Charles landed in Scotland.⁵⁰ Lady Nairne entertained Bonnie Prince Charles before the 1745 rebellion, suggesting her life-long commitment and her family's loyalty to the House of Stuart.⁵¹ At the age of seventy-three, two years before her death, she

commanded men from her bed during the 1745 uprising in support of the young Stuart.⁵² She continued to guide her children and grandchildren in actions and decisions for the cause. Several of her children and grandchildren played a significant part in the 1745 rebellion, supporting Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Lady Nairne found Jacobite marriages for her children, which was of great importance to the King over the water.

James III was quite concerned with the number of his supporters marrying into non-Jacobite families. He became active in political marriages well before the 1715 uprising. One match he encouraged was Winifred Herbert and William Maxwell, 5th Earl of Nithsdale. Lady Nithsdale was the daughter of William Herbert, the 1st Marquess of Powis, who was responsible for securing the safe arrival of the infant James III and his mother to France during the 1689 rebellion. The Herberts lived at James II's French court in exile. Winifred, raised as a devout Roman Catholic and in service to the Stuarts, would never have questioned or refused her King and family's wishes of a husband. With strong Jacobite matches, James was more secure in holding his supporters together. Lady Winifred was a good wife and mother, supporting her husband when he openly declared for James III in 1715.

Lord Nithsdale knew the price if they failed; his family would be exiled, his lands forfeited, and his name extinct.⁵³ Fail they did; Nithsdale and several other Jacobites were captured at Preston by government troops, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death.⁵⁴ Lady Nithsdale, the dutiful wife and submissive supporter, fought for the one thing she could not lose—her husband. Winifred did not actively participate in the uprising for the Stuarts, but helped her husband escape from the Tower of London the night before the scheduled execution. They fled to Rome, where James III held his court and raised their children to be firm supporters of the House of Stuart. Lat-

er, their children would support Prince Charles, son of James III, in the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Lady Nithsdale's actions in England made her famous and a great heroine of the '15 rebellion, but it was the consequences of her decisions and exile at Rome that led to her most significant contribution to the cause.

In Rome, Lady Nithsdale witnessed the birth of Prince Charles Stuart and given charge over the young Prince Charles, and his brother Henry when he was born in 1725.⁵⁵ Charles's upbringing included the belief in the divine rights of kings, meaning that the Stuarts were the rightful heirs to the throne. By age six, he could read, write, and speak several languages. With expectations of succeeding his father, Charles's upbringing was full of masculine contact from the age of four. As his governess, Lady Nithsdale was the only female contact in Charles's life.⁵⁶ Lord Nithsdale managed Clementina's household, James III's wife. The two young princes' households were kept separate.⁵⁷ As such, Queen Clementina did not have any control over her older son's upbringing or any contact with him. Lady Nithsdale raised the future heir and leader in the final campaign of the Jacobite Rebellions to restore the exiled Stuart Dynasty.

Lady Nithsdale and Lady Nairne are a limited example of women's contributions to the Jacobite uprising of 1715. What these two ladies represented was a change from traditional roles or expectations of women to a more modern approach to equality within boundaries. Except Jacobite, women needed no

“vindication” to champion the Stuarts. They had the will of Jane Austen’s Elizabeth Bennet from *Pride and Prejudice*, but the soft heart of Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre*. Lady Nithsdale provides insight into the traditional expectations of women. Her husband was chosen for her; she supported his involvement in the 1715 uprising, accepted the consequences of Lord Nithsdale’s choices, and as a consequence, lived life in exile at the Stuart court in France. Lady Nairne, on the other hand, while traditional in her marriage, maintained a household, and provided her husband with children, broke the boundaries of propriety, and overstepped traditional gender roles concerning politics. Margaret Nairne set standards for younger generations of Jacobite women to follow in 1745, especially those in her family. What these two women shared in common was a devotion and loyalty to the House of Stuart, and they raised a family with the same faithfulness to the cause.

Jacobitism and Womanhood: 1745

Charles Edward Stuart was named Prince Regent by his father in 1743 and pursued the Jacobite cause to restore the throne of England, Ireland, and Scotland to the House of Stuart. He first went to France seeking support from the French government, then sailed to Scotland; he raised his standard on Monday August 19, 1745 at Glenfinnan.⁵⁸ Women supported Bonnie Prince Charles—often before their menfolk. The first woman to publicly show support to Charles was Jenny

Cameron of Glendessery.⁵⁹ Jenny Cameron is a prime example of the Jacobite propaganda wars, which began in 1688, claiming James III the pretender. Stories romanticized her as the mistress of Prince Charles, and a sword-wielding warrior that led men to the standard of Charles Stuart.

James Ray, a volunteer in the Duke of Cumberland’s Army, provided an English perspective of Jenny Cameron in his book of first-hand accounts, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion, from its first Rise, in 1745, to its total Suppression at the Glorious Battle of Culloden, in April 1746*.⁶⁰ Ray paints a colorful past of Jenny during her young womanhood years:

About fifteen years of age; but not putting a proper restraint on her inclination, a discovery came to light that she had carried on an amour, about six months, with one Sawney, a footman, who having formerly liv’d with a man of quality, had learn’d all the fashionable vices and follies of the gay part of town; this intrigue brought on its effects, and Miss began to be surpriz’d with an uncommon alteration to her health, and being ignorant of the cause, made application to her Aunt for advice, who, to her sorrow, knew the disease too well, but had the prudence not to discover it to Miss, she being resolv’d to find the author of this misfortune; and that very night let her into the secret;----- for Miss was unwarily caught in the arms of

Sawney;---- the news of which afflicted her Father in to affecting a manner, that he took to his bed, and died of grief in about eight days after.⁶¹

Ray uses this tidbit of gossip to insinuate more into the relationship between Jenny Cameron of Glendessery, and Prince Charles Stuart. He described her manner of dress, the horse she rode at the head of the Cameron force she raised for the Stuart army, and “instead of a whip, she carried a naked sword in her hand.”⁶² According to Ray, Charles spent many hours in the company of Jenny, calling her “Colonel Cameron” and would “caress her more than ordinary.”⁶³ Little is truly known about Jenny Cameron of Glendessery. Still, Ray wrote that Jenny “continued with the army ‘til they marched into England,” a false statement, as was his claim that Cumberlands men captured and imprisoned her at Edinburgh Castle in May of 1745.⁶⁴

Maggie Craig, the author of *Damn’ Rebel Bitches: The Women of the ‘45*, explained that the name Jenny Cameron was a popular name.⁶⁵ Craig’s investigation led to at least two different Jean or Jenny Camerons supporting Charles Stuart. Jenny Cameron of Glendessery would have been roughly forty-six years old at the time of the ‘45, and surely not a choice for a handsome young prince to choose for a mistress.⁶⁶ The Forbes Papers, included in the book, *The Lyon in Mourning, Vol. I* bolster the claim of Jenny’s Cameron’s age, stating, “Jeanie Cameron, as she is commonly though very improperly

called, for she is a widower nearer fifty than forty.”⁶⁷ Forbes also concludes that Jenny remained far removed from the marching army, and was instead among the spectators, not seeing the prince again until a ball held in Edinburgh.⁶⁸

The propaganda surrounding Jenny Cameron contains a few confirmed facts about this supposedly wild woman of the ‘45. First, her contribution to the cause was to gather three hundred Cameron men. She led them to the Prince’s standard at Glenfinnan and helped to increase the number of soldiers willing to fight under Prince Charles.⁶⁹ Her recruiting efforts provided an example for other women, such as Anne Mackintosh and Charlotte Robertson of Lude, the daughter of Lady Nairne. Considering Charles had only about thirteen hundred men who composed the Highland Army at his landing at Eriskay, women supporters were able to significantly increase his military numbers by the time he reached Edinburgh in October 1745 to over five thousand troops.⁷⁰ Second, in all the pictures posted in pamphlets and the accompanying literature, Jenny appears as a “Shameless Hussy” of the Prince or as a “warlike Amazon.”⁷¹

And just as in the eighteenth century, her identity remains a mystery. Finally, due to her puzzling character, authorities arrested a milliner named Jean or Jenny Cameron in Stirling for the elusive Jenny Cameron of Glendessery.⁷² Jenny supported Charles quietly and discreetly, but her reputation did not escape unscathed during the uprising. Although Jenny Cameron



Lady Mackintosh Portrait from waist up, in white dress with green robe around shoulder from the National Library of Scotland. Blaikie.SNPG.16.4.

remains a mystery, Lady Anne was well known.

Lady Anne Farquharson Mackintosh married Angus Mackintosh, chieftain of Clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan, a confederation of related clans.⁷³ Her husband was a commander in the Black Watch, which supported the Hanoverian government. Anne, raised as a Jacobite, defied the political role of her husband; she forcefully raised four hundred to eight hundred men from Clan Chattan members. Thus, she earned the

nickname “Colonel Anne.”⁷⁴ Although Anne did not lead men into battle, Whiggish propaganda proclaimed her as a pistol-toting, freakishly large Scots woman.⁷⁵

Anne acquired another nickname following the Rout of Moy, the Heroine.⁷⁶ While near Inverness, Prince Charles visited Anne’s home at Moy Hall. Inverness was still in English hands, and Anne’s husband held a command there. Informants made Anne and the Prince’s entourage aware that

fifteen hundred English troops, led by Lord Loudon, were approaching.⁷⁷ Anne responded. "Running about like a madwoman in her shift," she strategically placed a few men around the estate.⁷⁸ The night was stormy with thunder and lightning all about, as they ran from station to station firing guns and screaming war cries of the different clans. In this way, it appeared the entire Jacobite army was there.⁷⁹

Anne's ruse caused the English troops to flee while Prince Charles and his few troops hid beside Loch Moy. Cumberlands troops arrested Anne Mackintosh for assisting the Stuart cause, and she spent several weeks imprisoned with other Jacobite women. Authorities released her into the care of her mother-in-law. Shortly after the Rout of Moy, the Jacobite army captured Anne's husband, at which time Prince Charles released him into Anne's custody. Upon greeting each other, Anne said, "Your servant, Captain," which he replied, "Your servant, Colonel."⁸⁰

Not to be outdone in raising troops for Bonnie Prince Charles, Lady Lude, Charlotte Robertson, daughter of Lady Nairn, gathered many of the one thousand men of the Atholl Brigade under Lord George.⁸¹ Lady Lude used violence to bully her tenants into joining the cause. She would burn them out of their homes if they refused to accede to the Prince's troops. If they went missing, Lady Lude had them hunted down and forced them to pay the price in monies for their lives.⁸² In addition to her recruiting efforts for the Jacobite army, she played other significant roles

during the '45 uprising. William, Duke of Atholl, a Jacobite riding with the Prince's army, sent a message to Charlotte, his cousin, requesting she prepare his home, Blair Castle, for the Prince's arrival.⁸³ She planned dinner and dancing for Charles and his entourage. A few days later, she offered the same hospitality at her home at Lude.⁸⁴ Often overlooked, hospitality was an essential moral builder; women made significant contributions by providing a soft bed, exotic meals, and entertainment to weary, hungry men on the march.

Lady Lude did not escape punishment for her part in the Jacobite rebellion. Government soldiers arrested her for treason near the end of January 1746 and imprisoned her at Blair Castle.⁸⁵ Many of the men and families she bullied into following the Prince turned evidence on her as a sort of payback. The Privy Council motioned to prosecute Lady Lude and her mother, Lady Nairne.⁸⁶ Lady Nairne's efforts to make strong Jacobite matches for her children and grandchildren provided her with extensive contacts, which she used to plead for her daughter's life. In this way, she wrote to her nephew, a Hanoverian supporter, James, Duke of Atholl, asking for leniency for Lady Lude, since she was "a weak, insignificant woman."⁸⁷ Both women eluded indictment from the Hanoverian government.

The tea table sisterhood showed support in a less flamboyant manner. Because parlors were not common in the mid-eighteenth-century, women gathered in their bedrooms to entertain or shared information around tea

tables. Tea and gossip were all the rage. During these conversations, they discussed the Young Chevalier, Prince Charles Stuart. Sermons given at their churches promoted rebel support and the opportunity to attend Jacobite Universities, such as the University of Glasgow, where evening classes consisted of the “rights of citizens” and “duty to rebel,” which further fueled the sisterhood.⁸⁸ The support the tea table sisterhood provided was no less significant than the major heroines, such as Flora McDonald of the ‘45. These traditional women raised massive amounts of money to support Charles’s army, often selling valuables, such as their jewels and silver, for the cause. They would tend to the wounded following a battle and proudly wear tartan and the White Cockade to outwardly show their support. Many younger women continued to flaunt the tartan following the loss on Culloden Moor; consequently, government soldiers arrested them on sight for instigating a Jacobite riot.

The most important role of tea table Jacobites was their influence at home. The eighteenth-century woman maintained “a woman’s touch” to influence her husband in thought and actions, as was her duty. One example of influence at home came from Isabel Haldane, the wife of Charles Stewart of Ardsheal—the Stewarts of Appin. Upon the arrival of Bonnie Prince Charles, she shamed her husband’s support by handing him her apron while saying, “Charles if you are not willing to be the commander of the Appin men, stay home and take care of the house, and I will go and command them myself.”⁸⁹

By 1745, the Jacobites had had several failures, such as the 1715 uprising led by the Duke of Mars and the Spanish attempt, so most clans would not openly declare their support for the Stuart cause. Most men and clan chieftains had lost heart in the fight and were content to sit on the fence rather than commit themselves to action and risk another failure. Nevertheless, Jacobite women rallied and generated the support of their menfolk by bullying or whatever means were at hand.

It is unknown if Isabel regretted her words and the influence she had on her husband; she faced hardship and fled into exile in France following the Battle of Culloden. Although her husband escaped and hid in a small cave near their home, known as Ardsheal’s Cave, he eventually had to flee the country when government men enhanced their search for all Jacobites.⁹⁰ Government soldiers sacked Isabel’s house. With her ability to feed her young children stolen from her by Cumberland’s men, and the fear of reprisals, she fled into the snow with her newborn infant and five small children.⁹¹ She avoided the English army by moving from hut to hut until she could obtain passage to join her husband in France. The couple settled in Sens, in Champagne, France, for the rest of their days.⁹²

The most famous heroine of the final rebellion was Flora MacDonald. Raised as a stout Jacobite, she was the last hope to secure the safety and escape of Charles Edward Stuart from Scotland following the defeat of the Jacobite forces at Culloden. Her act of bravery included dressing the Prince as her maid,

named Betty Burke, in which she was able to help the Prince get to the Isle of Skye from the mainland of Scotland. Flora's statement described the escape, the disguise Charles used, and where he stayed along the way.⁹³ On "about the 21st of June, O'Neil, or as they call him Nelson, came to where she stay'd, & proposed to her, that as he heard she was going to Skye, that the young Pretender should go with her."⁹⁴ According to Allan R. MacDonald, author of *The Truth About Flora MacDonald*, the plan to dress the Prince as a woman, and Flora's part in the escape, was her step-father's idea, Captain Hugh MacDonald.⁹⁵ Forbes confirmed Captain MacDonald's role as "the grand contriver in laying and executing the scheme for the Prince's escape in women's cloaths from the Long Isle to the Isle of Skye."⁹⁶ The English captured Flora MacDonald in Sleat on July 12, 1746, and kept her imprisoned thereafter until her release in July 1747. She returned to Skye on August 2.⁹⁷

From Skye, Charles boarded a ship destined to France and safety. Due to his brother's position as Cardinal, in Rome, Charles could not attempt another invasion. And restraints from the Catholic church would prevent all chances for a Stuart restoration. Thus, his supporters faced exile, imprisonment, forfeiture of lands, deportation, and execution. The government outlawed the Scottish clan system, and the Scots assimilated to the Act of Union. Jacobitism ended with the death of Charles Stuart in 1788, a century after the Glorious Revolution.

Although many of the women documented in this research are well known in Jacobite history, they were treated according to their class status. Flora MacDonald, Anne MacIntosh, and Jenny Cameron belonged to the nobility class and obtained privilege allotted to their social status. The lower class or commoner women suffered extreme hardships and cruelty for any suspected Jacobite activities or sympathies. Anne Mackay serves as a good example. She stayed in a letted house near Inverness following Culloden waiting for news of her husband's fate, who died in battle. She lived with her children ranging from less than a year old to seventeen years old, but the number of children is not recorded. Following the Battle of Culloden, the English captured two wounded men and housed them in the cellar below Anne's rented home.

Together with the aid of the great Lady Anne Mackintosh, Anne MacKay conceived a plan to help one wounded man escape, Robert Nairne. Nairne received judgment while held in the cellar for his actions as a Jacobite then sentenced as a traitor, which is punishable by death. Plans for his journey to London were made for his execution, but MacKay, according to plan, distracted the soldiers guarding the prisoners allowing Naire the opportunity to escape. Once the English discovered that Robert escaped, Anne suffered severe interrogations and torture for helping, who the English considered "an important prisoner."⁹⁸ Colonel Leighton of the Blakeley Regiment interrogated while forcing Anne to stand without food and water for three days. The treatment en-

dured caused severe leg swelling and had lasting health effects.⁹⁹ Following three days of torture and verbal abuse, Anne's sentence included eight hundred lashes administered throughout the town for her part in the escape. Several high-born women, including Lady Mackintosh, loudly objected to the punishment and saved her from the lashings.

Anne MacKay gained her freedom seven weeks later without the beating. Still, soldiers visited her house shortly after her release afterward, beating her seventeen-year-old son so severely that he died the three days following the horrible abuse.¹⁰⁰ Anne received help, and thanks, from Robert Nairne and his family, she received financial contributions to help raise and educate her fatherless children.¹⁰¹ Anne's story is just one of many Jacobite women's involvement in hiding men on the run or tending wounded Jacobite soldiers. The commoner woman risked rape for herself and her daughters, physical assault to her family, sacking and burning of her home, and even deportation without her family for the smallest act of kindness to any Jacobite. There is less documentation explaining the scope of brutality that the majority of the commoner class women suffered for their acts of service in support of Prince Charles. Although the noble class woman received more prestige for their acts during the Jacobite Rebellions, the commoner woman's participation was just as meaningful. They hid men fleeing Cumberland's wrath, tended wounded men after the battle, influenced their husbands to support the Prince, and re-

mained home and cared for their family as any woman of any class status.

Conclusion

There are many stories about the women who supported the House of Stuart, and much can be confirmed and written about the vivacious and courageous acts of Jacobite women. The majority of documentation available is from letters and memoirs of the upper-class women but much less on the commoner woman. Jacobite women felt a strong sense of national pride and honor to remain loyal to the cause. Jacobite women were the backbone of the Jacobite campaigns throughout the many failures and successes. The contributions of women, noble or commoner, along with the many roles they played from the Glorious Revolution in 1688 until the death of Prince Charles in 1788, provided a solid basis for duty, influence, and sacrifice equal to any man when supporting the Stuart Restoration.

Lady Eleanor and her daughters, Eleanor and Anne, felt strongly in their sense of duty and service to their king, James II. They devoted a lifetime of counsel to James II, his son James III, and his grandson Prince Charles. Lady Eleanor and Anne suffered arrest while carrying messages and information from the Stuart court in both France and later Rome. The young Eleanor and Anne, accused of kidnapping, did so to protect the interest of James III over his birthright. A high sense of duty motivated their actions more than many of the men Jacobites, who supported the

Stuarts restoration. James II understood the importance of female support, such as the Oglethorpe women, and found great loyalty and trust in them. James II's son and grandson followed his example in catering to the female Jacobites, using their ability to maneuver throughout many locations to transfer information to other Jacobites, listening to their counsel, and accepting different forms of support that women could offer.

The eighteenth century Jacobite lady maintained awareness of duty and influence expected of her, such as Lady Nairne, Lady Nithsdale, and Isabel Haldane, who each held significant influence over their families. Isabel influenced her husband to gather the Stewarts of Appin and fight with Prince Charles. Winifred Nithsdale would risk everything to rescue her husband from the Tower of London, live in exile, and become a governess to the Young Prince Charles and Prince Henry. Margaret Nairne held influence over her family, raising her children with strong Jacobite loyalty. Lady Nairne, in her seventies, ordered men to battle from her sickbed. Influence was a powerful weapon, and the Jacobite woman knew how to wield it better than a sword. Without women's influence, the support for the House of Stuart would have been far less than it was in the 1745 rebellion.

Women Jacobites fought on different battlefields than men during the Jacobite uprisings. Females battled at tea tables, at royal courts, in secret chambers, and at social gatherings. The bulk of the money raised for the campaign

came from women selling their jewelry and silver. With unwavering support for the Stuarts, women, such as Jean Cameron, Anne Mackintosh, and Lady Charlotte Lude, gathered men for the army to fight for Prince Charles. Women, such as in the Oglethorpe family, played roles in espionage and in planning international support for Stuart landings in Scotland of both the 1715 and 1745 rebellions. Women worked as a communication system throughout Scotland, England, and mainland Europe through letters to friends, family, and colleagues. Jacobite women were proud to support a cause they believed in, noble and commoner alike. Without women and their acts of service and heroism to the Stuart cause, the Jacobite cause would have fizzled out long before the final uprising of 1745.

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The Hitler Youth & Communism: The Impacts of a Brainwashed Generation in Post-War Politics in Eastern Germany

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ABSTRACT

The Hitler Youth was Hitler's attempt at securing the next generation of future military, political, and social leaders. The members of the Hitler Youth, both boys and girls, were conscripted from their families and forced into training camps. As World War II drew to a close, these indoctrinated and brainwashed youth were forced back into a society in turmoil. Following the fall of the Third Reich and the division of Germany between allied nations, these young boys and girls greatly impacted the spread and growth of communism in Eastern Germany, due to their political upheaval and involvement in new youth organizations such as the Free German Youth (FDJ).

Keywords: Hitler Youth, Communism, Nazism, Third Reich, Wandervogel, Hitler-Jugend, *Kinderlandverschickung*, Bund Deutscher Madel

Las Juventudes Hitlerianas y el comunismo: los impactos de una generación con lavado de cerebro en la política de posguerra en Alemania del Este

RESUMEN

Las Juventudes Hitlerianas fueron el intento de Hitler de asegurar la próxima generación de futuros líderes militares, políticos y sociales. Los miembros de las Juventudes Hitlerianas, tanto niños como niñas, fueron reclutados de sus familias y forzados a campos de entrenamiento. Cuando la Segunda Guerra Mundial llegó a su fin, estos jóvenes adoctrinados y con lavado de cerebro fueron obligados a volver a una sociedad en crisis. Después de la caída del Tercer Reich y la división de Alemania entre las naciones aliadas, estos jóvenes niños y niñas impactaron en gran medida la expansión y el crecimiento del comunismo en Alemania Oriental, debido a su agi-

tación política y participación en nuevas organizaciones juveniles como la Juventud Alemana Libre (FDJ)

Palabras clave: Juventudes Hitlerianas, comunismo, nazismo, Tercer Reich, *Wandervogel*, *Hitler-Jugend*, *Kinderlandverschickung*, *Bund Deutscher Madel*

希特勒青年团与共产主义：被洗脑的一代在战后东德政治中产生的影响

摘要

希特勒青年团曾是希特勒为确保下一代未来军事领袖、政治领袖和社会领袖所做的尝试。希特勒青年团成员包括男孩和女孩，他们从各自家庭中被招募并强制进入训练营。当二战接近尾声时，这些经过强行思想灌输和洗脑的青年被迫送回一个处于动荡之中的社会。随着纳粹德国的覆灭以及德国被联合国分区占领，这些青年男孩和女孩极大地影响了东德地区共产主义的传播与发展，这归因于他们所经历的政治动荡和参与新的青年组织，例如自由德国青年组织（FDJ）。

关键词：希特勒青年团，共产主义，纳粹主义，纳粹德国，漂鸟运动，*Hitler-Jugend*，儿童下乡（*Kinderlandverschickung*），德国少女联盟

For decades following the Second World War, a deep fascination is rooted in the awe, strength, and effects that the Hitler regime had on the world and on Germany. One commonly overlooked impact is the influence that the Third Reich had on its people, especially its younger generation. These children were members of Hitler's fanatical youth programs, which many viewed as Hitler's bedrock foundation. The group enabled his ability to redeploy rapidly and to replace lost soldiers and civilians

while forming his Reich. These brainwashed and assimilated young men and women were to form the next military and political leaders that would lead the Third Reich into the next millennia. What Hitler did not expect was that in the later years of the war, these young boys and girls would be all that was left to defend his fortress in Berlin. The Hitler Youth was a dark and complicated machine, rooted in propaganda and brainwashing methods. The indoctrination and training that took place in

the Hitler Youth from 1929 until 1945 affected young men and women for decades to come, and following the fall of Berlin in 1945, it was the Hitler Youth that led to increased communist ideals in Eastern and Western Germany.

The early beginnings of the Hitler Youth were not seen by the outside world; only citizens within Germany's borders were privy to its evolution. The organization of the Hitler Youth began in 1920 when Hitler approved the formation of a Youth League that would fall under part of the National Socialist Workers Party (NSDAP).¹ This new youth organization was based off an already established German youth group known as the *Wandervogel*.² This new youth group of the NSDAP had been slowly growing in its earlier years and was eventually banned in 1923 following the Beer Hall Putsch and Hitler's arrest.³ Hitler began running into issues because other youth groups were already formed and thriving in Germany, and the establishment of another youth group did not guarantee interest or membership. With the many social issues surrounding the NSDAP, many people were reluctant to let their children join. Hitler soon realized that desperate measures were needed that would force not only children to join the NSDAP youth organization, but would also coerce parents into accepting the idea and wanting their children to join. This change occurred following Hitler's release from prison in 1924.⁴ The NSDAP had grown exponentially upon Hitler's release, and following the publishing of *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), parents began to lean towards

Hitler's ideology, following his rise to control of Germany.

The first membership growth came when the first leader of the Nazi Youth Party, Gustav Lenk, urged the party newspaper to publish a "calling" or a demand for service.⁵ This publication, *Volkischer Beobachter*, was influential in convincing parents to allow their children to join and in showing children that their service was truly needed. The newspaper advertisement read:

We demand that the National Socialist Youth, and all other young Germans, irrespective of class or occupation, between fourteen and eighteen years of age, whose hearts are affected by the suffering and hardships afflicting the Fatherland, and who later desire to join the ranks of the fighters against the Jewish enemy, the sole originator of our present shame and suffering, enter the Youth League of the NSDAP.⁶

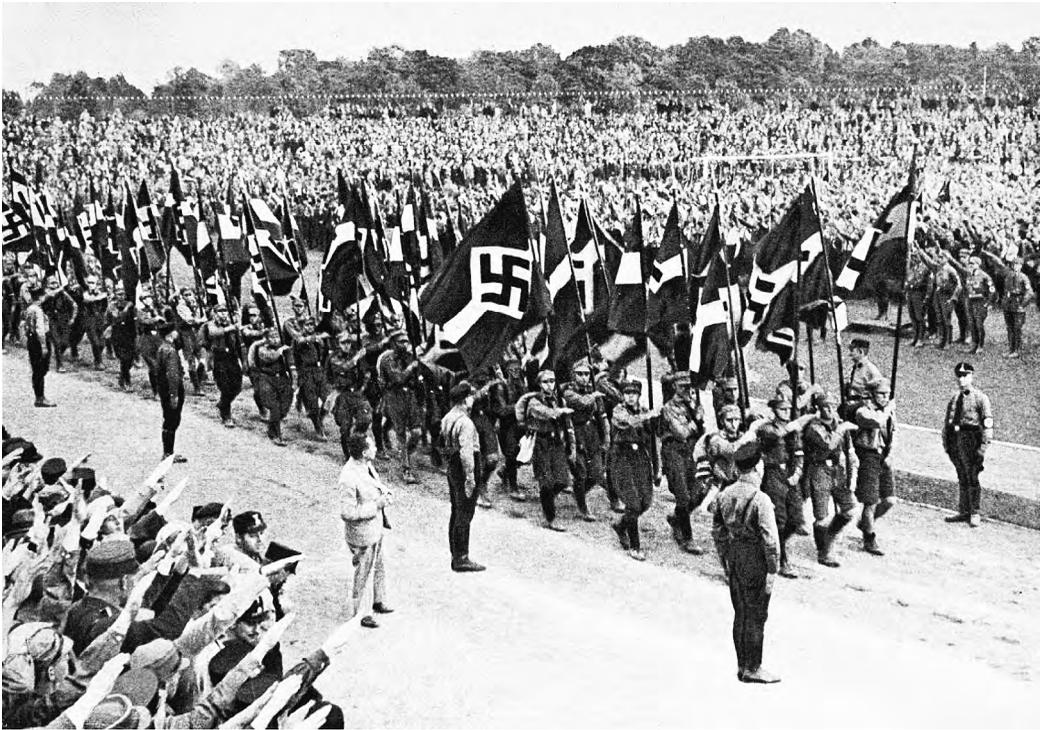
This calling soon sparked fire and motivation in the hearts and souls of young German boys and girls. These children felt that, after years of seeing their parents suffer due to economic decline and job loss, they would be able to make a difference, not only in their households, but also in the Third Reich. The early years of the Nazi Youth Party were paramount to the later success of the Hitler Youth. Following the growth of the party, Lenk published the first Nazi youth magazine, *National Jungstrom*. This new magazine failed, as it

was seen as a financial liability, and the *Volkischer Beobachter* was seen as adequate for party news and events. Lenk, although a motivated party member, eventually had a falling out and there was a disconnect between the NSDAP and Hitler.⁷ The issue between Lenk and Hitler arose when Lenk wanted to run the youth party the way he saw fit. Hitler wanted to be seen as the supreme leader, and he felt he maintained the final say in any party decisions or actions, regardless if it was a decision that affected the whole party or one that affected the Hitler Youth organizations. This disagreement was a turning point in the early years of the Hitler youth, as Kurt Gruber was brought in to replace Lenk.⁸ Gruber, even though he was technically not the group's first leader, was named so by Hitler during a July 4, 1926 party rally. Hitler had no issues proclaiming someone the "first leader," as it would force that person to be forever indebted to the title, as well as to the Fuhrer. This is also the same day that the Nazi Youth Party was transited to its official and well-known title today, the *Hitler-Jugend, Bund Deutscher Arbeiterjugend* (Hitler Youth, League of German Worker Youth).⁹

The Hitler Youth Party was not off to the magnifying growth that Hitler expected, but that would soon change as Gruber began to use his influence and leadership abilities. The first years of the Hitler Youth had a small membership of 1,000 members, but in 1925 that number swelled to a little over 5,000.¹⁰ By 1930, after only four years as party leader, Gruber had amassed a party membership of over 25,000.

While a significant achievement, it was small compared to when Hitler was named Chancellor and the numbers rose to 108,000.¹¹ Even though the efforts of Gruber were exceptional, he was criticized and chastised for his conflicts with other ranking members of the party. He felt his achievements and efforts were for his own held office, not a joy that should be carried by the entire Nazi Party or the Reich. One particular instance between himself and Ernst Rohm, an early leader of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), was a climax point in the youth party. Rohm felt that the Hitler Youth should be subordinated, with power being passed down by the SA, while Gruber felt the total opposite. The conflict between Gruber and Rohm, paired with the slow initial growth of the new Hitler Youth, forced Gruber's removal from power and saw the introduction of Baldur von Schirach.¹²

In 1929, the Hitler Youth was named as the only officially recognized youth group for the entire Nazi Party. This meant that if your parents were members of the party, then you as children were seen as members as well, or "guilty by association," as many children would soon find out. In July of 1930, the *Bund Deutscher Madel* (BDM), or the league of German Girls, was founded as a sister organization to the Hitler Youth. These early years of growth and innovation within the Hitler Youth were brought to a stop right before Hitler took power, as the German Weimar government temporarily banned the SA, the original storm troopers, and the Hitler Youth. This was eventually canceled when Hitler was named Chan-



Hitler Youth members marching at a Reich Youth Day rally in Potsdam, 1932. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of William O. McWorkman.

cellor of Germany in 1933.¹³ Hitler had been Chancellor for less than a year in December 1933 when the Hitler Youth membership reached 2.3 million.¹⁴ This growth is attributed to the impact of the Schulerbund, which provided a framework for “a sizeable contingent of respectable and well-educated high school students, and established a solidly bourgeois influence over the entire organization.”¹⁵

The Hitler Youth’s second main period of growth and innovation occurred from 1933 to 1939, when membership was mandatory and children began to be sent to work in support of their “fatherland.” The period from 1933 to 1939 was when most of the indoctrination and brainwashing took

place. The birth of leadership schools, training camps, and mandatory summer training saw a small organization, similar to the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts, transition into a borderline paramilitary organization. When Hitler was named Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, the exact size and intimidation factor of the Hitler Youth was yet to be realized. In only two short years, Hitler had managed to acquire dictator powers. To do this, he had to pass the Enabling Act through the already Nazi-controlled Reichstag in Berlin, which was an easy task. After doing this, Hitler gained total control over the country. The importance of this development during this period also meant all that official Nazi groups and memberships

now officially fell under the control of the German State.¹⁶ For the Hitler Youth specifically, this meant that the German state and German government could now fund and support the Hitler Youth as the national youth assembly and units. Considering that it was now, according to the law, the only youth organization in Germany, the funding was abundant and undeterred.

After Hitler had gained this unprecedented control over Germany, a period of immense changes occurred. This era was aimed to convert anything non-Nazi to Nazi and make the country and its people fill any voids in the party that were not yet filled. For instance, the German nation was not comprised of only Nazi party members, so this era became known as the “forced coordination” time.¹⁷ *Gleichschaltung*, as it would later be called, was seen as the standardization of all aspects of social and political life under the Third Reich’s umbrella and scope of influence. This period of “forced coordination” was a period of assimilation and standardization in which youth programs, economic stability, and social programs were all placed under Nazi control. If any organizations refused to become held under Nazi power, they were destroyed or disbanded by law or decree. Public agencies that agreed to come under Nazi rule were instantly taken under the umbrella of power and began to be controlled by the new government.¹⁸ The significance of this regarding the Hitler Youth was that all other youth groups and organizations in Germany were either disbanded or they fell under the control of the current Hitler

Youth leader Baldur von Schirach.¹⁹ This change in policy meant that the Hitler Youth now had no competition, and its ranks grew exponentially. Due to this change in policy, Schirach was able to eliminate over 400 other competing youth organizations throughout Germany.²⁰ This would later impact the post-war years and the children of Germany, as there were no alternatives and every child was a member. In the eyes of some children, since there was no other choice besides the Hitler Youth, then their only option was to assimilate with their peers and join. The banning of other youth organizations also resulting in “bullying,” policies in which current Hitler Youth members would bash and bully non-members until they joined out of a fear of belonging.

The methods that Schirach used to gain control over other youth organizations serve as an excellent glimpse into what the Hitler Youth would later become during the wartime period. In April of 1933, only a few months after Hitler took power, Schirach sent an estimated fifty current Hitler Youth members into the Reich’s Committee of German Youth Associations. This committee was a large organization that represented over six million young German boys and girls. These boys and girls were enrolled and involved in numerous organizations throughout Germany before the Nazi regime took power, and Schirach took them under the Nazi umbrella of influence. He used current Hitler Youth members to enforce the change of authority and hand-off of enrollment.²¹

The last significant change to take place for the Hitler Youth in 1933 was on June 17, when Hitler promoted Schirach to *Jugendführer des Deutschen Reiches* or Youth Leader of Germany.²² This position gave him the ability to answer to Hitler himself, and he was now also in charge of all youth activities in Germany. His first main decision under this new title was to completely dissolve the former Reich's Committee of German Youth Associations, as this committee was now useless and had no youth organizations under its control.²³

One main issue that struck the Hitler Youth during this time of reorganization and reconstruction was that many boys and girls came from other youth organizations that were dissolved in April, May, and June 1933. These new members could not adapt to and cope with the stress and demands of the new Hitler Youth groups and struggled to get up to speed with the already established members, concerning Nazi education, ideals, and physical abilities. The *Reichsführer*, or leadership schools, were established across Germany to help provide further assimilation training for these children.²⁴ These schools were roughly three weeks long and helped teach Nazi racial principles and ideals and German history and foundation and provided rigorous physical training and even weapons marksmanship.²⁵ By the end of August 1934, it was reported that over 12,000 youth leaders had attended these schools, as well as 24,000 *Jungvolk* members as well.²⁶ These schools would soon become the foundation for the "school-age" education that all Hitler Youth members

were provided. Following the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945, the educational levels of these children were low compared to the rest of the developed world. Formal education was replaced with military and Nazi teachings, not the educational skills that these children would need in order to flourish in a developing society. Following the proclamation of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 and reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936, new legislation and orders required all boys and girls aged ten to eighteen to join the Hitler Youth.²⁷ Following this law, roughly 90 percent of all German youth were members of the Hitler Youth or BDM.²⁸

Following the annexation of Austria in March of 1938, the threat of war was reaching its boiling point. Hitler had grown his empire, expanded its borders, and grew his military in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles. Alongside these significant changes, the Hitler Youth had also been born, established, and perfected. The anti-Semitic tendencies against the Jewish people had been growing since the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, and the issue of the Jewish question had been around since the early days of National Socialism. The impact that these two facts had on the Hitler Youth led to the events of November 9, 1938, in which the Hitler Youth carried out the attacks on Jewish shops, homes, and synagogues in what is now known as the *Kristallnacht*, or "Night of Broken Glass."²⁹ Over 267 synagogues were burned and destroyed and over 7,500 Jewish-owned business and establishments were damaged and burned.³⁰ Also during this night of Hit-

ler Youth-led violence, over 25,000 Jewish men and young boys were arrested and taken to concentration camps.³¹ Local Hitler Youth members were indoctrinated with Nazi ideas throughout their pre-war training, leadership schools, and average day-to-day Hitler Youth operations. They partook in the violence voluntarily and were never fully instructed to do so.³² The national sense of war, paired with the indoctrinated sense of “Aryan superiority,” led young boys and girls to commit acts of violence that at any other time they would have never considered.

By the end of 1939, following Hitler’s annexation of Czechoslovakia, Hitler Youth membership had swelled to over 7.5 million boys and girls.³³ On March 25, 1939, Hitler issued a new law that required all boys age ten and older to be in the Hitler Youth. Parents who disobeyed this law were told that they would be held accountable and that their children would be forcefully taken from them.³⁴

Only a few short months after the Nazis took control Paris, Artur Axmann took over the Hitler Youth from Schirach.³⁵ Axmann held the same ideals as Schirach and was highly trusted and loved by Hitler for his dedication to the Reich and the Nazi cause. Axmann would maintain his position as the leader of the Hitler Youth until Germany’s defeat in 1945.³⁶ As Hitler began to gain more territories under his control, the demands on the young women and girls in the BDM began to grow. Girls during this time were considered to have limited duties within the Reich, but the girls

in the BDM carried a separate and important role in Hitler’s eyes. These girls were assigned to care for wounded soldiers, work shifts in hospitals, help in schools, and even assist households that had large families and whose men were off fighting for the Reich.³⁷ After Hitler had declared victory over Poland at the start of the war, girls in the BDM, under the title of “Faith and Beauty,” were tasked with forcing native Poles from their homes and ensuring that their evictions went as planned.³⁸ This was the first instance in which the use of the BDM directly impacted the war efforts, and the goals, of the Third Reich.

In the fall of 1940, all Hitler youth boys aged ten and older were required under the new National Youth Directorate to participate in target practice, terrain navigation, movements, and advanced first aid training.³⁹ The new directorate also established the baseline foundation for organizational units within the Hitler Youth. These units followed a military order of leadership, and each branch was based on another branch of already established adult military service. The branches were Marine, Air, Motor, Signal, Patrol, and lastly Model Airplane.⁴⁰ In August of 1940, the training regiments of the Hitler Youth began to take a drastic turn. Hitler Youth members had been tasked with serving as assistants, or helpers, for Berlin’s flak guns, or anti-aircraft guns, but these were merely assistant jobs. However, with the increased bombing of the German capital, paired with the new youth directorate, these jobs became more permanent, and young Hitler Youth boys were beginning to train

with and become permanent members of flak teams.⁴¹

In May of 1942, the first *Weh-
rertüchtigungslager*, or Defense
Strengthening Camps, were built in
Germany and began operation.⁴² These
camps were built to provide three weeks
of training to Hitler Youth boys aged six-
teen to eighteen years old and acted as a
transitional stage between Hitler Youth
membership and Wehrmacht service.
These camps were organized and ran
by the Wehrmacht, which trained each
member on the proper use, care, and
handling of German infantry weapons,
including handguns, rifles, and even
panzerfausts, or German anti-tank
rockets.⁴³ These few weeks of training
were considered the necessary training
for Hitler Youth members before they
served in different branches of Nazi
Germany's armed services. Each train-
ing camp ended with a culmination ex-
ercise, or crucible, similar to war games,
in which each new soldier's skills would
be tested and evaluated.⁴⁴

The next camps to be established
in the Third Reich also had a drastic
impact on the war effort and the home
front. These new camps, known as
Kinderlandverschickung, or Hitler Youth
KLV, were initially formed in order to
be summer camps for children of work-
ing-class Nazi families.⁴⁵ As the war in
Europe progressed, these camps were
eventually turned into destinations for
displaced children. These children could
be sent to the camps if their homes were
destroyed, their parents were killed in
the war, or even if their parents were
just fighting in the war. From the peri-

od of 1940 to 1945, roughly 2.8 million
German children were sent to these
camps.⁴⁶ As the schools in each of these
children's hometowns were destroyed
by bombs or other methods of war de-
struction, parents had no choice but to
send their children away as their only
resort for grammar education. Little did
these parents know that conditions in
these camps were harsh at best and that
little formal education took place, as the
camps were meant to "act as a laborato-
ry for raising loyal Nazi Citizens."⁴⁷

Following the crushing Nazi de-
feat at Stalingrad in 1943, Hitler and
his military leaders were in desperate
need for able bodies to fight for his Re-
ich, and his only option was to look to
the Hitler Youth. A recruitment drive
was born, pulling thousands of seven-
teen-year-old volunteers into a new
unit in July and August 1943.⁴⁸ During
this period, over 10,000 young men had
volunteered to join this new unit. Little
did they know that this new unit would
be the Twelfth SS Panzer Division *Hit-
lerjugend*.⁴⁹ Alfons Heck, an *HJ Führer*
Member, joined during this recruit-
ment drive and obtained his training
in the winter of 1943. Heck described
his initial military training as being dif-
ferent from the standard Hitler Youth
training:

rifles were nothing new to us—
from the age of 10, we had been
instructed in small caliber weap-
ons—but this was different. We
spent most of the day on the
rifle range, handling the stan-
dard Wehrmacht carbine with
its sharp kick, as well as the 08

Pistol, the 9mm handgun our foes called the Luger. We also learned to throw live hand grenades and fire bazookas at dummy tanks. Finally, during the last two days of the course, we were introduced to the MG-41, a machine gun capable of firing 1000 rounds per minute.⁵⁰

By the spring of 1944, the Twelfth SS Panzer Division *Hitlerjugend* had completed their training in Belgium. Their first battle occurred after June 6, 1944, with the allied invasion of Normandy.⁵¹ The Twelfth SS Division was stationed at one of three reserve divisions that were emplaced to push back the allied advance once they had made landfall. As the allies advanced, the entire Hitler Youth group was overrun, as it lacked the leadership, training, and ability to hold back the advance. By the end of their first month in battle, over 60 percent of the HJ group, an estimated 12,000 soldiers, was physically unable to fight, and 20 percent, or 4,000 soldiers, were killed or missing in action.⁵² By September 1944, the concept of the Hitler Youth divisions had reached its end, as the Twelfth SS Panzer Division *Hitlerjugend's* ranks held 600 remaining survivors, with an estimated 9000 lost.⁵³

The final years of the war were plagued with Hitler's Project Werewolf and the *Volksturm*, or People's Army, which he hoped would help Germany fight to the end. In September 1944, the *Volksturm* formed under the command of Heinrich Himmler to fight for and defend the fatherland.⁵⁴ Every single non-disabled man from the age of six-

teen to sixty years old was forced to join and train on all weapons, including the tank-busting panzerfausts.⁵⁵

In February of 1945, Project Werewolf, also under the command of Heinrich Himmler, was organized to train young boys as spies and saboteurs.⁵⁶ The concept of Project Werewolf was to train elite members of the Hitler Youth as spies and advanced commandos in order to infiltrate and take advantage of enemy lines.⁵⁷ The training programs instituted by Project Werewolf taught young Hitler Youth members how to conduct sabotage using tins of Heinz Oxtail Soup and garments comprised of Nipolit explosives.⁵⁸ The majority of these elite members did not receive adequate training and were captured or killed before they were ever able to carry out their missions. As the war drew to a close, and the allied advance towards Berlin was realized, Hitler retreated to his bunker while young boys and old men defended his beloved city. Hitler eventually committed suicide on April 30, 1945, shortly after awarding young Hitler Youth members the Iron Cross for defending Berlin. Soon after Hitler committed suicide, the former Hitler youth leaders, Baldur von Schirach and Artur Axmann, abandoned their Hitler Youth members and fled from the allies, attempting to avoid prosecution. As the war drew to a close, thousands of young boys, girls, men, and women were abandoned by everyone and everything they thought they were fighting for. Project Werewolf by the end of the war saw the assassinations of the mayors of Aachen and Krankenhagen.⁵⁹

The Hitler Youth started as a positive influence on German children and evolved into a machine of military training, propaganda, and forced cooperation. As Germany began to rebuild after defeat, these children were forced back into society, the majority as seasoned soldiers, and most barely old enough to read and write. The real question remains, what happened to these young men and women as the war drew to an end? Many were left without parents, a home, or means to provide for themselves. As the Allies drove into Berlin and Germany was split into an Eastern and Western Zones, the training and indoctrination that the members of the Hitler Youth had gained were now used to enact underground political groups and clandestine operations that would affect the growth of communism in various post-war zones of Allied occupation.

After the collapse of the Third Reich, the years of occupation and forced denazification that took place all over post-war Germany proved to be far more difficult than the allied forces had initially thought. The attempts to bring Nazi leaders to trial for their war crimes and their crimes against humanity continued for decades, and some even to this day. The children of the Hitler Youth were still children, at best young adults, when Germany fell to the Allies. They were not seen as “military leaders,” or even “soldiers,” since their roles in military operations or political rallies were seen as more symbolic than necessary. Many allied leaders argued that the use of children by Hitler in order to defend his Berlin Fortress

was a last-ditch effort, and the children fighting indeed were of no harm. Little did these children realize that as the occupation continued in the late 1940s, mainly from 1946 until 1949, former Hitler Youth members would cause turmoil not only in post-war Berlin, but more importantly, in Eastern Germany.

The fall of Berlin and the subsequent fall of the Third Reich and Nazi Germany left hundreds of thousands of Hitler Youth members without homes and without families to return to. Their homes were destroyed or their parents were killed during the war, or for most, both. The Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany (SBZ) was comprised of a population of hundreds of thousands of East German children who were former members of the Hitler Youth or BDM.⁶⁰ Following the collapse of Nazi power, the Hitler Youth was in shambles, lacked all significant leadership, and was later banned from existing under policies, laws, and jurisdictions by the allied occupation forces. These former youth members steadily transitioned from the Hitler Youth or BDM into the new youth movement in East Germany known as the Free German Youth (FDJ).⁶¹ This transition from “brown shirts” to “blue shirts” is considered by historians to have played a pivotal role in the construction of the communist state in East Germany, rising from the very children who once fought for the failed Nazi State.

The collapse of the Hitler Youth and the growth of the FDJ were not as streamlined and peaceful as many would believe. Many firsthand accounts state

that the transition “appear[ed] to have been a remarkably trouble-free process, but in reality, refusal to assimilate or join was met with conflict from numerous diverging political groups.”⁶² Many past Hitler Youth members refused to join the FDJ, since their former youth leaders in the Hitler Youth held leadership roles in the new organization. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) formed in April 1946 from the merger of the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD) and the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD).⁶³ The SED viewed the FDJ as a “‘ideological mish-mash’ housing ‘the same rabble’” as the Hitler Youth.⁶⁴ The issues that faced a post-war Germany and the impact that the indoctrinated Hitler Youth had on post-war politics stem from two major themes of the time. The denazification process aimed to reeducate and purge the four main occupied zones during the late 1940s, also known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or the attempt to overcome the shameful Nazi past in the West after 1945.⁶⁵ The issues that surrounded the Hitler Youth and the FDJ were more prominent in Eastern Germany but were not present in Western Germany; many historians argue that a difference in political and social occupation, due to the division of occupied zones, is mainly to blame for this shift in historical perspective.

The years 1945 to 1947 saw a drastic transformation in the process and policies that surrounded East German youth. The Nazi Regime, as a whole, was drastically anti-communist. The reverse migration of communists that occurred in the spring of 1945 forced the East

German population, which was in ruins from the Nazi defeat, to rebuild upon a foundation that was mainly based in communism. This forced the youth to adapt and transition in order to become functioning and successful members of a post-war society. The former children and youth looked back with pride and respect at the accomplishments that the FDJ and other youth communist groups made during this time. The Niethammer project of the 1980s and the Institute for Contemporary Youth Research (IzJ), a project of the 1990s, found that interviewed past members were proud of and ecstatic toward their contributions to the post-war rebuilding in the late 1940s.⁶⁶ According to mindset of this youth, their hard work and political “conformity and assimilation” enabled a crushed nation to rebuild, forming a relationship between the communist leadership and the entirety of the Hitler Youth Generation.⁶⁷ With that being said, “the incorporation of so many ex-HJ and ex-BDM members into the GDR (German Democratic Republic) party and state apparatus, including the FDJ, can be regarded as a success, one first made possible by the collective amnesty granted to the Hitler Youth generation in the autumn of 1945.”⁶⁸ The assimilation of post-war German Youth into the new political organizations, with their communist tendencies, was not overshadowed by the understood impacts that the Hitler Youth had on the early post-war years in East Germany, especially concerning Project Werewolf.

In post-war Eastern Germany, the acceptance of prior Hitler Youth members into new political factions

was not the only impact that Hitler Youth members had on rebuilding. In order to paint a more vivid picture of post-war life and operations in East Germany, the exploration of Henrich Himmler's "Werewolf Soldiers" is required, as is an understanding of the impacts that these young soldiers had on the social, political, and economic lifestyle of East Germany. After Germany was defeated in May 1945, the Werewolf Militia groups, which on average were comprised of three to six men, refused to give up.⁶⁹ Werewolf groups were still in operation as late as October 1945; even as late as February 1947, a small group was defeated by a Polish-led militia.⁷⁰ Werewolf groups had two significant impacts on post-war Eastern Germany and on the spread of communism. First, they continued promulgating pro-Nazi ideas, frequently raiding towns and villages and carving swastikas and other symbols onto commonly seen landmarks.⁷¹ Second, their reluctance slowed down the spread of communism, as the war of the past had not entirely ended, and political opinion on the defeat of Nazism continued to swing back and forth.

Some Hitler Youth at the end of the war refused to abandon the training they had received. The political landscape of post-war Europe held a lot of resentment and unsettled feelings. The forceful push of communism from the east paired with the force of democratic ideas from the west plunged Germany into turmoil. The construction of the Berlin Wall set a permanent foundation that impacted the European sector for decades to come. Germany was soon

seen as a tumultuous area, a nation state with differing political ideas and social feelings. The division of Germany played a major role in the increased feelings of the Hitler Youth, and the growth of the FDJ. If Germany had not been divided, then the political mismatch between the Western zones, occupied by the United States and Great Britain, and the Eastern Zones, occupied by the Soviet Union, could have easily resulted in another war. The former Hitler Youth members saw this political division as a time to take charge for Germany, the failed Reich, and their fatherland.

In conclusion, boys and girls formerly in the Hitler Youth and BDM played a drastic role in the growth, spread, and acceptance of communism in post-war Eastern Germany. The indoctrination and training that took place in the Hitler Youth from 1929 until 1945 affected young men and women permanently for decades to come. Following the collapse of Berlin in 1945, it was the Hitler Youth that led to increased communist ideals in Eastern and Western Germany. Former Nazi youth members were able to add fuel to the fire of communism and continued to adjust and assimilate their training and ideals into the newly formed alliances of the FDJ. Finally, by continuing to act in Werewolf groups, which wreaked havoc across Eastern Europe, they carried out assassinations, looted, and continued to force Nazi ideas on people who were trying to let go of the past. The Hitler Youth acted as a catalyst on numerous fronts, at times helping communism, and at other times halting the advance of progress entirely.

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The Effects of the Bolshevik Revolution Of 1917: A Case Study

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ABSTRACT

The Bolshevik Revolution was the product of combined pressures of starvation, oppression, and the Romanov family's reactive policies during World War I. The Revolution became a source of inspiration, both domestically and internationally. However, while pre- and post-revolutionary Russia have often been explored in terms of social and political change, seldom answered is the question of whether the Bolshevik Revolution lived up to its promises. This paper examines pre-existing case studies in conjunction with original Tsarist- and Soviet-era documents to provide a simple before-and-after comparison of property rights, agricultural and industrial production, infrastructure, education, and healthcare as related to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Keywords: Bolshevik, Lenin, Stalin, Revolution, Brest-Litovsk, Ly-senko, vernalization, famine, Commissariat, Cold War, New Economic Policy, Nobles' Land Bank, Peasants' Land Bank

Los efectos de la revolución bolchevique de 1917: un estudio de caso

RESUMEN

La Revolución Bolchevique fue el producto de presiones combinadas de hambre, opresión y las políticas reactivas de la familia Romanov durante la Primera Guerra Mundial. La Revolución se convirtió en una fuente de inspiración, tanto a nivel nacional como internacional. Sin embargo, si bien la Rusia prerrevolucionaria y posrevolucionaria a menudo se ha explorado en términos de cambio social y político, rara vez se responde a la pregunta de si la Revolución Bolchevique cumplió sus promesas. Este documento examina estudios de casos preexistentes en conjunto con documentos originales de la era zarista y soviética para proporcionar una comparación simple antes y después de los derechos de propiedad, la producción agrícola e industrial, la infraestructura, la educación y la atención médica en relación con la Revolución Bolchevique. de 1917.

Palabras clave: Bolchevique, Lenin, Stalin, Revolución, Brest-Litovsk, Lysenko, vernalización, hambruna, comisariado, guerra fría, nueva política económica, banco de tierras de los nobles, banco de tierras de los campesinos

1917年布尔什维克革命产生的影响：一项案例研究

摘要

布尔什维克革命是由一战期间饥荒、压迫及罗曼诺夫家族的反应式政策三重压力结合而成的产物。此次革命成为了国内和国际研究的源泉。然而，尽管学术经常探究革命前后的俄罗斯所发生的社会和政治变化，但很少有研究回答了布尔什维克革命是否实现了革命承诺这一疑问。本文检验了革命前的案例研究，并结合有关沙皇时代与苏联时代的原始文件，以期对1917年布尔什维克革命前后的产权、农业与工业生产、基础设施、教育、医疗进行简单比较。

关键词：布尔什维克，列宁，斯大林，革命，布列斯特-立陶夫斯克，李森科，春化作用，饥荒，人民委员部，冷战，新经济政策，贵族土地银行，农民土地银行

Described as an event that “shook the world,” the Russian Revolution of 1917 not only marked the end of the Romanov dynasty, but also ushered in Vladimir Lenin and his Bolsheviks of the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.¹ In previous years, the causes of the Revolution were associated with poor wages or food scarcities; however, the most important catalyst has been attributed to World War I, in which millions of peasants were called to arms in what they viewed as a war between imperialist nations.² Tsar Nicholas II’s wartime policies ultimately led to the Russian

Army’s casualty rate of 40 percent, approximately 200,000 men a month, within thirty months of fighting.³ These figures ultimately contributed to the attempted resignations of several of Nicholas’s officials, thus justifying to the revolutionaries the need to entirely remove the Russian monarchy.⁴

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 presents a unique area of study because of the significant political, social, and historical impact it had on Russian society. A “before and after” comparison is necessary since it is difficult to conceive of a modern Russia without the Revolution, yet the authenticity of histori-



Peasant boy and flax crop near Smolensk, Russia, 1903. North Dakota Agricultural College Experiment Station Bulletin No. 71 (October 1906).

ans' claims remains questionable due to poor recordkeeping or falsification of documents for propaganda purposes. Even so, research shows minor-to-significant benefits of the Bolshevik Revolution in terms of property rights, agricultural production, industrial growth, improved infrastructure, and access to both education and healthcare. Before the Revolution, circumstances enveloping each of the aforementioned were normally very different from the conditions that citizens encountered after the Revolution.

Prior to 1861, the majority of arable land fell under the control of the Russian nobility, with all labor carried out by Russian serfs; however, in February of that year, Aleksandr II Nikolayevich transferred land rights to the peasantry through a mortgage-like process, while compensating the previous landowners and allowing them to maintain one-third of the property.⁵ Alexander

hoped his reform would lead to modernization and industrialization, but the program was not without problems. Soviet historians assert that agricultural production suffered in part because the state no longer assumed liability, and low-income farmers were either unwilling or simply unable to take any form of financial risk, leading to a restriction in resources.⁶

The Nobles' Land Bank was established in 1885 in order to rescue large estates and encourage land improvements; however, by 1897, the attempted preservation of nobility began to fail by 1897, as government aid programs lost popular support.⁷ Additionally, new shareholders found large-scale farming beyond their abilities. A similar approach was again taken in 1883 with the establishment of the Peasants' Land Bank, although the allotted resources were a mere fraction of those held by the Nobles' Land Bank.⁸ This

imbalance directly led to the formation of communal farm plots. Immobility had an adverse effect, as households were forced to acquire unanimous approval from communal members prior to exiting the commune. In order to vacate a property, the remaining farmers had to be willing to accept the previous owner's liabilities and debts.⁹

On rare occasions, farmers could sublet their property, occasionally charging more than the possible value of the land, but recordkeeping has made quantifying such occurrences difficult.¹⁰ In 1905, land prices began to soar, making the sale of previously held estates appealing. The amount of land held by nobility fell by one-third in that year (1897) alone.¹¹ Furthermore, agricultural production suffered a formidable decline during the same time frame.

Grain exports accounted for 40 percent of export earnings from 1870 to 1907, with the exception of 1892.¹² That year was when harvests declined anywhere from 30 to 75 percent, depending on region.¹³ An international agricultural crisis that same year had driven crop prices down, and peasants were forced to increase plot sizes. This need came at the expense of both pastures and woodlands, forcing the reduction of livestock—the only source of power and fertilizer—and the removal of forests, causing rapid exhaustion of the soil. Some historians suggest it was the harsh weather of that year, not inadequate farming processes, that caused rapid decreases in agricultural yields, although it may have been the product of both.¹⁴

Even with production falling due to poor weather, economic policies encouraged the international sale of Russian grain to strengthen the national economy. The Minister of Finance, Ivan Vyshnegradsky, reflected these ambitions in his unofficial motto, "We must go hungry, but we must export."¹⁵ Years later, in 1903, Russia was the leading exporter of barley, oats, wheat, and rye, surpassing American exports; however, despite the overall rise in output per head, the Russian population grew by 25 percent between 1877 and 1905, causing agricultural labor to fall from 74 percent to 72 percent by 1913.¹⁶ Grain prices rose significantly, leading to government-mandated rationing of bread. In February of 1917, soldiers' wives (*soldatki*) took to the streets of Petrograd to protest, inevitably sparking additional protests throughout the country, marking the beginning of the Revolution.¹⁷ Agricultural workers and factory employees alike led factions that ignited the already ripe conditions for a citizens' insurrection.

Although evidence exists, gaps in documentation and poor record management make it hard to accurately analyze industry in pre-1917 Russia. Tsarist resources that were originally intended to dramatically enhance Russian industry comprised a mere fraction of the national military and administrative budgets.¹⁸ Nevertheless, a combination of foreign savings, tariffs, technology adopted from more advanced countries, and permission of private industries all caused significant economic expansion. The years between 1870 and 1890 saw a twenty-five-fold increase in the pro-

duction of coal, a two hundred-fold increase in oil production, and the number of existing railways nearly doubled.¹⁹ Even with significant growth in industry, WWI revealed inability to meet production quotas. Factories were unable to mass-produce weaponry and equipment to properly outfit soldiers, contributing to the aforementioned losses. Making matters worse, even if manufacturers had been able to produce more goods, shipping them efficiently to almost anywhere was an inconvenient and arduous challenge. In addition to industrial shortcomings, Russia's own infrastructure displayed integral and substantial flaws.

The first privatized railroad, constructed in 1836, served only a twenty-four-kilometer span between St. Petersburg and what is now Pushkin, and was viewed as economically insignificant at the time. However, it was not until 1851 that the Tsarist government planned, financed, and constructed the first state-sponsored tracks, successfully linking Moscow to St. Petersburg. The decade between 1876 and 1886 was largely an era of inactivity for railway construction, but between the years 1856 and 1876, fifty-five railways received corporate charters.²⁰ A feud between the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Transportation limited transport capacity, and the mix of state and privately owned lines contributed to the Railroad Crisis of 1891-1892, in which 7,481 famine relief boxcars were delayed.

As railways expanded, many of the seasoned state employees left their government positions in pursuit

of the higher paying positions within the private sector, gaining freedom to transport whatever goods they chose, and leaving behind management issues within the transport ministry.²¹ The total number of functional railways grew from 1,000 kilometers in 1851 to 70,156 in 1913, becoming the second largest railway network in the world.²² The expanded railways still proved to be insufficient during World War I. Russian soldier Iurii Lomonosov recalled upon his arrival in Tzarskoye Sielo during February 1917 that his group of soldiers had only received 60 percent of their expected rations, but shipments were a mere 20 percent in many other areas. The shortage was due to the reallocation of boxcars to transport wounded men, even though many would freeze to death in the unheated train coaches.

In more destitute areas, the lack of proper supplies forced soldiers to turn to dead horses for nourishment.²³ The Ministry of Transport simply ignored all reporting of poor rail conditions, telling the men in March 1917: "weakness and insufficiency of equipment on the Russian railroads should be made up for by your unceasing energy. You must have love for your country and consciousness of your role in carrying on transportation for the war and the well-being of the war."²⁴ The inherent flaws within transportation infrastructure created some challenges in and of themselves, and newly hired hands who were employed to improve the system frequently provided very little in the way of intelligent, resourceful, or innovative enhancements. The vast majority of employees engaged at various ad-

ministrative or manual tiers displayed several unpleasant elements of Russia's pre-revolutionary educational system.

According to the data available, the literacy rate for nobility for the years spanning 1847–1917 expanded from 76 to 90 percent. In comparison, literacy rates among rural estates (peasantry) grew from only 10 to 36 percent.²⁵ The disparity in this data indicates the effort to limit the education of commoners in the 1800s. Due to peasant demands, local elected councils and churches set up schools, tripling literacy rates in the 1900s. Most state-approved reading materials were designed to enforce discipline, but the eventual increase in literacy made way for publications by fellow peasants, which were then sold by traveling peddlers.²⁶

In his 1902 pamphlet, *What is to be Done?*, Lenin reflected upon the rise of uncensored print media in relation to the expansion of socialist ideals, writing “Meanwhile, Marxist books were published one after another, Marxist journals and newspapers were founded, nearly everyone became a Marxist, Marxists were flattered, Marxists were courted, and the book publishers rejoiced at the extraordinary, ready sale of Marxist literature.”²⁷ Although Karl Marx's *Manifesto* had been in print in since 1848, increased literacy and text circulation in the years predating the Revolution increased not only self-awareness, but also increased contention among the common people and government officials. Furthermore, the years of tight censorship taught the literate peasantry to “read between the lines” of state-published media. The

identification of exaggerated information made it difficult for the Russian peasantry to accurately assess the impact of famine throughout the country, as most assumed the opposite of what was printed.²⁸ As the lower class struggled to absorb and mentally digest whatever they were able to read and comprehend, they also had to worry about simply staying healthy and caring for any of their people who were elderly or disadvantaged. Healthcare and social programs before the Bolshevik Revolution were horrific by today's standards.

The Russian famine of 1891–1892 caused the death of 375,000 to 400,000 Russians, through starvation, susceptibility to disease, or infection brought about by malnutrition. Pre-1917, Russia had the one of the world's highest mortality rates, lowest physician-to-civilian ratios, and an almost non-existent pharmaceutical industry.²⁹ Prior to the famine, Alexander I had attempted to create a famine relief system in 1822, which Nicholas I then modified in 1834. The system was a network of granaries filled with surplus crops from good years, but it was inefficient due to the aforementioned Railway Crisis of 1891–1892.³⁰

Setting aside the famine of 1891–1892, there were two underlying truths seldom discussed in relation to citizens' health and healthcare accessibility. The first, with the exception of 1916 and 1917, was the majority of working males were subject to what Lenin referred to as “wage slavery,” meaning they were paid a wage just barely capable of sustaining a household but very little else.³¹ This data is largely based on

factory inspection reports from 190–1917, with the most detailed statistics coming from the accounting books of textile factories from the years between 1888 and 1916. The low livable wage in Tsarist Russia then contributed to the second undiscussed truth. Allegedly, calorie consumption per head rose between 1860 and 1870, but this assertion is dubious because no differentiation between the wealthy and poor peasants has ever been sufficiently documented, meaning there may be gaps in data collection.³²

Additional conflicting information may also stem from pre-and post-Soviet Revolution-era data, because Joseph Stalin made several attempts to alter historical accounts as early as 1929, often attempting to boost Russia's image by supplementing documents with his own personal narratives.³³ Overall, however (omitting the famine years), Russian peasants often maintained a diet of 2,500 to 3,500 calories per day.³⁴ Although far from ideal, noticeable improvement in almost all of these dire aspects of Russian society emerged following the Bolshevik uprising. Land ownership, agricultural production, and industry were the first areas to experience dramatic—and often painful—mutations.

Russia's signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on March 3, 1918, resulted in the forfeiture of vast industrial territories, the most significant being that of the Ukraine.³⁵ The secession of largely industrial territories caused a rift between the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, who felt that “the Bolsheviks acted contrary to

the interests of the Russian nation and betrayed their allies.”³⁶ The growing rift would later be a contributing factor of the Russian Civil War of 1918–1920, and the Bolshevik policy of “war communism,” whereby agricultural products were forcibly removed from peasantry.³⁷ Those who refused were often executed, with figures estimated at approximately 50,000.³⁸

The New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1921 allowed peasants to operate small-scale businesses.³⁹ However, portions of this policy were later redacted, and privatized lands were once again consolidated under the state, and the people freed from “the burdens of private property would spontaneously cooperate and build a new order.”⁴⁰ Government officials attempted an all-out collectivization in 1929 and integrated half of the farms in the country into communes within the first three months of the program's initiation.⁴¹ Nevertheless, these actions did not turn out as planned, because many peasants began abandoning plots, destroying equipment, and slaughtering an estimated fifteen million cattle and four million horses.⁴² Stalin slowed the collectivization process for a short time, but by 1936, roughly 90 percent of existing farms were integrated into state-run communes.⁴³ The transformation affected Russian food production both directly and indirectly.

Six years into the American Great Depression, Leon Trotsky published his article, “If America Should Go Communist,” in which he stated, “The depression has ravaged your working class and has dealt a crushing blow to

the farmers, who had already been injured by the long agricultural decline of the postwar decade.⁴⁴ While he was not entirely incorrect in this observation, he went on to assert that should America go communist, it would “give the farmers, the small tradespeople and businessmen a good long time to think things over and see how well the nationalized section of industry is working.”⁴⁵ The irony in this statement, although he does acknowledge American communism may differ from Russian communism, is the complete omission of the effects of Russian nationalization of agriculture in the prior decades. Before 1917, agricultural surpluses were retained within the village of origin. In addition to war communistic directives in the early post-revolutionary years, later policies implemented the forced removal of agricultural surpluses from the farming communities.⁴⁶

The forced surrender or sale of produce at prices that were lower than market value led to very poor incentives, to the point that some farmers quit growing grain completely, while others required and accepted state subsidies in order to keep the large communal farms afloat. As production fell, matters worsened due to poor transportation and storage methods that caused massive losses of harvested goods. Poor government practices also contributed to low agricultural yields.

In the 1930s, a Soviet agronomist by the name of Trofim Denisovich Lysenko claimed that he could “train” spring wheat to become winter wheat by presoaking seeds in low-tempera-

ture water prior to planting them later in the year. Lyensko, having no scientific training outside of agriculture, had already made a name for himself within the scientific community due to his questionable theories, yet Soviet agricultural specialists agreed to test his theory of “vernalization.” The experiment went into practice without smaller trials, and large crop failures that year directly contributed to the starvation of millions. He would later go on to destroy significant acreage with his theories on fertilization, yet he successfully argued that these failures were beyond his control. Stalin gave into Lyensko’s pressure in 1948 and not only fired all geneticists, believing their work was a “bourgeois perversion,” but also forbade all further studies on biology and genetics in the USSR.⁴⁷ By the 1980s, Russia was dependent on foreign grains. The post-revolutionary disasters of agriculture shortly after the uprising took place at roughly the same time, and for similar reasons, as the industrial sector went through marked transitions. Overall, however, industry displayed much better results.

The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty damaged industrial and manufacturing in large part because of the loss of the Ukraine, whose output offered Russia independence from German natural resources.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Lenin and his cabinet saw fit to immediately begin an era of expansion. Unlike the rural masses, industrial workers were promised bread and potatoes, leading to significant industrial growth.⁴⁹ As Russian industry grew, factory workers evolved into an army of

machinists, textile workers, press break operators, or whatever skilled labor the state required. The cabinet eliminated previously held private initiatives, and wages were largely equalized.⁵⁰ The years leading up to World War II yielded the most significant industrial expansion. Russia's coal output grew to levels 5.5 times than that of 1913, while iron had expanded to three times, and oil 3.2 times. If consumer goods are also taken into consideration, the overall industrial sector grew somewhere between three and six times larger than pre-revolution industries.⁵¹

Germany's invasion of Russia in 1941 forced the relocation of both military and civilian factories to the nation's interior. Many of those formerly dedicated to the production of civilian goods were converted into munitions and other wartime facilities, where they began averaging monthly outputs of 700 aircraft, 230 tanks, 4,000 mortars, and a million shells.⁵² Unlike the factories of World War I, Russian industrial capabilities of World War II surpassed those of its foes. Following the impressive growth in industry, post-revolutionary Russia instituted major upgrades in infrastructure, education, and healthcare.

The majority of Russian railway equipment prior to the Bolshevik Revolution had been purchased from American companies, as pre-1917 Russia lacked the necessary manufacturing capabilities. The American government banned sales of this equipment in 1918, specifically due to the Revolution, forcing the Bolsheviks to explore various other avenues of production. Further complicating the situation was Russia's

unwillingness to adapt their 1524-millimeter tracks to fit the European gauge of 1435 millimeters due to security issues.⁵³ Despite these initial drawbacks, post-revolutionary Russia experienced the reconditioning of seventy pre-existing locomotives, the addition of 1200 foreign locomotives and 1500 tankers, and the production of 80,000 tons of rail.⁵⁴ The growth of infrastructure was significant and extremely helpful to urban and rural citizens alike. It also contributed to the increased distribution of educational resources.

The fall of the Tsarist regime quickly brought to light the general public's ignorance of science, literature, fine arts, and the evolving components of socialism. By 1920, literacy rates among rural populations measured 52 percent, with urban rates at approximately 80 percent; however, available data leading to 1926 accounted for those with very a basic understanding of reading and writing, while later censuses focused on Russians with some form of secondary education.⁵⁵ In an attempt to create a Russia that could compare with global elites, state-owned publishing houses printed vast amounts of classical and contemporary literature. Most early poets supported the Soviet government and socialized programs, but later authors with anti-communist sentiments were censored, imprisoned, or killed. The USSR constitution of 1936 introduced a means of making education available to all, regardless of gender, income, ethnicity, or religion.

Although literacy and education in Soviet Russia surpassed that of the Tsarist era, education only magnified

class distinctions between the rich and the poor.⁵⁶ Both urban and rural populations had achieved an average literacy rate of ninety-nine percent by 1979.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, socialized education was not entirely “free,” and the quality was questionable. The practice of school psychiatry, then known as pedology, or the study of children, emerged in the 1920s, but it was banned by state decree in 1936 due to criticisms that it encouraged individual differences and discredited social influence in childhood development. With this decree, standardized tests became forbidden, as they were viewed as a means to favor children from affluent families.⁵⁸ In the long run, however, both infrastructure and educational enhancements eventually boosted pre-revolutionary levels of health care, while invoking an entirely new set of problems.

Within a year of the Revolution, the Bolsheviks created the People’s Commissariat of Health Protection to manage all aspects of health. This encompassed institutions, research and development, birth control, manufacture and distribution of pharmaceuticals, and medical training. Additionally, the pre-revolutionary era had suffered low literacy rates, causing ignorance of basic hygiene and sanitation practices, which invariably led to further infections and/or health complications. The commissariat remedied this problem through the creation of health-related propaganda.⁵⁹ Improvements in infrastructure allowed for progress in pre-existing famine relief; however, relief was deliberately denied to the peasantry between 1932 and

1933 and any mention of the famine was deemed a crime against the state. All rations allocated to factory workers were controlled by the state as a means to improve productivity.⁶⁰

The Cold War Era brought health problems entirely different from those found in pre-revolutionary Russia. Mortality rates had dropped, placing Russia 32nd internationally, and infectious disease, malnutrition, and poor hygiene were replaced by alcoholism, drug abuse, and tobacco usage as the leading causes of death. The solution was a multi-faceted approach. First, alcohol prices were increased by 25 percent, followed by a 32 percent reduction in the production of vodka and a 68 percent decrease for wine. The final approach was heavy fines for those accused of producing shoddy goods. Although this era saw a significant drop in alcohol-related deaths, from 47,300 in 1984 to 20,800 in 1986, these two years also yielded 11,000 deaths from the consumption of alcohol substitutes. Furthermore, all factors implemented in conjunction with one another did little to prevent the increasing deaths from lung cancer, which rose significantly between the years 1965 and 1985 alone.⁶¹ Along with property rights, agricultural output, industrial production, infrastructure, and education, healthcare initially seemed to have simply traded one set of problems for another. On the other hand, such a narrowly defined judgment is hasty and over-simplified.

Attempting to answer the question of whether or not life in Russia im-

proved after the Bolshevik Revolution requires specified metrics of comparison. This article evaluates land ownership, agricultural production, industry, infrastructure, education, and healthcare in the years before and after 1917. The Bolshevik Revolution removed forcibly eliminated privately held farm plots, thus negating land rights previously granted to the Russian peasantry. Granted, the rural population had suffered famine as the product of poor farming practices decades earlier, but communal farms, the lack of incentives, pseudo-science, and misguided Soviet policies led to famine, a decrease in agricultural output, and recession.

The industrial sector cannot be analyzed based on production alone simply because it was still in its infancy under the Romanovs, and accurate record maintenance was almost non-existent. One could speculate that increased government interest and investment could have served as a catalyst of growth as it did under both Lenin and Stalin, but there was some growth prior to 1917, albeit slow. However, industry under Bolshevik polices far surpassed that of industry under Tsarist policies. Additionally, infrastructure also presents a difficult comparison. Existing data shows that railways in the early 1900s were documented in kilometers, while documentation of growth after 1918 measures tonnage of manufactured rails and the addition of railcars and engines. If rail tonnage and train car equipment are the main comparisons, post-revolution infrastructure once again surpassed that under the previous system.

Noted earlier is that documented education rates are flawed due to unequal comparisons. Early Russians were considered literate if they possessed rudimentary reading and writing skills, while communist Russians were considered literate only if they possessed secondary education. Even so, late Russia claimed a literacy rate of 99 percent. If this data and the previous statements are true, this means that of those surveyed, 99 percent of Soviets possessed some form of higher education, while only 36 percent of peasantry and 76 percent of nobility possessed basic skills under the Romanovs. Although Russia's state-run schools may be credited with increased literacy rates in the post-revolution years, approved materials were highly censored and intended mainly to teach students about the importance of the state.

Finally, there is the aspect of healthcare. The Bolsheviks took a country with a non-existent healthcare network and one of the highest mortality rates in the world and implemented a socialized health system. Even at its most basic, rudimentary healthcare is still better than non-existent healthcare. These efforts may have been diminished in later years due to famine, intentional withholding of aid, alcoholism, and drug abuse. Simply put, some aspects of Russian life improved under the Bolsheviks, such as access to healthcare and education, industrial expansion, and growth in infrastructure. Conversely, other property rights and agricultural practices became worse in the years following 1917. Making a case for overall quality of life, significant

improvements in four out of five social and/or economic areas translates into a notable enhancement in the overall quality of life for most Russian citizens following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

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Reinhard Heydrich and the Development of the *Einsatzgruppen*, 1938–1942

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ABSTRACT

In his book *The Road*, Soviet writer and journalist Vasily Grossman described the Holocaust as two distinct but interrelated events: the Shoah by bullets and the Shoah by gas. This description reflects a historical understanding that the Holocaust began not with the industrialized killing centers of Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Sobibor but rather with the mass shootings of Jewish men in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, conducted primarily by the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) Task Forces known as the *Einsatzgruppen*. This paper focuses on the role of SS General Reinhard Heydrich in the organization, development, and initial use of the *Einsatzgruppen* as specialized killing units and the transition to the use of gas for mass killing from 1938 to 1942. I argue that Heydrich played a key role the evolution of the *Einsatzgruppen* from its initial use as an instrument of Nazi foreign intelligence gathering and the imposition of police state control during the *Anschluss* of Austria to its implementation as a mechanism for mass killing in Poland during Operation *Tannenberg* and ultimately to its final realization as the means of initiating the Holocaust in Central Europe. Heydrich, in his leadership role in the SS, also played a key role in the decision to shift from mass executions by shooting to the depersonalized use of gas in the Nazi attempt to annihilate European Jewry and other enemies of the Nazi state during World War II.

Keywords: Adolf Hitler, *Einsatzgruppen*, Heinrich Himmler, Holocaust, Lebensraum, Operation Anthropoid, Operation Barbarossa, Operation Tannenberg, Reinhard Heydrich, *Vernichtungskrieg*

Reinhard Heydrich y el desarrollo de los *Einsatzgruppen*, 1938–1942

RESUMEN

En su libro “El camino”, el escritor y periodista soviético Vasily Grossman describió el Holocausto como dos eventos distintos

pero interrelacionados: la Shoah con balas y la Shoah con gas. Esta descripción refleja una comprensión histórica de que el Holocausto comenzó no con los centros de exterminio industrializados de Auschwitz, Treblinka y Sobibor, sino con los tiroteos masivos de hombres judíos en la Unión Soviética en el verano de 1941, realizados principalmente por el Schutzstaffel (SS) Grupos de trabajo conocidos como Einsatzgruppen. Este documento se centra en el papel del general de las SS Reinhard Heydrich en la organización, desarrollo y uso inicial de Einsatzgruppen como unidades especializadas de asesinato y la transición al uso de gas para asesinatos en masa de 1938 a 1942. Sostengo que Heydrich jugó un papel clave Impulsar la evolución del Einsatzgruppen desde su uso inicial como instrumento de recopilación de inteligencia extranjera nazi y la imposición del control policial estatal durante el Anschluss de Austria hasta su implementación como mecanismo de asesinatos en masa en Polonia durante la Operación Tannenberg y, en última instancia, hasta su realización final. como el medio de iniciar el Holocausto en Europa Central. Heydrich, en su papel de liderazgo en las SS, también jugó un papel clave en la decisión de pasar de las ejecuciones masivas al disparar al uso despersonalizado de gas en el intento nazi de aniquilar a los judíos europeos y otros enemigos del estado nazi durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

Palabras clave: Adolf Hitler, *Einsatzgruppen*, Heinrich Himmler, Holocausto, *Lebensraum*, Operación Antropoide, Operación Barbarroja, Operación Tannenberg, Reinhard Heydrich, *Vernichtungskrieg*

莱因哈德·海德里希与特别行动队的发展（1938年至1942年）

摘要

在他的著作《道路》中，苏联作家兼记者瓦西里·格罗斯曼将大屠杀描述为两次独特却又相互联系的事件：子弹屠杀和煤气屠杀。这一描述反映了一个历史理解，即大屠杀的开端并不是特雷布林卡、贝尔赛克、索比堡等工业化杀戮营，而是1941年夏季在苏联境内大范围枪杀犹太人的行动，这一行动主要由被称为特别行动队（*Einsatzgruppen*）的党卫军别动队执行。本文聚焦于党卫军上将莱因哈德·海德里希在将特别行动队这一特别杀戮单位的组织、发展和最初使用，以及从1938年到1942年间过渡到使用煤气进行大范围屠杀一事中产

生的作用。我主张，海德里希在特别行动队演变过程中发挥了关键作用，包括从最初将行动队作为纳粹外国情报收集工具进行利用，和德奥合并期间用其强制执行警方国家控制，到坦能堡行动期间用其在波兰实施集体屠杀机制，到最后用其实现中欧大屠杀启动手段。海德里希在党卫军担任领袖的同时，还在“二战期间纳粹在尝试灭绝欧洲犹太种族和其他敌人时决定将枪击屠杀转变为非人类的煤气屠杀”一事中发挥了关键作用。

关键词：阿道夫·希特勒，特别行动队，海因里希·希姆莱，大屠杀，生存空间，类人猿行动，巴巴罗萨行动，坦能堡行动，莱因哈德·海德里希，灭绝战争

Shortly after 10:00 a.m. on May 15, 1942, three members of the Czech intelligence service stood waiting to kill their target on a street in the Prague suburb of Liben, armed with concealed submachine guns and grenades. Trained by the British Special Operations Executive and parachuted into Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, their mission, code-named Operation Anthropoid, was to assassinate *Schutzstaffel* (SS) General Reinhard Heydrich, the Acting Reich Protector of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and one of the chief architects of the Final Solution, which at that moment the Nazi government was implementing in Eastern Europe. The British believed that the operation to kill Heydrich, whom they characterized as the second-most dangerous man in Nazi-occupied territory after Adolf Hitler, would demonstrate both their ability to successfully attack the Nazi security apparatus inside occupied territory and Czech resolve to resist Nazi dom-

ination. Ultimately, the British hoped a successful operation would foment a large-scale Czech rebellion against Nazi rule in response to the anticipated Nazi reprisals.¹ At 10:20 a.m. Heydrich's car slowed down to make the turn, as the agents had anticipated. Former Czech army non-commissioned officer Josef Gabcik pointed his submachine gun at Heydrich and pulled the trigger but the gun jammed. Heydrich ordered his driver to stop the car and pulled his pistol out to shoot Gabcik, but then a second Czech intelligence agent, Jan Kubis, threw a hand grenade which exploded near Heydrich's vehicle. Heydrich ordered his driver to stop the car and they both got out, guns drawn, and began to approach the Czech agents. However, both Heydrich and his driver collapsed from injuries sustained in the explosion, enabling Gabcik, Kubis, and the third agent to flee. Local Czechs and Germans brought Heydrich to the Bulovka Hospital for treatment, and the Germans sealed off Prague search-

ing house to house for his attackers. Although Heydrich appeared to briefly recover from his wounds, infection set in and on June 4, Reinhard Heydrich died of his injuries.² In revenge for the death of Heydrich, Adolf Hitler ordered the destruction of the Czech village of Lidice in the northwest of Prague, which the Nazis mistakenly believed had supported the Czech intelligence agents. On June 9, the Nazis murdered 172 men between the ages of fourteen and eighty-four, shot in waves of ten on the farm of the Horak family. The Nazis deported the female residents to the Ravensbrück concentration camp and burned the village to the ground, blowing up or bulldozing the remnants of the homes and buildings. On June 18, the German authorities tracked Kubis, Gabcik, and six other Czech agents to the Orthodox Church of Saint Cyril and Methodius, where they succeeded in killing Kubis and capturing two other agents. Gabcik and four remaining agents committed suicide inside the church to prevent being captured and likely tortured and killed. In reprisals for Heydrich's killing, the Nazis murdered 1,327 Czechs and arrested and imprisoned up to 4,000 people in concentration camps or regular prisons over the summer.³

At the time of his death, Reinhard Heydrich was a central figure in the Nazi orchestration of the Holocaust, defined by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as the "systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators."⁴ This paper focuses on the role of

SS General Reinhard Heydrich in the organization, development, and initial use of the SS Task Forces known as the *Einsatzgruppen* as specialized killing units and the transition to the use of gas for mass killing, from 1938 to 1942. The attempt to understand and explain the Holocaust has traditionally been split between two schools of related historiography. The first school, referred to as the "intentionalist" school, viewed the Holocaust as series of events driven primarily by decisions taken by Adolf Hitler and senior level Nazi officials. The second school, referred to as the "functionalist" school, saw the Holocaust as an event driven largely by the German perpetrators and their allies themselves, attempting to map out the interactions among the individuals, groups, and agencies involved and to explain individual and collective motivations in enacting the directives of the leadership. Modern Holocaust historiography has largely overcome the polarization in the intentionalist-functionalist debate through a process of synthesis in which these perspectives are, in the words of Peter Longerich, "not mutually exclusive but illuminate varying aspects of historical reality in complementary, even interdependent ways."⁵ For Longerich, the key to understanding the Holocaust is as a complex interconnected process in which "those with political responsibility propelled forward, step by step, a highly complicated decision-making process in which a series of points where it was escalated can be identified."⁶ It is here, then, that we can begin to identify Heydrich's significance in organizing and directing the



Reinhard Heydrich, 28 August 1940, photographer unknown, Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R98683 / CC BY-SA 3.0.

beginning of the mass murder of the Jews during the Holocaust. Heydrich played a central role in the evolution of the *Einsatzgruppen* from its initial use as an instrument of Nazi foreign intelligence gathering and the imposition of police state control during the *Anschluss* of Austria to its implementation as a mechanism for mass killing in Poland during Operation *Tannenberg*. Heydrich, in collaboration with SS chief Heinrich Himmler, became a primary driving force in the escalation of mass killing from the initial targets of only Jewish men to ultimately all Jewish men, women, and children in the Holocaust. Heydrich, in his leadership capacity in the SS, was also a key figure in

the decision to shift from mass executions by shooting to the depersonalized use of gas in the Nazi attempt to annihilate European Jewry and other enemies of the Nazi state during World War II.

At the beginning of September 1936, Reinhard Heydrich was one of the most powerful actors within the Nazi hierarchy in charge of the Nazi internal security apparatus in his dual capacity as head of the Nazi secret political police, the Gestapo, and also as chief of the SS intelligence agency, the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst* or SD). Heydrich's power increased further when, on June 17, 1936, Adolf Hitler appointed Heydrich's immediate superior, SS chief Heinrich Himmler, as head of the

German police, concentrating police state control through the mechanism of “protective custody” in Himmler’s hands. “Protective custody” was a legal device authorized by the February 28, 1933 emergency Reichstag Fire Decree, which suspended constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties within Germany and gave the Nazi state the legal power to enact extrajudicial detentions of suspected enemies of the state and their incarceration in the vast system of concentration camps established by the regime. As part of Himmler’s consolidation of power, on September 20, 1936, Heydrich assumed command of the new Nazi internal security agency, the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei* or Sipo), which established control over all German criminal police (*Kripo*), border police, state level political police, and the Gestapo.⁷ Thus Heydrich was positioned as chief of the Nazi police state, subordinate only to Himmler and Hitler, in charge of the investigative and political police agencies as chief of the Security Police and head of the SS’s internal and external intelligence agency, the SD.

The Nazi annexation of Austria in 1938 was the first step in the development of Heydrich’s ability to extend this police state power outside the borders of Germany. In anticipation of the German invasion and annexation of Austria, in January 1938, Heydrich and Himmler prepared approximately 20,000 members of the Security Police and the Order Police, a separate agency subordinate to Himmler, to assist the German army in imposing Nazi control on Austria.⁸ At 5:30 a.m. on March 12,

1938, German forces invaded Austria, and that evening Security Police officials arrested approximately 21,000 Austrians whom the Nazis considered a threat based on lists of political opponents, especially members of the Austrian Communist Party, gleaned from the Austrian government, whom Heydrich depicted as posing a threat of a violent uprising. Many of those arrested were transported to Germany to be imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp near Munich or the newly established Mauthausen camp near Linz.⁹

The expansion of Nazi power outside the borders of Germany in the *Anschluss* strengthened Heydrich’s role in Nazi Jewish policy. Heydrich’s Gestapo also launched a series of measures directed against Jews in Austria, including seizing valuable Jewish property, such as paintings and jewelry, forced expulsions of Jews to Hungary, and setting up mass arrests and deportations of Jews to Dachau.¹⁰ On August 20, 1938, Heydrich established the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, designed to expedite Jewish emigration from Austria by using confiscated assets from wealthier Jews to finance the emigration of poorer Jews from the country. As a result of the success of this model of financing Jewish emigration, in January 1939 Hermann Goering appointed Heydrich chief of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, responsible for carrying out the accelerated expulsion of Jews from the Greater German Reich and giving Heydrich formal responsibility for a central role in Nazi Jewish policy.¹¹

Heydrich's forces repeated the imposition of the Nazi police state apparatus using a similar formula of mass arrests and incarceration in the takeover of Czechoslovakia between 1938 and 1939. However, in contrast to the annexation of Austria, Heydrich and his staff developed a militarized organizational structure for the invading Security Police and SD units based on the possibility of war between Germany and Czechoslovakia. Heydrich and his staff created two Task Forces, or *Einsatzgruppen*, consisting of 863 Security Police and SD personnel organized into eleven smaller units or *Einsatzkommando*, whose mission would be to arrest potential enemies in the newly occupied territory. Heydrich was personally responsible for developing the organizational structure of these units. The Security Police developed arrest lists of Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, Catholic priests engaged in political activity, German emigrés, and anyone else deemed a threat to the establishment of the Nazi state. As the prospect of war ended after the British and French signed the Munich Agreement, on October 1, 1938, the German army moved in to annex the Sudetenland, quickly followed by Heydrich's *Einsatzgruppen*, which, over the next several weeks, proceeded to arrest between 10,000 to 20,000 perceived "enemies of the state." Heydrich's forces deported approximately 7,000 prisoners to concentration camps in German, notably Dachau.¹² On March 15, 1939, the Wehrmacht seized control of the remainder of Czech territory, as Czechoslovakia collapsed as a unified state and President Emil Hácha accepted German

protectorate status under threat of Nazi invasion. The *Einsatzgruppen* repeated the process of imposing police state control, as the two *Einsatzgruppen* used in the Sudetenland moved into Czech territory and implemented *Aktion Gitter*, or Operation Grid, in which the Nazis arrested approximately 6,000 political enemies, again primarily Communists and Social Democrats, sending an estimated 1,500 to concentration camps in the Greater German Reich.¹³

The Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939 served as a turning point for Heydrich in establishing a model for the initiation of the Final Solution, at that point still two years away. It was here that the SS in general, and Heydrich's *Einsatzgruppen* in particular, established the precedent for mass executions without trial of non-combatants, which in turn created a dynamic easily extended to Jews during Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of Russia. Hitler, in a meeting with senior generals on August 22, 1939, announced that the war in Poland would be of an entirely different nature than that in Austria or Czechoslovakia and would be characterized by severe ruthlessness and brutality in order to secure *Lebensraum*, or living space, for the German people. Stating that Genghis Khan had massacred millions of women and children but was only remembered as the founder of a state, Hitler clarified that the purpose of the war was the physical annihilation of people and not simply reaching a territorial boundary. Poles would be eliminated and the territory would be resettled by Germans, Hitler declared.¹⁴

Heydrich's agencies began planning for the invasion after receiving orders from Hitler in May 1939, relayed through Himmler, that their mission was to "neutralize" centers of opposition and to destroy those elements of society that spread Polish nationalism. As they had done in Austria and Czechoslovakia, the SD developed arrest lists of approximately 61,000 leading members of society, such as politicians, members of the Communist Party, Jews, and high-level members of the Catholic clergy who were active in politics contradicting Nazi policies. However, in contrast to the operations in Austria and Czechoslovakia, in which arrestees were imprisoned, these members of Polish society were to be executed immediately¹⁵ in an operation code named Tannenberg.¹⁶ Using the model of Czechoslovakia, Heydrich and his senior leaders organized five *Einsatzgruppen*, later increased to seven, for operations in Poland. The *Einsatzgruppen* were staffed with officers from the Security Police and the Security Service, totaling over 3,000 soldiers. The majority of the senior leaders were highly educated, typical of those recruited by Heydrich; fifteen out of twenty-five leaders of the *Einsatzgruppen* in Poland had doctoral degrees, the majority in law or philosophy.¹⁷ Heydrich met with his senior commanders in mid-August and informed them of the execution orders personally, telling them that he had received orders from an unspecified source that were "extraordinarily radical" and included a "liquidation order for various circles of the Polish leadership" affecting "thou-

sands." It was their mission, he stated, to "neutralize" the threat from partisans and the Polish intelligentsia, stating that "everything was allowed."¹⁸

Polish violence against ethnic Germans in Poland served as the pretext for executions and provided an opportunity to accelerate violence against Poles as part of an "anti-partisan" campaign. During the first week of fighting, Polish forces arrested and deported 10,000 to 15,000 ethnic Germans from the border with Germany. During the deportations, ethnic Germans were attacked by Polish civilians or members of the military, and approximately 2,000 were killed, including approximately 300 ethnic Germans killed during an uprising in Bromberg, Poland on September 3.¹⁹ The day after the Bromberg attacks, Himmler authorized the creation of another *Einsatzgruppen* unit "for special purposes" and ordered that insurgents should be shot immediately without trial.²⁰ On September 10, Himmler ordered *Einsatzgruppen* IV to enter Bromberg and arrest 500 members of the local intelligentsia, including communists, and to shoot them immediately on signs of local resistance.²¹ On September 11, the Army High Command notified General Adolf Strauss, commander of the Fourth Army in Bromberg, that Hitler had ordered the arrest of the hostages and that summary executions were to continue in the city until it was pacified; Strauss was not to interfere. *Einsatzgruppe* IV killed approximately 1,300 civilians in Bromberg between September 5 and 11, and another 5,000 in the surrounding area.²² The *Einsatzgruppen* also targeted

Jews in addition to the Polish intelligentsia; between September 3 and 13, both Himmler and Heydrich went on an inspection tour of the *Einsatzgruppen*. Heydrich ordered local commanders to use the harshest possible methods and to “induce” Jews to flee into the eastern half of Poland. Subsequently, the *Einsatzgruppe* “for special purposes” increased their attacks against Jews, including massacring more than 500 Jews near Przemysl on September 20 and burning Jews alive inside a synagogue in Mielec.²³ The next day, Heydrich informed his senior staff that Hitler had decided, consistent with the goal of the forced expulsion of Jews, that Jews in Poland should be forced into urban ghettos to await later deportation, while an unspecified number should be immediately deported into Soviet occupied territory in Poland. At this point, forced expulsion of Jews from German-held territory remained the official Nazi policy, not mass killing.²⁴ By the end of September, the *Einsatzgruppen*, other SS units, the regular Germany army, and ethnic German militias had killed more than 40,000 Poles between September and December 1939.²⁵

In a meeting with his staff on July 31, 1940, Hitler announced his decision to attack the Soviet Union, initially as part of the overall strategy to defeat Great Britain.²⁶ However, attacking the USSR to gain *Lebensraum* for the German people had long been one of Hitler’s primary goals, proclaiming its necessity in his autobiography *Mein Kampf*.²⁷ For Hitler, the Eastern territory constituted a vast potential “Garden of Eden” for the German people,

as he described it in a speech to senior Nazi leaders on July 16, 1941. To ensure this “Garden of Eden,” everything was permissible, including mass executions and resettlements.²⁸ The war in the east would be of a fundamentally different nature than that of the west, given the extraordinary danger represented by communism. The war against Bolshevism would be a *Vernichtungskrieg*, or war of annihilation.²⁹ To achieve this *Lebensraum* for the German people, the Nazis developed a genocidal “hunger plan” for the territory of the Soviet Union, which envisioned the murder of 20-30 million Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Jews through starvation. Hitler’s characterization of the exterminatory nature of the war in the East was a clear signal to subordinates as to how to proceed, even in the absence of specific orders. As Ian Kershaw argues, the Nazi leadership culture was one in which Hitler gave general pronouncements for policy without specifics and subordinates would compete in taking the initiative to anticipate and fulfill those policies in increasingly radical and extreme ways in an atmosphere of “working towards the Führer.”³⁰ For Heydrich and the other commanders of the *Einsatzgruppen*, Hitler’s intention in the east was clear.

To prepare for the invasion of the Soviet Union, Himmler summoned senior SS leaders, including Heydrich, on June 11, 1941 at the Wewelsburg, a medieval castle in Westphalia that Himmler envisioned as a future SS headquarters. Here Himmler gave an overview of the genocidal war they would conduct in the East, also citing

the anticipated killing of 30 million Eastern Europeans. On June 17, Heydrich in turn met with his subordinates in Pretzsch, telling them that the upcoming war needed to be conducted with “unprecedented severity” and that communist officials and Jews were to be executed. The *Einsatzgruppen* had an analogous mission in Soviet territory to the one in Poland, which was to eliminate threats to Nazi occupation behind the lines of the invading German forces. To that end, Heydrich used the same organizational structure as he used in Poland, which had evolved from its earliest version in the *Anschluss*. He established four *Einsatzgruppen* that were to follow behind advancing German forces, comprising approximately 3,000 soldiers and drawn from the Security Police, the SD, various police forces, and the Waffen-SS. As in the invasion of Poland, the leaders of each individual *Einsatzgruppe* were highly educated. For example, of the seventeen leaders of *Einsatzgruppe A*, commanded by Dr. Franz Walter Stahlecker, eleven were lawyers and nine had doctoral degrees.³¹ Heydrich also gave explicit written directives to his commanders to follow up on verbal instructions. On July 2, Heydrich wrote that all communist officials, in particular Jewish communists and government officials, and all “radical elements,” such as saboteurs, assassins, or snipers were to be executed. Heydrich also directed *Einsatzgruppen* commanders to encourage the massacre of Jews and communists by local forces to avoid German involvement.³²

Heydrich, together with Himmler, personally toured units after the

invasion began and encouraged the escalation of mass executions of Jews. *Einsatzgruppen* units treated all Jewish men as communists or potential radical elements, killing them accordingly.³³ SS headquarters provided the *Einsatzgruppen* units with quotas of Jewish men to kill, and by the end of July, at least 5,000, and possibly up to 10,000, were killed by the Germans in Vilnius.³⁴ In his “Garden of Eden” speech, Hitler had authorized killing anyone necessary, stating that Germans were fortunate that Stalin had given an order for partisan operations behind German lines, because this allowed the Nazis to kill anyone hostile to them.³⁵ *Einsatzgruppen* killings of Jews accelerated after visits by Heydrich and Himmler. During a visit to Bialystok in early July, Heydrich and Himmler complained that the Jewish threat was not being dealt with sufficiently. The local *Einsatzgruppe* rapidly took approximately 1,000 military age Jewish men out of the city and shot them.³⁶ The *Einsatzgruppen* killings of Jewish men were also extended to include women and children over the course of the summer. In late July, *Einsatzkommando 9* in Belorussia, commanded by Alfred Filbert, began the systematic murder of women and children, apparently ordered by Heydrich.³⁷ The remaining *Einsatzgruppen* also expanded killing to include women and children between late July and early September.³⁸ By the end of 1941, the *Einsatzgruppen* and their allies had killed between 500,000 and 800,000 Jewish men, women, and children, primarily through shooting.³⁹ Himmler and Heydrich had played key roles through the inspection tours in

accelerating the killing, expanding it to include women and children, and increasing the number of forces in those areas in order to conduct mass murder. Although there is no evidence of a single explicit order by Hitler, his overall pronouncements, including his exhortations to kill anyone necessary in his “Garden of Eden” speech, created an overall direction in policy of the mass murder of the Jews that Himmler, Heydrich, and other *Einsatzgruppen* and SS commanders fulfilled in “working towards the Fuhrer.”⁴⁰

In addition to his capacity as commander of the *Einsatzgruppen*, Heydrich also played a role in the Holocaust by facilitating the change from the use of guns to the use of gas to kill Jews in Eastern Europe. Before the invasion of Poland, Hitler had announced in the German Parliament that if “international Jewry” provoked another war against the Aryan people, it would be the Jews, and not the Aryan race, who would be exterminated.⁴¹ By the end of 1941, as German forces swept across the Soviet Union, senior Nazi officials announced that Hitler’s prophecy was coming true. On November 18, 1941, Alfred Rosenberg, Head of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, stated that the Nazi goal was the “biological extermination” of all Jews in Europe. On December 30, 1941, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels announced that the annihilation of “World Jewry” was underway.⁴² However, the process of mass shooting appeared to be an ineffective means for carrying out the genocide. In November 1941, one of the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders reported

that despite shooting 75,000 Jews, this would be an insufficient means to solve the “Jewish problem.”⁴³ Heydrich and Himmler also expressed concern over the psychological welfare of the soldiers conducting the killings; Heydrich had received reports of alcohol abuse and psychological breakdowns among *Einsatzgruppen* soldiers. Heydrich directed his chief of technical affairs, Walter Rauff, to investigate alternative ways to conduct mass murder that would be more “humane” for his *Einsatzgruppen* units. Rauff reported in October 1941 on the possibility of using carbon monoxide in gas vans, experiments for which were first conducted at Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin. In September, the Nazis also began experimenting with the use of a pesticide, Zyklon-B, to use for mass killing at Auschwitz.⁴⁴

Heydrich’s final role in the Holocaust was to organize the overall coordination of all Nazi agencies involved in carrying out the Final Solution. In January, Heydrich summoned together fourteen senior Nazi leaders at a villa on the shores of Lake Wannsee in Berlin. Heydrich had been ordered by Hermann Goering to coordinate all Nazi agencies in organizing the Final Solution to the “Jewish question” in Europe. Although it was clear to the senior leaders assembled that the Nazis intended to kill all of the Jews in Europe, a total of 11 million, according to surviving conference documents, the exact method of killing was unknown at the time. The Nazis had started building stationary gassing facilities near ghettos in Eastern Europe to kill Jews “incapable

of working” starting in the fall of 1941, including Belzec, Chelmo, and Mogilev. The Nazis conducted the initial killings by gas to relieve overcrowding in the ghettos and to make room for deportations of Jews from the Reich.⁴⁵ Wannsee Conference documents indicate that the Nazis intended to kill Jewish people by working them to death in slave labor camps in the east under inhumane conditions. At the same time, during the conference, Hans Frank’s State Secretary in the General Government, Dr. Josef Buehler, recommended that the Final Solution begin in the General Government immediately, given that the Jews there were incapable of working, implying the expansion of the killing centers in Poland using gas, a proposal that Heydrich approved.⁴⁶ By January 1942, it was clear the Nazis intended to murder the Jews in Nazi-occupied territory, although the exact method to conduct the genocide—shooting, gassing, or exterminatory labor—was still under consideration.

Reinhard Heydrich played a decisive role in organizing and implementing the Final Solution, from organizing and staffing the structures of the *Einsatzgruppen* to establishing the precedent for their implementation sequentially, first in Austria, then in Czechoslovakia, and finally their fully developed use for the mass killing of civilians beginning in Poland. Heydrich, together with Himmler, directed the beginning of the mass murders of Jews in Eastern Europe, initially only targeting Jewish men and then, with their encouragement, extending the mass killing to Jewish women and chil-

dren. Heydrich also played a role in the development of gas as a means for mass murder, and served as the coordinator of all of the Nazi agencies that played a role in carrying out the Holocaust, earning him the title of Hitler’s “hangman,” as Thomas Mann described him.⁴⁷ Coming to grips with Heydrich’s role in the Holocaust is an essential element of understanding how and why it occurred. And as Hitler’s biographer Ian Kershaw states, “Only through history can we learn for the future. And no part of history is more important in that respect than the era dominated by Adolf Hitler.”⁴⁸

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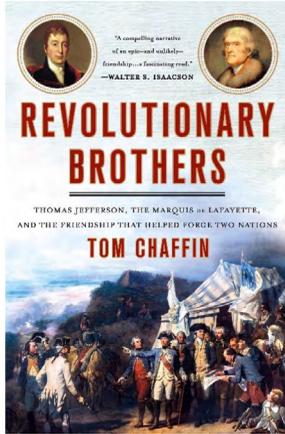
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Book Review: Tom Chaffin's *Revolutionary Brothers: Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Friendship that Helped Forge Two Nations*

Peggy Kurkowski

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Tom Chaffin. *Revolutionary Brothers: Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Friendship that Helped Forge Two Nations*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2019. ISBN: 9781250113726. 544 pages.

Over the past two centuries, there has been no shortage of books discussing the various and sundry associations, friendships, enmities, and collaborations that helped “define” during America its revolution. Indeed, today’s history reader might feel wary of yet another book purporting to tell it from a new, fresh angle. After all, what else is there to say about founding fathers and their revolutionary brothers-in-arms?

Apparently, quite a bit. In *Revolutionary Brothers: Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Friendship that Helped Forge Two Nations*, historian Tom Chaffin takes an admiring look at two men who were oversized in their respective nation’s eyes, and in each other’s.

In his own words, *Revolutionary Brothers* is the “first sustained account of the Jefferson-Lafayette friendship and collaboration ...” While not meant as a dual biography of the men or their respective revolutions, Chaffin instead follows one lifelong friendship forged in the furnace of America’s quest for independence and continues it all the way through and past the chaos of the French Revolution. The narrative unfolds in vignettes and short chapters that leap back and forth between Jefferson and Lafayette, depicting the highs and lows of their lives in the larger frame of a shared revolutionary experience.

For both Thomas Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette, the American Revolution provided a launching board for their future renown and acclaim. Jefferson, fourteen years older

than Lafayette, struggled early in the Revolutionary War as the beleaguered governor of Virginia, while Lafayette charmed and ingratiated himself into Gen. George Washington's inner circle. He soon proved himself capable of leading men in battle and was promoted to larger field commands that took him south into the orbit of Jefferson in 1781. Here, the first direct letters between the two make an appearance, mostly dealing with military and civil matters.

Chaffin wonders aloud in the book whether the two men met face-to-face in 1781 and admits we may never really know. "Indeed, the date, setting, and duration of Jefferson's and Lafayette's first encounter remain unknown: When and where they first met, what was said, the impressions each made upon the other—all remain a mystery." So, when did this vaunted friendship begin in earnest?

It was Jefferson's sojourn to Paris in 1784 to negotiate commercial treaties with European powers that finally brought the two men to their first documented meeting in 1785, whose details are also lost to history. But what is known is that Jefferson and Lafayette were never far from one another's minds and hearts as they continued to correspond regularly in their very full political lives, working to inculcate republicanism in their respective countries. Admiring the model of government that America was establishing for itself, Lafayette would often turn to Jefferson for advice on the best form of government for his own country—which by the mid-to-late 1780s was experiencing civil and social unrest under

the Bourbon monarchy of King Louis XVI.

As Chaffin makes clear in the book, Lafayette, while feted in America, never quite received the type of love and admiration he desired at home. His initial star rose in the early days of the French Revolution when he was named the commander of the new National Guard in 1789. Indeed, he prepared to defend his beloved homeland against the Austrian and Prussian armies mobilizing along France's border, in anticipation of restoring Louis XVI to his throne. The Reign of Terror, however, would soon put an end to his rising career in a republican France, as he dared defied the wrath of the Jacobins. Crossing enemy lines to escape the guillotine, Lafayette was imprisoned in Prussia for five years, along with his family. His friends in America never forgot him and sought unsuccessfully for years to secure his release.

Chaffin takes the reader on a stirring and adventurous romp through both revolutionary America and France in *Revolutionary Brothers*. Indeed, the subtitle is almost too limiting, as the book aptly explores the many friendships of Lafayette. While it is true, as Chaffin shows, that Jefferson shared a special bond with Lafayette—best explained by his innate Francophilia—it is also true that many of America's Founding Fathers *all* shared a deep affection for the Marquis. It is no coincidence, Chaffin points out, that "the United States virtually teems with places that bear Lafayette's name—parks, schools, streets, squares, towns, and counties."

The friendship of Jefferson and Lafayette represented the fraternity of two nations, one young and one old. In 1824, they reunited at Monticello after 35 years apart; Lafayette was 67 and Jefferson, 81. Their love had not dimmed in the slightest, however, as the two world-weary men embraced and wept with joy. It was a tender and poignant moment in many ways symbolizing American affection and gratitude for France and its martial “Hero of Two

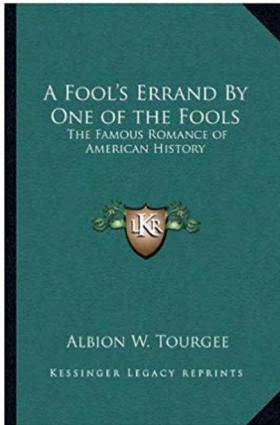
Worlds,” who stood by the fledgling nation in war and peace, receiving the adulation and loyalty of generations of Americans to come in return.

Revolutionary Brothers is a rewarding read that lifts the curtain on a rich cast of characters on a larger than life stage, and Chaffin skillfully captures the tumult, passion, and convictions of these men and women, American and French, patriots all.

Book Review: Albion Tourgée's *A Fool's Errand, By One of the Fools: A Novel of the South During Reconstruction*

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Albion Tourgée. *A Fool's Errand, By One of the Fools: A Novel of the South During Reconstruction*. 328 pp., first published by Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1879. ISBN-10: 1519082525. ISBN-13: 978-1519082527

For historians, reading is a full-time job. Nothing is too insignificant not to read, from cereal boxes to torn bits of paper with evidence of pencil scratches. Reading books popular during a specific period of the past is an excellent way to gain insight into the minds of the folks who read them first. Old novels like *So Red the Rose*, *A Lincoln Conscript*, or *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are treasure chests of social and political information. *Macaria: or Altars of Sacrifice*, by Augusta Jane Evans, not only helps place women realistically within the confines of war, but Evans based her description of First Bull Run (or First Manassas) on her extensive interview with General P. G. T. Beauregard. The verses of Edgar Allen Poe and the paragraphs of Sir Walter Scott, although written earlier, were still influential to

Southern culture. “Reading what they read,” is a worthy goal for any historian.

As one reads modern books analyzing Reconstruction by historians such as Alan Guelzo, Eric Foner, and Brooks Simpson, the name of one other author often pops up: Albion Tourgée. His novel, *A Fool's Errand*, is mentioned as having a unique point of view due to having been published in 1879, during actual Reconstruction. Albion Tourgée has some pretty impeccable credentials to back up his effort, although the book was initially published anonymously. Nevertheless, it was an immediate hit nationwide, selling over 200,000 copies.

As a Union soldier, Tourgée sustained wounds at the First Battle of Bull Run and the Battle of Perryville. He was also a Radical Republican, lawyer, pol-

itician, and sometime diplomat. Returning home, he served as the lead attorney for Homer Plessy in the landmark case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, cementing his progressive and intellectual credentials. In 1897, President William McKinley appointed him US consul to France, where he served until his death in 1905.

To write *A Fool's Errand*, Tourgee drew on his own experiences in the Deep South after the Civil War. Today, readers understand expressions like "carpetbagger" and "scalawag" as specific individuals who did particular things. A carpetbagger was a person from the Northern states who came South after the war to exploit the local populace for financial profit; a scalawag was a local white Southerner who collaborated with Northern Republicans after the war, again for profit. Tourgee puts faces and personalities behind these words. Yesterday's carpetbagger would be today's entrepreneur.

So often, the North bears the blame for the failure of Reconstruction. *A Fool's Errand* clearly illustrates the complexity of the issue. Many former Union soldiers came back to the southern states, preferring the warm climate to colder northern temperatures. Others saw an economic opportunity after the war perhaps denied them had they remained "at home." Rather than welcoming an infusion of income and energy, these northern investors experienced almost universal vilification. The South did not care to be "reconstructed" by well-meaning individuals, corporate investors, or the federal government.

Tourgee's book offers a clear illustration of this issue. The blame belongs to the South. Southern unwillingness to admit their loss and move forward, welcoming northern help, made fools of many.

The main character, Comfort Servosse, is a Union officer who served in the South. While there, he was so impressed with the potential that the area offered to not only make money, but also to be part of the creation of a new, more equitable civilization. Servosse and his family come south with no hidden agenda. They want to make a decent living in a pleasant place. It was not to be. The troubles that they encounter are the kind that makes or breaks a family, and by the end, shambles ensue. In Comfort's words, "We tried to superimpose the civilization, the idea of the North, upon the South at a moment's warning ... it was a fool's errand." Much later, Tourgee claimed Reconstruction was a failure "so far as it attempted to unify the nation, to make one people in fact of what had been one only in name before the convulsion of Civil War. It was a failure, too, so far as it attempted to fix and secure the position and rights of the colored race."

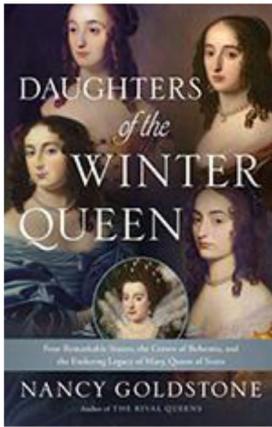
Albion Tourgee's writing style is one of the most compelling reasons to read this excellent book. He is a terrific writer. There is a distinct elegance to good nineteenth-century writing that uses language like a rapier, not a club. The *San Francisco Chronicle* said, "Its word-pictures are so realistic that one sees, hears, and feels the very presence of the individuals that crowd its pages." *A Fool's Errand* reads as easily now as

it did in 1879. With its commentary on racial issues in the American South, it continues to be essential reading for citizens of the twenty-first century (and Civil War fans) as it was for those of the nineteenth. Check out the offerings from the online booksellers and try this one out yourself.

Book Review: Nancy Goldstone's *Daughters of the Winter Queen: Four Remarkable Sisters, the Crown of Bohemia, and the Enduring Legacy of Mary, Queen of Scots*

Kathleen Guler

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Nancy Goldstone. *Daughters of the Winter Queen: Four Remarkable Sisters, the Crown of Bohemia, and the Enduring Legacy of Mary, Queen of Scots*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2018.

Nancy Goldstone's joint biography of Elizabeth Stuart's four daughters covers far more than what the title implies. Elizabeth (1596–1662), known as the Winter Queen, was the granddaughter of Mary, Queen of Scots. Her marriage to Frederick, Elector Palatine (1596–1632), with whom she had thirteen children, won her the title of Queen Consort of Bohemia when he became Frederick V of Bohemia. However, that title was lost within a year, earning Elizabeth the nickname of the Winter Queen for that brief single season of rule. Of her children, four daughters survived and became involved in many important events in seventeenth century Europe. Elizabeth, her daughters, and their extended fam-

ily provide the subject of this sweeping, fascinating biography.

In order to explore this family and the world they faced, the author presents her work in three sections, the first focusing on the Winter Queen herself, who was not only the Scottish queen's granddaughter, but also the daughter of James I of England (VI of Scotland), and the sister of England's Charles I. Goldstone provides an extensive background for each of these players, their relationships with each other, and the political and religious climate in which they lived. The author portrays Elizabeth as charming, relentless in her pursuit of status and position for herself and her family, and a poignant survivor. Widowed in 1632, she spent the

remaining thirty years of her life trying without success to regain the Palatinate for her children.

In the second section, the author details the lives of each of Elizabeth's four surviving daughters, showcasing their talents, faults, strengths, and foibles through their own extensive correspondence and through the historical context of their marriages, children, extended family members, and friendships. She chronicles each sister, one by one, life phase by life phase. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, whom Goldstone calls Princess Elizabeth (1618–1680) to avoid confusion with her mother, became close friends with the famed French philosopher, René Descartes. Her intellect clearly matched his, evident in their complex discussions and correspondence. Louisa Hollandine (1622–1709) was a talented artist. Neither she nor Princess Elizabeth married; both ended up as abbesses, the elder a Protestant, the younger converting to Catholicism. Henrietta Maria (1626–1651) married the prince of Transylvania, but died shortly thereafter. And Sophia (1630–1714), also an intellectual who sparred with the German polymath, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, married Ernst Augustus, Elector of Hanover. Sophia comes across as a forthright, spirited matriarch of common sense who lived into her eighties. Ironically, if she had lived 54 more days, she would have become England's first Hanoverian monarch instead of her son, George I. The timeline of this section does not always proceed in a linear order. The author occasionally backs up in time when moving from one sister to

the next within a specific phase of their lives. However, in the overall scheme of the book, this method does not confuse the reader.

Throughout this extensive family saga, the author returns to Elizabeth Stuart and her iron-willed efforts to regain the Bohemian throne, if not for herself, then at least for her surviving children. In the third section, "The Legacy of Mary, Queen of Scots," the author sees the Scottish queen's spirit carried on through Elizabeth and her four daughters. For clarity, Goldstone includes a selected genealogy and a map of Europe (*ca.* 1650) to help keep track of the branches of this broad family tree.

The heart of this book is Goldstone's extensive, painstaking research, mirrored in a long list of notes and a selected bibliography in which the reader will find a treasure trove of additional reading. Further, the Stuart family included numerous prolific letter writers, providing a fabulous array of primary sources. Louisa Hollandine's excellent paintings and Dutch painter Gerrit van Honthorst's portraits also provide a glimpse into their lives. Moreover, the author wades through the political, religious, and social intricacies of seventeenth century Europe with masterful ease, showing not only how this family fits into it, but also how they in turn drove it, even while facing enemies, impoverishment, and refuge in strange places. England's civil war, the Dutch Golden Age, German and French politics, and the battle between Catholicism and Protestantism are factors that

give this book much of its strength. Although history so often does not give attention to women, Goldstone is able to bring these four sisters and their mother into the light.

The other strength of this joint biography is Goldstone's engaging writing style. Her narrative is compelling, rich, and easy to read. Her "asides"—comments that give a bit of additional perspective—are often humorous and do not take away any of the seriousness of her work. For example, while comparing the heroic military prowess of Gustavus, King of Sweden (1594–1632), to the weakness of Elizabeth's brother, Charles I, and to a number of German leaders, Goldstone describes one of the latter, "The elector of Brandenburg, a

man who seemingly could be cowed by a strong breeze," then adds in a footnote remark about Gustavus, "And this was the prince Elizabeth's parents wouldn't let her marry! What a couple these two would have made." Indeed, the Swedish king had been one of Elizabeth's suitors prior to her marriage to Frederick.

Daughters of the Winter Queen is well worth reading. Goldstone holds degrees in History and International Affairs from Cornell University and Columbia University. She has written several other biographies on queens who reigned in the High Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment periods, all of which have received high praise from reviewers and readers alike.

Review: Stagville State Historic Site, Durham, North Carolina

Deanna Simmons

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The Stagville Historic Site is approximately ten miles from Durham off Old Oxford Highway.

I found out about Stagville State Historic Site during a Google search of former slave plantations near me. Immediately intrigued, I decided to visit the plantation and participate in the guided tour. I arrived just as the tour began and joined the group as they walked toward the first visible structure you see when you arrive on the premises.

The Bennehan-Cameron families owned the plantations preserved at Stagville. By the end of the Civil War several thousand slaves had lived on

their estates, which stretched across forty-seven square miles of land. In April of 1865, some thousand or so slaves were emancipated from these lands. When the first house was erected in the 1780s and the Bennehan family moved into it, they already owned close to thirty people. While no original slave cabins rest on that part of the property, excavations have uncovered evidence of where slave cabins once stood.

The original “Big House” was a two-room structure, which the family

renovated into a larger home as they amassed their wealth into the nineteenth century. The tour guide, Vera, was exceptional. She was knowledgeable and answered any questions that the guests on her tour had with confidence. It was clear that she was not just reciting the information from a script, but that she had done extensive research as one of the historians on the property.

She recounted a tale about a former slave on the plantation, Mary Walker. Mary's family had been enslaved by the Bennehan-Cameron's for generations before her birth. Duncan Cameron assigned her to be a caretaker for his sick daughters, who had contracted tuberculosis. During her time as a caretaker, Cameron traveled to Philadelphia to seek out the best medical care for his sickly daughters. Vera notes that during this time, Pennsylvania was a free state. Although travelling to a free state did not affect Mary's slave status, it was still risky for her master, because the abolitionist movement was strong there.

By this time, Mary had three young children and an elderly grandmother on Cameron's plantation. Although her desire for freedom was strong, the fear of the unknown of what her running away would mean for her family back home was even stronger. Mary traveled to Philadelphia twice with the Camerons without incident. However, on her third trip, she argued with her master for an unknown reason. He threatened to separate her and her family, either by sending her deeper south into Alabama or by sending her family there. It was this threat that gave Mary the push she needed to run.

Mary escaped successfully and is the only recorded case of a runaway slave to leave the Bennehan-Camerons, never to be captured and re-enslaved. While the next ten or fifteen years were especially difficult for Mary, as evidenced by the diary she kept, she lived to see the end of the Civil War and was reunited with two of her three children upon their emancipation.

Following this story, the group is instructed to drive a half a mile down the road to Horton Grove, another plantation held by the Bennehan-Cameron family. While most of the slave quarters have been destroyed, this part of the plantation holds four original slave cabins. These are atypical from what most people imagine a slave cabin to look like and where most slaves lived. The slave cabins on this property were completed around 1851. They housed four to five slave families, which equaled about twenty or thirty people. Horton Grove held approximately ninety to one hundred people in bondage. The most incredible part of this portion of the tour is that the tour guide points out that if you look close enough at the bricks that make up the chimney, you can see the fingerprints of enslaved people that helped to build those structures.

Those slave quarters were inhabited into the forties by descendants of enslaved people. They became sharecroppers following emancipation. The feeling of standing inside the slave cabin is truly indescribable. As someone who is a descendant of slaves, it is difficult to imagine your ancestors living and working in bondage. However, to see what the enslaved people were able

to create in terms of the structures they built and the communities they must have created is incredible.

The final structure at Horton Grove is the Great Barn, which was completed in 1860. Two things stand out about this structure. First is its astonishing size. Upon completion, it was the largest barn in North Carolina. Second, as previously noted, the construction was completed in 1860, just a few months before the start of the Civil War. In retrospect, it was evident to us that the end of the institution of slavery was near. Still, to the Cameron family, it was probably impossible to imagine a world without slavery. Their investment in infrastructure and expansion of their lands is indicative of this.

It is difficult to ignore the harshness and brutality that was American chattel slavery, especially when you are standing in what would have been the

living quarters of former slaves. The Bennehan-Cameron families amassed their land and fortune on the backs of their enslaved property. Preservation of these lands and structures is an integral part of remembering the history of African Americans in this country. To be able to stand inside one of these structures is much more effective than seeing them in pictures, in terms of proving their significance. Situated in Durham, North Carolina, Stagville is definitely worth the visit!

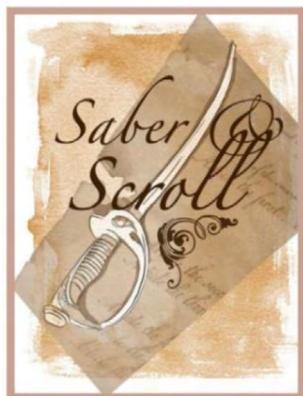
People interested in visiting Historic Stagville should visit their website: <https://www.stagville.org/>. The site is open Tuesday through Saturday, from 9:00am to 5:00pm. Visitors are free to explore the properties on their own, or they may join a guided tour. Guided tours begin at 11:00am, 1:00pm, and 3:00pm. Admission is always free.



The Bennehan-Cameron Plantation Home, also known as “The Big House.”

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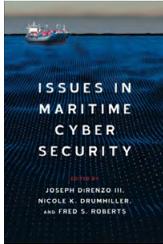
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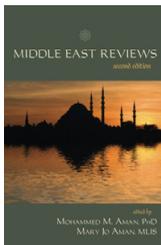
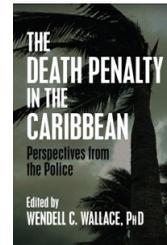


Issues in Maritime Cyber Security Edited by Nicole K. Drumhiller, Fred S. Roberts, Joseph DiRenzo III and Fred S. Roberts

While there is literature about the maritime transportation system, and about cyber security, to date there is very little literature on this converging area. This pioneering book is beneficial to a variety of audiences looking at risk analysis, national security, cyber threats, or maritime policy.

The Death Penalty in the Caribbean: Perspectives from the Police Edited by Wendell C. Wallace PhD

Two controversial topics, policing and the death penalty, are skillfully interwoven into one book in order to respond to this lacuna in the region. The book carries you through a disparate range of emotions, thoughts, frustrations, successes and views as espoused by police leaders throughout the Caribbean



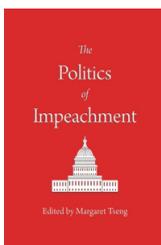
Middle East Reviews: Second Edition

Edited by Mohammed M. Aman PhD and Mary Jo Aman MLIS

The book brings together reviews of books published on the Middle East and North Africa. It is a valuable addition to Middle East literature, and will provide an informative read for experts and non-experts on the MENA countries.

Unworkable Conservatism: Small Government, Freemarkets, and Impracticality by Max J. Skidmore

Unworkable Conservatism looks at what passes these days for “conservative” principles—small government, low taxes, minimal regulation—and demonstrates that they are not feasible under modern conditions.

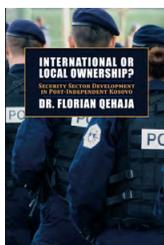
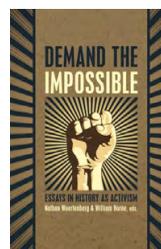


The Politics of Impeachment Edited by Margaret Tseng

This edited volume addresses the increased political nature of impeachment. It is meant to be a wide overview of impeachment on the federal and state level, including: the politics of bringing impeachment articles forward, the politicized impeachment proceedings, the political nature of how one conducts oneself during the proceedings and the political fallout afterwards.

Demand the Impossible: Essays in History as Activism Edited by Nathan Wuertemberg and William Horne

Demand the Impossible asks scholars what they can do to help solve present-day crises. The twelve essays in this volume draw inspiration from present-day activists. They examine the role of history in shaping ongoing debates over monuments, racism, clean energy, health care, poverty, and the Democratic Party.

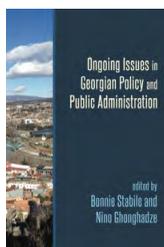
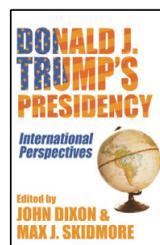


International or Local Ownership?: Security Sector Development in Post-Independent Kosovo by Dr. Florian Qehaja

International or Local Ownership? contributes to the debate on the concept of local ownership in post-conflict settings, and discussions on international relations, peacebuilding, security and development studies.

Donald J. Trump's Presidency: International Perspectives Edited by John Dixon and Max J. Skidmore

President Donald J. Trump's foreign policy rhetoric and actions become more understandable by reference to his personality traits, his worldview, and his view of the world. As such, his foreign policy emphasis was on American isolationism and economic nationalism.



Ongoing Issues in Georgian Policy and Public Administration Edited by Bonnie Stabile and Nino Ghonghadze

Thriving democracy and representative government depend upon a well functioning civil service, rich civic life and economic success. Georgia has been considered a top performer among countries in South Eastern Europe seeking to establish themselves in the post-Soviet era.

Poverty in America: Urban and Rural Inequality and Deprivation in the 21st Century Edited by Max J. Skidmore

Poverty in America too often goes unnoticed, and disregarded. This perhaps results from America's general level of prosperity along with a fairly widespread notion that conditions inevitably are better in the USA than elsewhere. Political rhetoric frequently enforces such an erroneous notion.

