

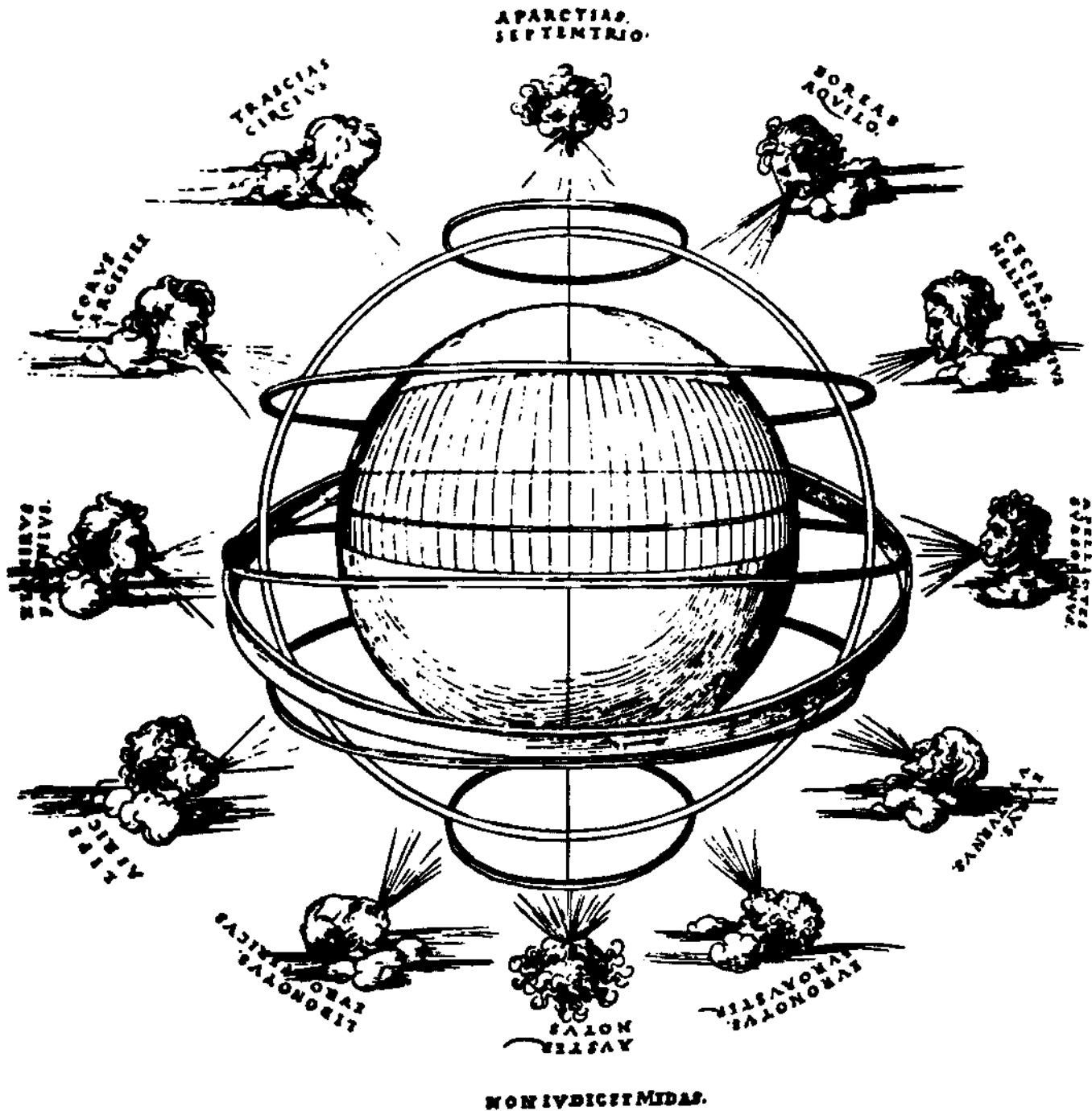
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PREFACE

To strive for excellence is the goal of each of us in academic pursuits: excellence not only in our grasp of subject matter, but also in relating it to others through the written word. LUSHA is pleased to present to the Loyola University community its fifth journal of student papers reflecting scholarship in topics of history and political science. This volume represents the most ambitious attempt to date by our organization to display the talents of Loyola student-scholars.

A.B.

P.E.S.

Il y a deux sortes d'hommes:
ceux qui veulent être quelqu'un, et
ceux qui veulent accomplir quelque chose.
--Jean Monnet

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Cover: "The Armillary Sphere." Albrecht Dürer, 1525.

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THE PROBLEM OF ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, KING OF ENGLAND

by Patrick E. Stolleis

A problem has been raised concerning the conflict between the primary sources and the modern authorities on St. Edward the Confessor, king of England. The primary sources present a generally favorable portrayal of Edward, while the modern authorities generally pass a harsher judgment on the monarch. The scope of this study is necessarily limited. Therefore the primary sources to be considered have been limited to those written up to the time of Edward's second translation in 1163, including the panegyric written for the occasion of the translation by Ailred of Rievaulx. This limitation is logical because all works written on Edward after 1163 are based on the last-mentioned work and have no independent value. The modern authorities to be considered have been limited to two very representative ones, E. A. Freeman and C. Oman.

The first and in many ways the most important of the primary sources is the anonymous Vita Aedwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit (The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster), which is attributed to a monk of St. Bertin and survives in a single mutilated manuscript of ca. 1100. There has been a scholarly controversy over the date of this work. H. R. Luard, on the basis of reasonable internal evidence, assigned the work a date before the death of Edith, widow of Edward, which took place on December 19, 1075.¹ The key passage for the basis of this judgment is as follows:

While she lives, giver of this promise and ignorant of false speech, certainly we live; that is enough. By the dutifulness of your pen you will surely please her.

E. A. Freeman,² C. Oman,³ and J. Armitage Robinson⁴ more or less agreed with Luard's dating. Marc Bloch, however, argued that the anonymous Vita was written at Wilton between 1103 and 1120 in order to foster a cult of Edith, Edward's widow, and that the author deliberately deceived in making the work appear as though written in 1066-67.⁵ Followers of Bloch's theory have included F. M. Powicke,⁶ R. R. Darlington,⁷ and F. M. Stenton.⁸ R. W. Chambers,⁹ B. Wilkinson,¹⁰ R. W. Southern,¹¹ and Eleanor K. Heningham¹² have adequately and convincingly refuted Bloch's theory and have defended the substance of Luard's.

The anonymous Vita is of outstanding historical importance because it is the closest in time and place of any extant work to the events and personalities of the reign of Edward the Confessor. The Vita is not a record of first-hand experiences, but it is the product of personal contact with some of the leading figures in the narrative, especially the dowager queen Edith and Stigand, bishop of Elmham, bishop of Winchester, and archbishop of Canterbury. The author's interpretation of events was his own, but the events themselves seem to have been recorded with accuracy. Since the narrative is based on the personal reflections of the queen and others, there is an element of bias, but it is a valuable bias, for this bias is that of chief actors in the narrative and therefore provides valuable insights into events. Furthermore, the interpretation was formulated by the author before the impact of the Norman Conquest would have had time to distort it.

The purpose of the Vita is primarily to eulogize the queen and her family--her father Godwine, earl of Wessex and Kent, and his sons. Edward figured

in the first part of the work mainly as the husband of Edith, the son-in-law of Godwine, and the brother-in-law of Godwine's sons. However, the tragic course of events immediately after the death of Edward destroyed the fortunes of Godwine's family. Naturally, the Norman Conquest and its aftermath profoundly affected the purpose of the Vita. The author, in order to salvage something of his original purpose, concentrated the latter part of his work on the life of Edward, who had died before the tragedy and was therefore not directly involved.

The author of the Vita gave a brilliant portrait of Edward. He knew Edward only as an old man and described him thus--approaching senility--stylizing his pen portrait so as to agree with the accepted ideal picture of an old king. But Edward was not always an old man. His passion for hunting in old age suggests an active and perhaps even strenuous youth, and even now the old fire flickered occasionally. Edward was eager to fight Godwine in 1052¹³ and the Northumbrian rebels in 1065,¹⁴ and his impotence on both occasions led to emotional crises.¹⁵ He was leonine in his anger.¹⁶ This was the man who led an army to despoil his mother in 1043, who destroyed his political rivals ruthlessly, who commanded the fleets in moments of peril, who took an active interest in the Welsh war, the man who ruled imperiously and often to his own private advantage the English church.

The author of the Vita curiously underplayed the saintly qualities of Edward's character. Apparently Edward was not already almost universally regarded as a saint. The miracles attributed to Edward were set down only when given on good authority.¹⁷ They are told not in a way to make the reader feel how miraculous they were but rather in a way to convince him that on these occasions something out of the ordinary really happened. It seems as if the author in presenting this material was trying diligently to protect himself from the charge of having fabricated it. At the same time it is clear from eleventh and twelfth century literature that contemporaries were not harassed by Voltarian objections to miracles and visions as such.

Although this seems new and strange to us, the Franks aver that Edward had done this often as a youth when he was in Neustria, now known as Normandy.¹⁸

Only certain exceptionally pious or sympathetic persons were represented as feeling that there was a special holiness in Edward: primarily the author, the queen, some of Edward's servants, the unnamed Frenchmen, a few people who felt that they had been healed by the king.¹⁹ On the other hand, the author told how Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, stood beside Edward's deathbed and declared that Edward's vision was a confection of old age and disease. This declaration may have seemed to the author a sign of lack of religious perception in Stigand; but to this author Stigand was still a living person. May not the attitude of Stigand be taken as a sample of a considerable segment of English opinion about the sanctity of Edward at the time when the Vita was written? The author did not claim to have been present on the occasion of Edward's miracles himself; he had this material from "the witness of good and suitable men." Apparently what he has done in his section on Edward's "higher life" was to take some stories current among the king's special admirers shortly after the king's death and set them down with his own conclusions as to what they signified.²⁰ These conclusions probably did signify a conviction in the author that Edward was a good candidate for sainthood. Still it seems not quite easy to decide what spiritual status the author wished to claim for Edward. The last sentence of the work applies sanctus

to Edward twice, but as a predicate adjective. On the other hand, neither beatus Edwardus ("Blessed Edward") nor sanctus Edwardus ("Saint Edward") is used anywhere in the Vita. Would the author have denied to Edward the full titles of sainthood, which he gave quite casually to Olaf, unless he had felt some difference in their status? The chief difference undoubtedly was that, whereas when he wrote Olaf was generally recognized as a saint, Edward was not.

Edward was generally praised by the medieval writers for his monkish virtues, of which chastity was the one most often singled out. The author of the Vita had several passages which may be thought to bear on the subject. He said that Edward "preserved with holy chastity the dignity of his consecration, and lived his whole life dedicated to God in true innocence."²⁰ This need not have meant anything more than the words of the poem. In the account of the vision of Brihtwold, archbishop of Canterbury, St. Peter is seen to crown Edward and "mark out for him a life of chastity."²¹ One might say that this is vision and not history, but the vision would of course have been devised so as to fit in with what was held to be the history. But strange as it may seem, the word coelebs does not imply either virginity or single life. Elsewhere Edward was called "the king as pure as a dove,"²² a phrase which may have meant anything, but in the passage in which it occurs there is no special mention of chastity. Lastly, Edward on his deathbed was made to say of Edith that "she has served me devotedly and has always stood close by my side like a beloved daughter."²³ But this was surely no more than might have been said by any maundering old man of a wife much younger than himself. In none of these passages is there any direct assertion of any vow or of any practice of virginity on the part of Edward. His chastity is undoubtedly praised. But the language in which it is praised does not necessarily imply anything more than might have been said with equal truth of any faithful husband. If the author had had any thought of the religious virginity of his hero and heroine, he would surely have expressed himself more distinctly. He would hardly have called Edith "his worthy spouse,"²⁴ without some kind of qualification.

The author of the Vita saw a principal theme unifying his narrative: namely, that there is a close relationship between the spiritual life of the nation and the kind of king and government provided at any given time; a specific king may be a divinely appointed scourge or blessing:

The kingdom of the English is of God; and after you he has already provided a king according to His will.²⁵

This theme was really a somewhat superficial application of Augustine's doctrine that history is, or reflects, the will of God.²⁶ This theory he applied to English history from about 1016 to 1066. Earlier sins resulted in Danish victories and the troubles under the sons of Cnut; penance and new effort brought Godwine to temper the reign of Cnut and ultimately the Golden Age of Edward; new lapse into sin has caused "those things which we for our sins bear at the present time." The final suggestion was "if we will but behave as the good men of the past, who can tell what better things God will grant us in the future?"²⁷ The author made every attempt to absolve Edward of the responsibility for the political disasters around him. He singled out the English church and higher clergy for special condemnation and blame.²⁸ The solution to the exoneration of Edward--a solution which was not completely satisfactory--was to emphasize the otherworldly aspects, the spiritual element, of Edward's life. But the author did not explain satisfactorily how the pious king and queen, supported by good lieutenants, could entirely avoid responsibility for the conditions which provoked God to punish once more the English people.²⁹ Edward emerges as a good but not perfect man, one who was

certainly fallible. The author's attempts to come to terms with Edward, to recognize him for what he was and yet to somehow raise him above the natural level of men, gave the anonymous Vita a rather ambiguous but realistic character.

The second primary source which discusses Edward the Confessor is The History of Westminster, by a monk of that house, Sulcard, written about 1080.³⁰ In this account Edward is allowed no prominence and attention is given mainly to the early history of the monastery--proof that at this time there was still no active cult of Edward at Westminster. Even so, Sulcard drew on the anonymous Vita for his notice of the royal benefactor.³¹ He spoke of Edward not as a saint but as a pious man and a good King: he called him "king of pious mention" and "most kind-hearted king," but there was no word of sanctity; he recorded his death and burial, but there was no word of miracles.³²

William of Malmesbury's De gestis regum Anglorum has been dated 1124-25. It is dependent for some material on the anonymous Vita, but is essentially independent of other primary sources on Edward.³³ William showed that there were still people who did not esteem Edward in his day. Now and then William himself seemed to vacillate between two views of the monarch. He gave him no higher surname than "Edward the simple,"³⁴ and over and over again, as if of set purpose, he spoke of his "simplicity" as his chief characteristic. The utmost that he could say for him was that his simplicity won for him favor and protection both with God and man. He was

a man too little fit for the exercise of authority because of the simplicity of his character, but devoted to God, and therefore directed by him. God really loved his simplicity. However lazy or simple he was thought to be, he had retainers who raised him up from humble to high endeavors.³⁵

William believed in his holiness, and even in his miraculous powers, but he has not wholly given up the right of criticism upon his character and actions. He was a full believer in Edward's miraculous power, but he again showed that there were two opinions on the subject. Some people affirmed that Edward cured the evil, not by virtue of his holiness, but by virtue of his royal descent.

In our time certain persons devote themselves to false work, who assert that the cure of that disease has arisen not from his holiness, but from the inheritance of his regal race.³⁶

William argued against such views but by so doing he proved that Edward's claims to holiness and miraculous power were still a moot point in his time. Concerning the question of Edward's chastity, William, in an unguarded moment, when he was discussing the policy of the king, and not the merits of the saint, said that Edward sent for the aetheling Edward, his nephew, from Hungary, "because he himself had not raised up children."³⁷

The remaining two primary sources to be considered are of less historical value than the preceding three because they are strictly hagiographical and dependent on other sources. When Henry I, king of England, married Maud, daughter of Malcolm III, king of Scotland, and a descendant of the English royal house, political conditions became favorable to the development of Edward's cult. The body was inspected or translated in 1102 by the abbot Gilbert Crispin, and was found to be incorrupt. Before the end of the reign a champion of the cause had arisen, a tempestuous monk, Osbert of Clare, who in 1138, when prior, presented the visiting legate, Alberic, cardinal bishop of Ostia, with a work he had written

on Edward's life and miracles entitled Vita Sancti Edwardi Confessoris, in order to prepare the way for a formal canonization. Shortly afterwards the abbey sent a delegation, led by Osbert, to Rome. But the case was unsatisfactory in several particulars; the political situation in England was uncertain; and the prudent pope declined to act. Osbert's Vita is essentially independent of William of Malmesbury's work, but is dependent for various material on the anonymous Vita, on Sulcard's work, and on the Westminster scedulae, schedules of miracles preserved at Westminster and such as were commonly kept by the guardians of shrines.³⁸ The Westminster schedules are of extremely doubtful historical value. Thus it becomes obvious that the Vita by Osbert has almost no independent historical value.

After 1158, the uncertain position of Edward's case for sainthood changed. When a new and unchallenged king was induced to support the cause, a much weightier petition could be presented to Rome. Pope Alexander III owed a debt of gratitude to the king, and on February 7, 1161, he canonized Edward by papal bull. This event merited a new life, especially since Osbert's was associated with the patronage of king Stephen. Abbot Laurence asked his kinsman, Ailred of Rievaulx, a distinguished English author, to undertake the work, and the Vita Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris was presented on the occasion of the second translation of Edward's relics on October 13, 1163. Ailred's Vita is based totally on that of Osbert of Clare and is merely a rewriting of Osbert's Vita. All the criticisms of Osbert's Vita apply equally to Ailred's, if not in greater measure. For example, Ailred's treatment of Edward's chastity consists chiefly of unproven adulatory assertions concerning his virginity.³⁹ In a similar vein is the story of Edward's election as king even before his birth.⁴⁰

Of the modern authorities on Edward the Confessor, perhaps the most venerable was E. A. Freeman. Freeman believed that the reputation of Edward rested on two grounds: He was the only immediate pre-Norman Conquest figure whom both the English and the Normans could admire. He possessed personal qualities which won him popular affection during life and which maintained him in popular reverence in death. His virtues were mostly monastic. Freeman also indicted Edward on several accounts: He was not a great man, and was utterly lacking in all kingly qualities. His wars were waged by deputy, and his civil government was carried on largely by deputy. He had fits of utter sloth and incapacity. He was constantly under the dominion of favorites. An evil choice of favorites in the earlier part of his reign caused most of the misfortunes of the time. A better choice of favorites in the latter part of his reign was responsible for most of the success he had. In fact, possibly the most honorable feature of Edward's whole life was that the last thirteen years of his reign were virtually the reign of Harold. Freeman also indicted Edward for occasional fits of wrath; love of hunting, manifesting a lack of truly gentle, humanitarian qualities; and sympathy for France and Normandy, with a corresponding lack of sympathy for English habits, feelings, and language.⁴¹

The other modern authority to be considered is C. Oman, whose estimate of Edward was substantially the same as Freeman's. Oman emphasized the influence of Edward's long exile before his accession on his later character and policy, drawing a parallel to the debilitating caution of Charles II, who was also anxious "not to go on his travels again."⁴²

After an examination of these pertinent primary sources and modern authorities, one can conclude that the conflict between them consists essentially in the attitude taken toward the same set of characteristics. The authors of the primary sources were part of the medieval milieu, which enabled them to dismiss

temporal failings if they were redeemed by spiritual success. The modern authorities have judged by the impersonal, objective standards of Realpolitik, which measures a man only by his concrete achievements in the political sphere. According to the hard standards of Realpolitik, Edward the Confessor was indeed a failure.

NOTES

- 1 H. R. Luard (ed.), Lives of Edward the Confessor (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, publ. under the direction of the Master of the Rolls).
- 2 E. A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England, Vol. I (Oxford, 1870, rev.), p. 398; Vol. II (Oxford, 1870, rev.), passim, esp. pp. 3, 489, 523-524, 600-601, 624.
- 3 C. Oman, England before the Norman Conquest (New York, 1910), p. 634.
- 4 J. Armitage Robinson, "The Church of Edward the Confessor at Westminster," Archaeologia, LXII (1910), 82.
- 5 Marc Bloch, "La vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert le Clare," Analecta Bollandiana, XLI (1923), 5-131.
- 6 F. M. Powicke, Short Notice, English Historical Review, XXXIV (1924), 628-629.
- 7 R. R. Darlington, The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury (London, 1928), p. 34, n. 3.
- 8 F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1943), p. 686.
- 9 R. W. Chambers, "On the Continuity of English Prose...", Nicholas Harpsfield, Life of Moore, E. V. Hitchcock, ed. (London, 1932), pp. lxiii-lxiv; and Man's Unconquerable Mind (London, 1939), p. 83.
- 10 B. Wilkinson, "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XXII (1938), 379.
- 11 R. W. Southern, "The First Life of Edward the Confessor," English Historical Review, LVIII (1943), 385-400.
- 12 Eleanor K. Heningham, "The Genuineness of the Vita Aeduardi Regis," Speculum, XXI (1946), 419-420.
- 13 Vita Aedwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit, S. Bertini monacho ascripta, Frank Barlow, ed. and trans. (London, 1962), p. 27.
- 14 Ibid., p. 53.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 28, 53-54.
- 16 Ibid., p. 12.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 61, 63, 75.
- 18 Ibid., p. 62.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
- 21 Ibid., p. 9.
- 22 Ibid., p. 63.
- 23 Ibid., p. 79.
- 24 Ibid., p. 46.
- 25 Ibid., p. 9.
- 26 Heningham, 436, n. 1.
- 27 Vita Aedwardi Regis, pp. 5, 7, 78.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 77-79.
- 29 Ibid., p. 77.
- 30 It is dedicated to Abbot Vitalis, who ruled ca. 1076?-1085, according to J. Armitage Robinson, Flete's History of Westminster, pp. 139-142.
- 31 Vita Aedwardi Regis, p. xxxvii; Heningham, 450-454.
- 32 The passage on Edward from Sulcard, The History of Westminster, is printed in Bloch, 29-31.
- 33 Vita Aedwardi Regis, p. xxxvii.
- 34 William of Malmesbury, De gestis regum Anglorum, W. Stubbs, ed. (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, publ. under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, 1887-89), iii. 259.
- 35 Ibid., ii. 196.

- 36 Ibid., ii. 222.
- 37 Ibid., ii. 228.
- 38 Vita Aedwardi Regis, p. xxxvii. See also The Letters of Osbert of Clare prior of Westminster, E. W. Williamson, ed. (Oxford, 1929), pp. 84, 123.
- 39 Ailred of Rievaulx, Vita Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, Patrologia Latina, J. P. Migne, ed., CXCIV, col. 747-748.
- 40 Ibid., col. 741.
- 41 E. A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England (3d ed., Oxford, 1877). Vol. II, pp. 20-29.
- 42 Oman, pp. 611-612.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SPANISH AMERICA

by Beryl F. Burst

One important facet that leads to a greater understanding of Latin America of today is the study of its administration during the colonial period. The administrative agencies introduced by Spain have left an indelible mark on South America. Whether this imprint has been harmful or beneficial to Latin America is still widely discussed.

The most powerful institution that influenced Spanish America was the Council of Indies. It was established in 1524 under Charles V, and given the supreme authority of overseeing and centralizing the colonies. Among its vast duties were making (or selling) appointments, exercising financial and economic control of the colonies, and making laws for the empire. Charles Chapman accredited the Council with one significant contribution:

It accumulated great archives, rich in information about the Americas, and its activities are certainly one of the most noteworthy sources of information for an understanding of Spanish America of pre-independence times.¹

The personnel of the Council consisted of a president, four or five councilors, a secretary, a fiscal, a reporter, a clerk of accounts, and an usher. In 1528 a grand chancellor was appointed and from time to time other officials were appointed. Even a historian and a cosmographer were added in 1571.²

Although they had a sufficient amount of qualified officials, things did not always run smoothly. C. H. Haring states:

As the Council of the Indies ranked second in order of honorific importance under the crown, its members were frequently promoted to the Council in Castile, in the seventeenth century too rapidly to permit of much continuity in the labors of colonial administration.³

Another problem encountered by the Council concerning its officials was the calibre of the officials. Many of these officials bought their offices. They were more concerned with power and prestige than benefiting the Indies. Almost all had never been to the Indies and thus, they could not understand fully the problems that they attempted to solve.

The competence of the Council of Indies extended to every sphere of government: legislative, financial, judicial, military, ecclesiastical, and commercial. All other officials and tribunals were solemnly forbidden to meddle in its affairs. The king was absolute lord of the Indies and the Council was his mouthpiece. It resided at the court, and its deliberations were secret. All laws and decrees relating to the administration, taxation, and police of the American dominions were prepared and dispatched by the Council.⁴

One important work of the legislators of the Council was the compilation of over 6,000 laws. This four-volume work is known as the Recopilación. C. H. Haring says that it lacks the organic character of a modern code in the distribution and coordination of the statutes. He goes on to say that the statutes are not always formulated with the precision one would desire;

contradictions or inconsistencies abound; marginal references are frequently in error. In spite of these defects Haring maintains that the Recopilacion is one of the most humane and comprehensive codes published for any colonial empire.⁵

In all, the Council accomplished its foremost aim of centralizing the colonies under one agency. All persons and products coming from and going to the colonies had to pass through the Council. However, its policies were not always effective or beneficial to the colonies. It had a tendency to be over meticulous and bureaucratic. Charles Gibson summarizes the Council's inadequacies:

It operated through lengthy, deliberative sessions surrounded by massive quantities of reports, laws, opinions, briefs, and other types of contemporary record. Especially in the seventeenth century, after the colonial administrative machinery had been created and as the internal and international position of Spain deteriorated, the Council reflected the progressive weakening of Spanish monarchy and government. In general it mirrored the characters, attitudes, and beliefs of the ruling kings: it was self-confident, vigorous, and precise under Philip II in the latter part of the sixteenth century; it was phlegmatic, dilatory, and in bad repute under Charles II a hundred years later.⁶

Another significant office introduced into Latin America by Spain was the viceroyalty office. It was experimented with in 1535 in Mexico under Antonio de Mendoza. Due to his success the institution was established in other areas. The viceroy of a region acted as the executive head of the government, enforcer of laws, military commander-in-chief, vice-patron of the Church, inspector general, and superintendent of finances. It was also his responsibility to guard the food supply, health and morals of his subjects, and supervise Indian affairs. He acted as governor and captain-general of the capital city, and he held the post of president of the audiencia.

Many of these viceroys were statesmen of the first rank, especially in the early years when everything had to be done to organize a durable European society in Latin America. A few of the viceroys were scholars, founders of colleges, interested in literature and the arts, and held salons in the viceregal palace. But most of them ruled indifferently, leaving little behind but their portraits, which may be seen today in the museums of Lima and Mexico City.⁷ The viceroys were often thwarted in their efforts by the unruliness of powerful colonists, by the pride and arrogance of the higher clergy, by the jealousy of royal judges and other officials, or by the distrust of the government in Spain.

However, many viceroys overcame these obstacles, to bring reform and improvements to Spain. One significant work of one of the viceroys is the lengthy memorial of Instrucción which he left for the guidance of his successor. It is a document of 353 printed pages, and it is one of the most noteworthy state papers that have come down to us from colonial times.⁸

The viceroyalty post was established to, first, place some check on the almost arbitrary authority of the conquistadores and secondly to unify the scattered colonies. They were to remain aloof from their subjects and to take on the aura of a king. They were not permitted to bring their families to America, to engage in business in any way, acquire estates, or visit with individuals. However, the viceroys did not always meet up to the kings demands.

Chapman described them as being much like Oriental satraps of Roman proconsuls, in that they acted as they pleased, often directly contrary to the wishes of the government in Spain.⁹ Chapman further depicted them as corrupt for the most part.

They received great salaries and many lucrative perquisites; but their richest source of income was often through the medium of graft. Three years of rule was generally reputed time enough to accumulate a fortune, sufficient to buy off the judges of the residencia and leave a surplus which would enable one to live in ease and luxury for the rest of his days.¹⁰

Although there were a few decent, competent and honorable viceroys, most were mediocre and corrupt. It was the corrupt official who stamped himself upon the traditions of Spanish America. He became a norm in political life, greatly esteemed, but not so much for character and achievement as for position in society and opportunities for wealth. Chapman describes this: "With no better model to observe during three centuries than the Spanish viceroys, it was natural that the peoples of Hispanic America should accept them as the standard of high authority and imitate them when occasion offered."¹¹ Thus, it seems that the post of viceroy left an unfavorable effect on Latin America of today.

A third important aspect of the Spanish administration was the creation of the audiencias. The American audiencias were a faithful reflection of a similar institution in the peninsula. In Spain they were purely judicial tribunals. In America, however, they performed a twofold function, judicial, and political or administrative. The first high court was set upon in 1511 in Santo Domingo. It was enlarged and given more power in 1526. It consisted of at least four judges, a fiscal agent, attorneys, clerks, guards and a chaplain. The audiencias were the highest courts of law in the colonies and, except in cases involving very great sums of money, were courts of final appeal. With the appearance of the viceroys and captain-generals the powers of the audiencias dwindled, but they were still important in many respects. If a viceroy or captain-general exceeded his authority, the audiencia had the right and duty of calling him to order.¹²

Another function of the audiencia was to assume full viceregal powers when absence or incapacity prevented viceroys from governing in person, and at other times they shared and even usurped viceregal prerogatives.

Although the audiencia lost considerable power when the office of viceroy was established, it too had some influence on Latin America. In Chapman's discussion of the audiencias he concludes with this statement which points out its influence.

Even by the end of the reign of Charles I they had yielded to viceroy and captain-general in importance. The seemingly inevitable tendency in Hispanic life toward executive predominance had already prevailed--a tendency which was to become a fixed habit with the peoples of Hispanic America.¹³

Next, in the hierarchy of Spanish America administrators, were the provincial rulers. These included the offices of adelantado, captain-general, governor, alcalde mayor and corregidor. The first rank given was that of adelantado. It was given to Columbus when he opened up

the New Frontier. An adelantado is an officer of high rank who assumes complete power in frontier districts. He has the authority to explore, conquer, and colonize a specifically named territory at his own expense. He becomes governor of the region with numerous special privileges, in the event of a successful expedition. Usually the title was inherited.

The office is an old one, it belonged to the medieval polity of Castile. It was revived in the New World because these newer regions were the frontier of Castile. The adelantados were of significance only for the early period of the Spanish settlement in the sixteenth century. As soon as an area was colonized a royal governor would move in.¹⁴

Another provincial title was that of captain-general. According to Haring the captaincy-general was independent of viceregal intervention even though it was regarded as part of the viceroyalty. The dignity and salary of the captain-general was less than that of the viceroy. His title denoted military rank and he was a royal governor of a region independent of the viceroy and subject to the king and council in Spain. Haring says that due to these two offices, adequate and effective administration was prevented in the colonies. He further explains, "There was never a clear-cut line of demarcation between the functions of various governmental agencies dealing with colonial problems."¹⁵ The role of the governor was similar to that played by the captain-general. The district administered by a governor was usually of greater territorial extent than that of the corregidor or the alcalde mayor, and his territory was less definitely associated with a single town than was generally the case in the other administrative units. Haring says that an examination of a colonial map reveals the area to be either an area originally conquered and settled by an adelantado who was rewarded with the title of governor, or it was an outlying area, a sparsely settled frontier region, where considerable personal authority and a firm hand were needed to preserve the king's peace.¹⁶

The governors possessed both political and judicial authority within their respective districts. The governors sometimes combined with their title that of captain-general, which added military powers to the extensive civil authority they already exercised. The geographical distribution of the governors demonstrated that no systematic plan was followed nor uniformity sought in the nomenclature of local administrative units. Thus, the governors were often at a disadvantage and they often came into conflict with the other provincial rulers and higher officials. One result of this disorganization was a growing disunity of the Latin American peoples which exists even today.

A fourth provincial ruler was the alcalde mayor. The alcalde mayor, like the governor, possessed both political and judicial authority over a given district. However, the alcalde mayor's district was considerably smaller. His duties of issuing decrees or commands and serving as a judicial officer were similar to the governor. Haring finds these posts of governor, alcalde mayor and corregidor so close that "for all practical purposes the terms may be taken as synonymous."¹⁷

The corregidor held an important position on the provincial level. They were nominated by the king and they usually held office for a term of three years. He was required by law to make a tour of the district, informing himself about local administration of justice and government, hearing cases and taking remedial action when necessary, inspection inns, hospitals and

markets, and reporting the results of his inspection to the audiencias.

One important function of the corregidor for which he is well remembered was his responsibility to the Indians. It was his duty to collect tribute and labor drafts from the Indians. He also distributed goods to the natives. Usually he forced the natives to purchase worthless goods he had bought at a low cost and sold them at a profit. This contributed to the long list of abuses against the Indians which is still felt in Latin America.

The final Spanish institution that influenced the making of Latin America was the cabildo. It was established as early as 1507 when attorneys from Santo Domingo went to Spain to seek concessions from the crown to grant powers and privileges to a municipal corporation. The cabildo was the only institution in which the creole was largely represented. Because of this, the cabildos played a significant role in the wars for independence.

The duties of the regidores were many, but they were not very important. They were in charge of police matters, sanitation, protection of the people from foreigners and Indians, in utilizing public land outside the urban area, and others. They lost importance in the sixteenth century and they became almost non-influential by 1808.

In summary this brief survey of the Council of Indies, the vice-royalty office, the audiencia, provincial rulers, and the cabildo demonstrates the inconsistencies and diversifications of the Spanish government which led to independent countries with little or no unity. Because of the injustices of the officials and restrictions of the laws, violations became almost a necessity for economic development. It became a habit of the people (even after the revolutions) to disregard laws and lawmakers. "There remained a general and enduring discrepancy between the law and actual life," says George Pendle in his History of Latin America.¹⁸

NOTES

- 1 Charles Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America: A History (New York, 1933), p. 129.
- 2 C. H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (New York, 1947), p. 104.
- 3 Ibid., p. 104.
- 4 Ibid., p. 106.
- 5 Ibid., p. 111.
- 6 Charles Gibson, Spain in America (New York, 1966), p. 93.
- 7 Haring, p. 127.
- 8 Ibid., p. 129.
- 9 Chapman, p. 141.
- 10 Ibid., p. 142.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid., p. 136.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Haring, pp. 22-25.
- 15 Ibid., p. 122.
- 16 Haring, p. 138.
- 17 Ibid., p. 139.
- 18 George Pendle, A History of Latin America (Baltimore, 1963), p. 218.

A LOOK AT THE GREAT MAN THEORY

by Joseph W. Looney

The standpoint that each historian assumes is dictated in large part by the era and area in which he writes. Nineteenth-century England generated numerous historians and social critics, but very little homogeneity of aspect. Perhaps the most original of the Victorian historians was Thomas Carlyle, the originator of the Great Man Theory of history. This approach sounds simple enough, that it is the great men of each age who determine the history of that age; but there is a great deal more to it--as regards both background and presentation. This paper will treat Carlyle and his theory; but rather than pass judgment on his thesis, it will merely present a few of its more pertinent aspects, and leave the judgment as to its validity up to the reader and Carlylean student.

The Victorian Age in England has been the object of extensive research in recent times, and the results of that research have been remarkably consistent. As with all eras, it is impossible to set its chronological termini; but it is largely agreed that the inception of the "temper" of the age may be traced back as far as the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The revolution decided the fate of the English feudal system and its accompanying mentality. With the deposition of James II, the final representative of the British Empire's Ancien Régime, the popular view of government underwent a drastic change. The Hobbesian concept of politics, that a despotic government is indispensable to the order of the State, gave way to the more humanistic Lockean view, that each man is naturally endowed and indeed possesses a natural right to manage his own affairs. According to this latter interpretation, government should be restrained rather than extended, its main concern resting with the protection of property. Society was beginning to be viewed as an on-going process, not merely a static contract; the government should then assume the stance of laissez-faire, non-interference in this process.

Consequently, "natural laws of economics" arose, one of which was the boom-depression cycle. Industrialism having been firmly implanted by the first part of the eighteenth century, large amounts of capital found their way into circulation; wealth became accessible to great numbers; and the population exploded. Naturally, periods of want followed periods of plenty, and the resulting polarization of wealth gave birth to the expected effects--a vast poor population and a growing, hungry and dangerous urban working class.

The Victorian considered this state of affairs, this socio-economic flux, inevitable and natural. He could even accept the argument of Malthus--that an unfavorable proportion between the rate of food-production and the rate of population-growth leads to a decrease in the rate of procreation, thus a more favorable proportion--and thus reconciled himself to expansive starvation among the poorer class.

As the century progressed, the situation worsened. The new Reform Government, which took control in 1832, jailed the poor; passed prohibitive legislation against trade unions; and implemented the Corn Laws, which taxed imported corn to benefit national production. The theory of laissez-faire demanded human sacrifice; and the policy-making Victorian, recognizing the situation as inevitable, if undesirable, provided it.¹

In the area of theory, an extensive diversity of philosophies appeared. The time had ushered in questions that had to be answered anew: what was man's place in this industrialized universe? Should he interfere with the rampaging process in any way whatsoever? The enlightened Augustans had recently propounded the theory of man's rational excellence and an ordered universe; the Romantics had sought the existence of something personal and eternally significant, a respite from that stifling rationality. The Victorians were beginning to view the universe as neither rational nor personal, but as working; and they were not extremely comfortable with the realization that they were only minute, replaceable parts in that immense industrial Monster. The old accepted theories of ethics, religion, economics and politics were losing their credibility faster than they could be replaced, but contemporary theoreticians flooded the market with possibilities. The result was an age which John Morley describes as being "of science, new knowledge, searching criticism, followed by multiple doubts and shaken beliefs."²

The instability of the philosophical situation soon pervaded the entire atmosphere, and doubt settled into the mentality.

As one prophet after another stepped forward with his program of reconstruction, the hubbub of contending theories, gaining in number as the century advanced, and spreading out from the intellectuals to the large audience of the periodicals, created a climate of opinion in which, quite apart from any specific doubts, the habit of doubt was unconsciously bred.³

But there was still one redeeming factor--man had the ability to find the answers if they were to be found; and, indeed, if universals existed in all areas as they appeared to in the natural sciences, then they were to be found.⁴

Into such a state of affairs came Thomas Carlyle, "a great patriot, who thought of his country 'as a lover or a child.'"⁵ The social plight of England was of most immediate concern; theory was a luxury, to be indulged in only after his countrymen were fed. The significant characteristic of the Universe, to Carlyle, was its manifestation in Action--if one doesn't act, he doesn't eat;⁷ and Carlyle's writings took on the aspect of propaganda rather than rhetoric. Each man must move and work, they encouraged; he must give heed only to those things which directly pertain to his present state.

The present state of Carlyle himself, however, required certainty in matters of theory as well. His world-view swirled outward from the recognition of the state of nineteenth century English society. It was this empirical situation that gave birth to his system of thought. But it did not prohibit him from making the attempt at interpreting the Universe. He, too, recognized the confusion in the general atmosphere; he, too, looked for some universal law. His writings suggest such an encompassing quest; he writes "very much as a poet writes, leaving aside the more particular or minuter features of this or that age. . . in the quest of that which is fundamentally human and perennially alive."⁷

Although Carlyle warns that man's proper conduct in the face of History is not to presume to "measure or account for this immeasurable Thing," but to "edify, instruct, nourish or amuse and gratify thyself,"⁸ he himself does impose upon it a structure and attempt an interpretation of its meaning. It is that interpretation that this paper will consider in the following pages.

By attempting to understand Carlyle's organic view of the Universe, his theory of the Hero's place in this organism, his use of myth, and his idea of the ultimate end of this historical experience and its significance to man, we can hope to become better acquainted with the man who saw Great Men as the determining factor in history; yet the man whom history determined to conceive the Great Man Theory.

1

Thomas Carlyle's theory of the Universe had its rude beginnings in the half-developed Victorian fear mentioned above--that the Universe is a giant working Thing, and each man in it is merely a working unit. This concept found itself reshaped in Carlyle's hands; and the resulting attitude, now stripped of its original pessimism, bestowed a profound significance on man and the Universe. For Carlyle made the obvious observation, that all this activity must be leading to something; indeed, all mechanistic operations produce. The world is active, he decided: it is a body of energy constantly developing, constantly growing toward some definite end.⁹ And man, since he is in the system, is expected to contribute to this process. The very fact that the world is ordered proclaims the presence of some sort of Justice at its base, for whatever conformed to that order would be just, and whatever did not would be unjust. Carlyle found quite a bit of security in this realization. He knew nothing about the Universe except that it was dictated by a Justice; but that is all he and the Victorians really needed to know.

The Universe, I say, is made by Law; the great Soul of the World is just and not unjust. Look thou, if thou have eyes or soul left, into this great shoreless Incomprehensible: in the heart of its tumultuous Appearances, Embroilments, and mad Time-vortexes, is there not, silent, eternal, an All-just, an All-beautiful; sole Reality and ultimate controlling Power of the whole? This is not a figure of speech; this is a fact.¹⁰

This idea of organic growth took on a tremendous significance for Carlyle and accounted for quite a few things that had been badgering the philosophical Victorian. Time, likewise, assumed a different significance; it, too, had to be viewed as a continual and ever-developing process. The relationship of past, present and future was no longer that of three clearly distinguished and separate categories of before, during and after. They formed one continuum, according to Carlyle, one eternal Now, having only one significance, not three. "The centuries are lineal children of one another,"¹¹ and though the grandparents are no longer walking in our world, they provided the seed that developed into those that are. The former transfer themselves, chromosome-like, into those now going on.

The Past is a dim indubitable fact: the Future too is one, only dimmer; nay properly it is the same fact in new dress and development. For the Present holds in it both the whole Past and the whole Future;--as the LIFE-TREE IGDRASIL, wide-waving, many-toned, has its roots down deep in the Death-kingdoms, among the oldest dead dust of men, and with its boughs reaches always beyond the stars; and in all times and places is one and the same Life-tree!¹²

The Past is, then, an Hermione-statue that comes to life again as the

world grows older; Time is, then, an Igrasil tree with its three Nornas (Fates)--Past, Present and Future--at the foot; Time is a mystical body of three contingents living in and contributing to that of "Time militant," the only one we see. "The Beginning holds in it the End, and all that leads thereto; as the acorn does the oak and its fortunes."¹³

England would still be a primeval jungle were this relation not the case. Though the land changes from epoch to epoch, it is not merely those who inhabit it at that time who make it what it is--it is "all the Heroic Souls that ever lived in England. . . all the men that ever cut a thistle, drained a puddle. . . did or said a true and valiant thing."¹⁴ St. Paul's is as much the result of the introducer of the hammer to the island as of Christopher Wren; Hamlet is as much the result of the first cave-decorator as of Shakespeare. "Their crumbled dust makes up the soil our life-fruit grows on."¹⁵

The Future, to Carlyle, is not something that will come very soon; it is here. Not figuratively, in the sense that there are effects from the past that are present and potential causes of the future; but actually. We see division merely because we cannot see the whole: "What wonders live in every Day,--had we the sight as happily we have not, to decipher it: for is not every meanest Day 'the conflux of two Eternities'?"¹⁶ It is not the wood of Pandora's box that separates the Present from the Future, nor the iron of Janus' door. Rather it is mere cloth, a curtain¹⁷ to prohibit us from seeing too soon.

2

Such an organically developing world, determined by a Justice, would seem to prohibit the actions of one man from "changing the course of history." There is room for man, it would seem, if he works quietly and unobtrusively and stays with the group; but any flagrant act of disruption, any break from the status quo would seem to signify a counter-action to that ruling Justice, and, thus, an evil. Since certain men have done this, and since the world is as it is today because they have done it, the organic development of the Universe must long ago have been destroyed, and chaos become the ruling force. Moses, Luther, Cromwell and Napoleon must really be Evil Geniuses, and the Merovingian kings and Lord North the true Heroes of history.

If we adopt Carlyle's frame of mind, however, there is room for the here in the organic situation; and as his historical theory posits, there is a necessity for him. For who is to say these violent reversals in process are not as much a part of the organic plan as the rising of the Humean sun tomorrow? And except for isolated cases, as in Sodom and Gomorrah or Pompei, The Universe does not often utilize her cosmological forces to bring about changes. Men are the drones of the Universe; it is they with whom universal history is concerned, it is with their demise that universal history will end. "Revolts ripen, break forth like dumb dread Forces of Nature; and yet they are Men's forces; and yet we are part of them."¹⁸

It is in the direct participation in the organic conduct of the Universe that the Hero's greatness lies. It is a gift from Justice to be used to the promotion of Justice: in hoc dono, vices. "The Great Man, here too, as always, is a Force of Nature: whatsoever is truly great in him springs-up from the inarticulate depths."¹⁹

Just as he has a specific place in the organic Universe, the Hero has a special relationship to organic Time. His deeds are still going on and will continue; the very world will bear his stamp. All heroes will live with Danton, after their annihilation, in the Pantheon of History.²⁰ Carlyle even goes so far as to say that the future Great Man is already at work, though unborn and unseen. "The Hero is Divine and Eternal, which exists always, unseen to most, under the Temporary, Trivial: his being is in that; he declares that abroad, by act or speech as it may be, in declaring himself abroad."²¹

The Great Man is even blessed with the ability to see past the curtain, in a sense, for what he plans to be there is often, thus, created there. It is allowed him, like Time in *The Winter's Tale*, to use his wings of thought and plan, to slide into the future. He wanders into the future alone, blazing the trail upon which he will soon lead the world. He is in the Future, and the Future is in him.

Carlyle specifies six heroic categories: Divinity, Prophet, Poet, Priest, Man of Letters and King. He insists that whatever system of belief, whatever religion or ideology one professes, it is ultimately founded upon hero-worship. It began with Paganism and formed there the archetypal basis for whatever liturgy and belief later developed: it, too is part of the inarticulate in man.²² Man is constantly striving for perfection, which the Hero has accomplished in some manner. He is therefore esteemed by humanity.

The first Hero, the Divinity, Carlyle admits to be an error of judgment. No Great Man can ever hope to be apotheosized. The exaggeration is due, he asserts, to a world-view that existed for the Pagan but is no longer present. "The world, which is now divine only to the gifted, was then divine to whosoever would turn his eye upon it."²³ Recognition of a truly good man by his tribe was limitless, not bounded by human superlatives. Divinity was always on the Pagan's mind; this man resembled Divinity; he thus became it.²⁴

The Hero-Prophet begins with that innate awareness of the manifold greatness of the Fact of Existence. The reality of the Universe is ever-present to him; he cannot ignore it. The realization necessitates the spreading of the kerigma, and the Prophet acts in accord with it. He must open the eyes of those who do not see:

Understand that (God's) will is best for you; that howsoever
sore to flesh and blood, you will find it the wisest, best:
you are bound to take it so; in this world and in the next,
you have no other thing that you can do.²⁵

As for the Prophet's significance to history, Carlyle holds up Mahomet, "for three-and-twenty years, the center of a world wholly in conflict,"²⁶ who by his message brought the Arab Nation out of its solipsistic darkness into the position of world-emperor one century thence.²⁷

The poet-Hero sings the heroic. For him to correctly celebrate the heroic, he must know it completely.²⁸ And the fact that he sings shows that he is in tune with the voice of Nature; for the "heart of Nature is everywhere music, if you can only reach it."²⁹ He too, then, has special access to the sacred mystery like the Prophet, but to the aesthetic rather than to the moral side.³⁰ The Poet-Hero sings to all peoples in all places and times. He speaks in the language of the Time-Whole.

The Hero-Priest is "spiritual Captain of the people," reminding them of the Reality of Existence, leading them in their worship--the act of union with the invisible Sacred.³¹ He takes the flock past the confines of temporal existence to the holy mountain of spiritual harmony.

In the role of Man of Letters, the Hero "teaches what the whole world will do and make."³² He is blessed with the organic blue-print and charged to oversee the workers. He conserves speech, influences the minds of "whole nations and generations" long after his death, from the other side of the grave. His tool is literature, "the apocalypse of nature" revealing to others the "open secret" of Becoming, which he has known.³³

And finally, the Hero-King, the Hero with whom we deal most directly. He is there in the flesh, in our temporal sphere of reference, "to command over us, to furnish us with constant practical teaching, to tell us for the day and the hour what we are to do."³⁴

Every Hero is, then, first a Thinker. He enters into the Future, then brings the Future to pass, "teaching men his way of thought, spreading a shade of his own likeness over sections of the History of the World."³⁵ He can lead men because he is Men; his system of thought is not incompatible with other men, because it is what they would think, had they his full awareness. "What he says, all men were not far from saying, were longing to say."³⁶ He is how the world must go.

The Hero is worthy of worship, just as Justice is. For he too is a controlling force of History.

Have true reverence, and what indeed is inseparable therefrom, reverence the right man, all is well; have sham-reverence, and what also follows, greet with it the wrong man, then all is ill, and there is nothing well.... For the Earth, I say, is an earnest place; Life is no grimace but a most serious fact.³⁷

3.

A study of the use of myth throughout Carlyle's works proves to be of much more than mere stylistic value. Myth has always been profoundly related to history: indeed, in early historical writings mythical events are more significant than the "scientifically historical."

In The Sacred and the Profane, a remarkable representation of the pagan mind, Mircea Eliade discusses the concept of myth in primitive societies. The myth to primitive man is more than an arbitrary symbol for something that happened in the past; it is a means for man to progress from the profane temporal existence in which he lives, to the sacred eternal existence of the gods. It is as if there are two different dimensions--one being that of this on-going world, with its definite passage of hours, days and years; and the other that of an eternal Present in which the gods are eternally creating the Universe.³⁸ Primitive man felt the need to get back to this time of birth and order and orientation from time to time, and myth was the vehicle of transfer from one dimension to the next.

This is the reason for the fundamental importance of myths in all pre-Mosaic religions, for the myths narrate the gesta of the gods and these gesta

constitute paradigmatic models for all human activities. Insofar as he imitates his gods, religious man lives in the time of origin, the time of the myths. In other words, he emerges from profane duration to recover an unmoving time, eternity.³⁹

Carlyle abounds with myths. His French Revolution presents the major historical figures as mythical heroes: Danton at Arcis is described as a Titan on the banks of the Aube; Desmoulins as Ulysses confronted by the shade of his mother; Mirabeau as Hercules; Robespierre as "the seagreen Chimera that walks the earth in July." The build-up of the French navy effects what Carlyle refers to as a "Ville de Paris, a Leviathan of ships."⁴⁰ Leviathan is in no way translatable into Ville de Paris; rather, it is a separate mythical image conveying the idea of a great primordial Evil rising from the sea.

This abundance is hardly coincidental. Carlyle was well aware of the primitive significance of myth, which Eliade elucidated above. In On Heroes, he too enlarges upon it:

Pagan Religion is indeed an Allegory, a Symbol of what men felt and knew about the Universe; and all Religions are Symbols of that, altering always as that alters: but it seems to me a radical perversion, and even an inversion, of the business, to put that forward as the origin and moving cause, when it was rather the result and termination. To get beautiful allegories, a perfect symbol, was not the want of men; but to know what they were to believe about this Universe, what course they were to steer in it; what, in this mysterious Life of theirs, they had to hope and to fear, to do and to forbear doing.⁴¹

His most frequent mythical metaphors are the phoenix-firedeath and the twilight of the gods, with all that they entail. The phoenix, spending its life progressing toward its flaming death, then rising out of its ashes, is immune to the rules of time. It is perennial and immutable in its activity. It is representative of Past, Present and Future coexisting together.⁴² The twilight of the gods, with its repeating series of conflict, death, resurrection and rebirth into a greater and better existence, is likewise most appropriate for Carlyle's view of Time. In such a Universe as he saw, no event is isolated; all have direct relationships to others, both past and future, and all are recurrent. "It is the fundamental law of Being for a creature made of Time, living in this Place of Hope."⁴³

The presence of myth in Carlyle can be accounted for only as can that of primordial man. It is a means of expressing his desire to get into contact with that indivisible all-present Time, the Dawn of the Gods. It is the attempt of the Historian to progress to that sacred dimension where all Time and all Events can be regarded as a unity; it is the attempt of the Victorian to experience that order and Justice that rule the Universe.

4

Carlyle sees it as residing in the nature of man to be a hero. Every man can be at least not unheroic.⁴⁴ A Universe constituted solely of Napoleon-types and Christ-figures, however, would be unworkable. The ideal world for Carlyle then requires some other type, perhaps a more contained type, of heroism. That heroism lies in nobility of Spirit. No man really lives on after death in his deeds, but only in the Spirit in which he worked.⁴⁵

In the Universe which Carlyle posits, such heroism is a requisite on the part of all; for the situation of man in it is far from comfortable. All that organic development, all that death and rebirth into better existences culminate in the final omega point--the revelation of God. The quid pro quo of Carlyle's religion is the final presentation of God to the Universe; it is for this that all creation is pulling and striving and recreating. But as to the essence of the God that will appear we have no idea; and as to any ultimate happiness for man from His hands we have no hope. Men are merely drones, living to produce that Spirit necessary for the appearance of God. Carlyle accepts this state of affairs optimistically, he embraces it joyfully; for the Erdgeist in Goethe's Faust made all this clear to him:

In Being's floods, in Action's storm,
I walk and work, above, beneath,
Work and weave in endless motion!
Birth and Death,
An infinite ocean;
A seizing and giving
The fire of living:
'Tis thus at the roaring of Loom of Time I ply
And weave for God the Garment thou see'st Him by.

Of the path this God is taking toward revelation we know nothing. "Dark is the way of the Eternal as mirrored in this world of Time: God's way is in the sea, and His path in the great deep."⁴⁶ But of his demands we are certain. He requires total surrender of each man to Himself. Each must actively annihilate himself into the organic whole, give up any vestige of selfhood to the Universal homogeneity. We are no more than "Light-sparkles floating in the aether of Deity"⁴⁷ and when that aether condenses, we will not be even that. Carlyle's God is a Moloch, demanding human sacrifice from the ovens of Tophet; Carlyle's God is a rough beast slouching toward Bethlehem to be born.

The Hero is a hero because he has done his part--he has renounced himself, ceased to be a Violent Soul; he is a hollow man, a stuffed man. Every man must then be likewise heroic and work himself to death, demanding no wages. The Universe calls for total selflessness, leaves no room even for the transcendental selfishness of Christianity.

The Fraction of Life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your Numerator as by lessening your Denominator. Nay, unless my algebra deceive me, Unity itself divided by Zero will give Infinity. Make thy claim of wages a zero then.⁴⁸

As for happiness: "There is in man a Higher than love of Happiness: he can do without happiness and instead thereof find Blessedness!"⁴⁹

Carlyle's Heroes came into temporal existence and transported themselves into the Time of the Gods--but at the price of their very Selves. This is what the Universe demands, he asserts; this is what we all must do. In the strange and mysterious, organic and timeless Universe, every man must be a Hero. He must learn to care and not to care. Rather than every man a king, the Universe demands a committee, a representative committee--every man a committeeman. Resign Resign Resign.

NOTES

- 1 The background concerning Britain's social and economic status in the nineteenth century was compiled from a series of lectures on Victorianism delivered at Loyola University, New Orleans, in the Spring of 1969 by Mr. William Myers.
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- 3 Ibid., p. 12.
- 4 Ibid., p. 14.
- 5 Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present, Hilaire Belloc, ed. (Oxford, 1918), p. lxxv.
- 6 Houghton, p. 122.
- 7 Past and Present, p. lx.
- 8 Thomas Carlyle, The French Revolution, 2 v. (New York, 1929), v. 1, p. 172.
- 9 Past and Present, p. lx.
- 10 Ibid., p. 206.
- 11 Ibid., p. 35.
- 12 Ibid., p. 34.
- 13 The French Revolution, v. 1, p. 315.
- 14 Past and Present, p. 119.
- 15 Ibid., p. 116.
- 16 The French Revolution, v. 1, p. 43.
- 17 Ibid., p. 156.
- 18 The French Revolution, v. 2, p. 82.
- 19 Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus; On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History (London, 1927), p. 367.
- 20 The French Revolution, v. 2, p. 336.
- 21 Sartor Resartus, p. 409.
- 22 Ibid., p. 267.
- 23 Ibid., p. 265.
- 24 Ibid., p. 280.
- 25 Ibid., p. 318.
- 26 Ibid., p. 321.
- 27 Ibid., p. 331.
- 28 Ibid., p. 334.
- 29 Ibid., p. 338.
- 30 Ibid., p. 336.
- 31 Ibid., p. 370.
- 32 Ibid., p. 409.
- 33 Ibid., p. 417.
- 34 Ibid., p. 449.
- 35 Ibid., p. 289.
- 36 Ibid., p. 227.
- 37 Past and Present, p. 110.
- 38 Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane (New York, 1957), p. 70.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 105-106.
- 40 The French Revolution, v. 1, p. 36.
- 41 Sartor Resartus, p. 262.
- 42 The French Revolution, v. 1, p. 171.
- 43 Sartor Resartus, pp. 274-275.
- 44 Past and Present, p. 184.
- 45 The French Revolution, v. 1, p. 17.
- 46 Ibid., p. 236.
- 47 Sartor Resartus, p. 46.
- 48 Ibid., p. 161.
- 49 Ibid., p. 162.

UTOPIAN ENTREPRENEUR

by Donald C. Adams

On May 14, 1771, Robert Owen was born of common parents at Newtown in Wales. His education consisted of merely being instructed in reading, writing and elementary mathematics. Continuing to live at home until the age of ten, Robert read avidly. After having studied the major religions and noting that the only difference between the contending faiths was their hatred of each other, at the age of ten Robert made a mistake which would later contribute to his downfall. His decision "that there must be something fundamentally wrong in all religions, as they had been taught up to that period"¹ became deeply engrained in his make-up.

Shortly after this discovery, he became an assistant for a linen-draper named McGoffog. "Owen's start in business was made under conditions much more agreeable than those of the struggling, sweating emporia"² because the customers were of the upper class, and McGoffog was a kindly employer.³ The chief benefits from this employment were a knowledge of the aristocratic way of life and elementary business practices.

Searching for a better position, Robert soon gained work at a large volume drygoods store in Manchester.⁴ There he became aware of the laws of the market. A short time thereafter Owen went into business for himself and made a small profit manufacturing cotton goods. Soon he saw an advertisement requesting a manager for a cotton mill owned by a Mr. Drinkwater. He applied and, at the age of twenty, was hired. While working there he perceived the notion "that man could not make his own organization, or anyone of its qualities, and that these qualities were, according to their nature, more or less influenced by the circumstances which occurred in the life of each, over which the individual had no other control than these combined circumstances gave him, but over which society had an overwhelming influence."⁵ This was the principle which guided his future actions. Under his managing, the cotton mill was a thriving success, and Owen gained the reputation of being the "boy wonder" in the midst of capitalist giants. One of his success secrets was the high productivity which he obtained from his workers as a result of his charitable treatment of them. While managing the Manchester factory, Owen helped to finance an experiment by the American inventor, Robert Fulton.⁶

In 1800 Robert quit working for Drinkwater and, along with several friends, purchased the mill at New Lanark, thirty miles from Glasgow, from David Dale, whose daughter Owen married. The New Lanark associates, being traditional businessmen, did not understand the philanthropist's technique at making profits, but they were willing to let Owen run New Lanark in his own way as long as their own benefits increased.⁷ On his first visit to New Lanark, Owen was shocked at the drunkenness, thievery, and squalor, as well as the unhealthy condition of the laboring children. "In his Life, Owen leads us to believe that he started out with a plan for the redemption of the people. It seems more probable that as he worked to eliminate the grosser abuses, the idea took shape in his mind that he might make the town a model one."⁸ Attempting to change the conditions of his workers' society, Owen gave high wages, shorter hours and employed his workers when other mills had closed their doors because of shortage of raw materials.⁹ The workers responded. Within a year New Lanark was a changed community; within five it was unrecognizable; in ten years it and its architect were world famous.¹⁰

He also made over 60,000 pounds sterling profit for himself.

His first task was to increase output by cutting down waste. To accomplish this Owen used a process later known as a system of positive reinforcement--reward incentive. This was done by placing a signal in front of the worker. Each day the color of the signal would correspond to the workers' conduct for the previous day's production. For a good day's performance, a certain color would be used to mark a job well done. Through this means Owen instilled in the employees a feeling of pride in the work they performed.

By 1814, Owen's first partners had been bought out by a group of philanthropists, who were interested in the continuance of Owen's model society, after his more commercial-minded first associates became disenchanted. Probably the most important aspect of his miniature society was the secular educational program for the young (Owen did not employ children in his New Lanark). His school was called the Institute for the Formation of Character because for Owen, "education must not only impart useful knowledge (reading and writing), but teach moral attitudes."¹¹ Somewhat reminiscent of the education in Plato's Republic, the children would be brought to Owen's school before their parents could influence them. The youngsters were to be amused with maps, dancing and not to be annoyed with books,¹² "however according to Robert Dale Owen (son), natural history, history, geography, reading. . . were the subjects taught."¹³ Therefore one might assume that not being annoyed with books meant not reading the Bible. The children were to be allowed freedom to develop naturally without rewards and punishments.¹⁴ Owen was somewhat like Dr. Spock in the latter of these examples. Owen established several more schools like this throughout England, but each failed.¹⁵ It had never occurred to Owen that he himself was a man of exceptionally high character, and that it was he and not the natural goodness which made the children's education function smoothly, and indeed made New Lanark a model community.¹⁶

For Owen, New Lanark was a proving ground for his theory that man was no better than his environment, and once his habitat was changed, a utopia could be achieved. Education was an important ingredient in his test-tube society because as he said, "Children. . . may be formed to have any human character."¹⁷ In New Lanark, Owen's ideas succeeded fantastically; however they seemed to have been fruitful because Owen, the industrialist, made them work. Because of his favorable results, in 1824, Owen decided to move his society to America where it would have room to spread across the developing continent.

During the period from about 1810, when the fame of New Lanark started to bring foreign monarchs to see the social experiment, to August 21, 1817, the date when Owen publicly declared his atheistic beliefs, Robert Owen was held in high esteem in England, Europe and America. In testimony before public committees he hit upon the causes of the depression following the Napoleonic Wars and noted the influences of mechanization on the labor market.¹⁸ He tried without success to get a bill passed in Parliament to shorten the working hours and ban child labor; these actions showed he was still convinced that society could change as soon as the governing elite could see the beneficial effects of the change.

In his Report to the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor, Owen proposed making the poor more productive through the institution of universal state education, a system of state-aided public works in times of distress and abolition of the Poor Laws to improve the workers' lot. In his New View of Society, Owen called for "Villages of Cooperation" in which the 1200 inhabitants

would perform industrious work and live communal lives. His plan included three major proposals: the "Villages" should be mainly agricultural with fields separating the workers living quarters and the factories; these "Villages" should be agriculturally self-supporting; and "only through real communal living and communal living and communal activity could a good productive life be achieved."²⁰ Marx had considerable respect for Owen and his plan, but Marx's concern for competing brands of socialism lead him to attack Owen as "unscientific."²¹ The plan was well received by the mass public and was the basis for several co-ops, like the consumers co-operative, the Rochdale Pioneers, which later developed. When Owen returned from New Harmony in 1828, however, he took little interests in these movements.²²

The British government politely ignored his proposals because they knew he was calling for a whole new structure for society. Yet Owen continued to work for his reform program and in 1817 attended the Congress of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle and proposed his reforms with little success. After some time a diplomat informed him that the ruling elite did not want to implement his reforms because if the masses became too well-off and independent, the rulers would no longer be needed. Thus the governors would just be putting themselves out of a job.²³

It is my contention that from this time onward, the disillusioned Owen, who was also suffering a decline in popularity due to his remarks concerning the evils of religion, ceased to be effective. His determination to create an instant utopia superimposed itself on his heretofore practical nature. His New Harmony project failed miserably and had to be abandoned in 1828. His appeal to Santa Ana to give him Texas to creat an ideal state fell on deaf ears; after he returned to England, his other attempts to create model towns failed; and his vain attempts at creating a national labor union took such a priority that he ignored the co-operatives which had developed during his absence in America.

Along with these failures was amarked change in his personality. In his youth Owen had been a dynamic person with a pleasant and likable make-up.²⁴ However, in 1834 he was so unpleasant that the English tradeunionist, James Morrison "found Owen impossible to work with."²⁵ And Harriet Martineau, who knew him well, described him as a "bore in regard to his dogmas and expectations."²⁶ By 1839 his popularity reached such a low ebb that a group called the Society for Peaceably Repressing Individualtiy protested Owen's attempt to have an audience with Queen Victoria concerning his views.²⁷

In 1858 Robert Owen died, but his idea that man is not the master of his own destiny, rather, that evnironment shapes man's future was at least in part correct, and this norion still survives him. His attempts to improve the condition of the poor by making them productive is a current goal of America. Owen's theory of creating strips of green fields between the factories and the living quarters of the people that work there could be implemented in the solution of the American cities' problems. These are the important contributions for which Robert Owen should be remembered.

NOTES

- 1 Robert Owen, Life of Robert Owen, Vol. I: Effingham Wilson (London, 1857), p. 4.
- 2 Margaret Cole, Robert Owen of New Lanark (New York, 1953), p. 13.
- 3 Owen, pp. 12-18.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 20-27.
- 5 Ibid., p. 30.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 65-70.
- 7 Cole, pp. 60-61.
- 8 Rowland Hill Harvey, Robert Owen--Social Idealist (Berkeley, 1949), p. 20.
- 9 Edmund Wilson, To the Finland Station (Garden City, New York, 1940), p. 91.
- 10 Robert L. Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers (New York, 1964), p. 90.
- 11 Harvey, p. 36.
- 12 Owen, pp. 139-141.
- 13 Harvey, p. 42.
- 14 Ibid., p. 41.
- 15 Owen, p. 152.
- 16 Wilson, p. 92.
- 17 Owen, A New View of Society. A facsimile reproduction of the third edition published by Richard and Arthur Taylor of London in 1817. (Glencoe, Illinois), p. 34.
- 18 Owen, Life, pp. 120-131.
- 19 Cole, p. 108.
- 20 Ibid., p. 110.
- 21 Frank E. Manuel, Utopias and Utopian Thought (Boston, 1966), pp. 126-127 and Harvey, p. 246.
- 22 Heilbroner, pp. 93-94.
- 23 Wilson, p. 94.
- 24 He made friends easily as may be seen throughout the first hundred or so pages in the first volume of his autobiography.
- 25 Cole, p. 167.
- 26 Ibid., p. 152.
- 27 Heilbroner, p. 95.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON'S CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

by Lydia M. Tardo

A distinguished scholar and historian of the twentieth century, Christopher Dawson is the author of numerous studies on the question of the Christian culture of the West. The central thesis which underlies his works is that contemporary secularized Western society has progressively lost its cultural ingredient. The cultural influence of classical humanism in education has declined and scientific specializations and technologies have replaced them. Modern depersonalized man is hence not educated intellectually and completely, but is educated like a "worker in an insect society." He is little more than an instrument of the industrialist or the bureaucrat."¹

According to Dawson, education is seriously lacking a cultural unity today. Nationalism and racism offered the cultural and unifying purpose to Nazi Germany; cosmopolitanism and proletarianism do the same for the communists.² Western man, on the other hand, is living in a spiritual and cultural vacuum. Western education has lost sight of the cultural. For Dawson the solution lies in the study of Christian culture. He confidently believes that Christianity alone will effectively provide the missing link needed for the survival of the tradition of Western education and culture.

born in Yorkshire, England in 1889, author Christopher Dawson has earnestly endeavored to convince his reading audience that his ideas about Christian culture are correct. The titles of his books testify to his Christocentric, Incarnational view of history. The following are some of his works: The Formation of Christendom, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture, The Dynamics of World History, The Historical Reality of Christian Culture, The Crisis of Western Education, Religion and Culture, Understanding Europe and The Making of Europe.

On reading Christopher Dawson, one becomes aware of his peculiar or characteristic style. It is written like an essay without very much stress on dates and specific events. His emphasis is on concepts. His outlook is markedly sociological and anthropological, seeking to discover patterns of human thought in human society. His style and outlook is evidenced in the following example of his writing.

Thus the decisive question for the sociologist to consider is what is the type of religion strongest on its own ground, which makes the greatest appeal to the religious consciousness and possesses the most authentic religious character.³

When Dawson seeks to prove that religion has been at the core of every society, he generally assumes an anthropological viewpoint. "All the great developments of Egyptian art and learning--astronomy, math, and engineering grew up in the service of this central religion."⁴

The notion of the central importance of the study of Christian culture appears throughout Dawson's work. A particularly good sampling of Christocentric view of history is found in his short essay, "The Christian View of History."

For the Christian view of history is not merely a belief in the direction of

history by divine providence, it is a belief in the intervention by God in the life of mankind by direct action at certain definite points in time and place. The doctrine of the Incarnation which is the central doctrine of the Christian faith is also the center of history, . . . the year of the Incarnation is Christianity's major point of reference.⁵

He goes on in the same essay to explain still further the meaning of the Incarnation, by describing what he sees as the role of the Church. "But the Church remains the guardian of the secret of history and the organ of the work of human redemption which goes on ceaselessly through the rise and fall of kingdoms and revolutions of social systems."⁶ In another essay, Dawson expresses the same idea in this way: "The Church has been the guest and exile, the mistress and the martyr, of nations and civilizations, and has survived them all. And in every age and among every people it is her mission to carry on the work of divine restoration and regeneration, which is the true end of history."⁷ These examples point to Dawson's Christocentric view of history. For him, God and history are intimately bound together. He sees the Judeo-Christian tradition of history as central to all of history. He views Christianity as God's Word Incarnate in time.

Dawson thinks that the cultures of great world religions have shaped the course of civilization. The Judeo-Christian tradition has been the core of European unity. This began with the Roman Empire, which was heir to the Hellenic tradition. The Roman Empire introduced the city to continental Europe. "The Roman peace has prepared the road for the coming of Christ. For what basis was there for God or for the acceptance of truth, in a savage world in which men's minds were at strife and there was no common basis of law?"⁸ Roman civilization led new peoples to a new future and prepared for the coming of the new European culture.

With the advent of the missionaries of Christianity, liturgy became a bond of Christian unity and a means by which gentiles and barbarians came in touch with a different way of life and a new concept of history. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Church Fathers and their liturgy transmitted the rich Christian culture. The Christian religion substituted membership in the Church for membership in the city as man's most important relation to men.⁹

Monks kept this tradition alive and their monasteries were cells of the new culture. Religion established the human soul on eternal foundations.¹⁰ The age of the monks was the Dark Age of barbarism. In this part of the Middle Ages there was no apparent or peculiar culture and literature. Dawson contends that the Catholic looks on these ages as the dawning of the conversion of the West, as the foundation of the Christian civilization, as the period of Christian art and liturgy, as the age of the monks ranging progressively from those desert monks to the monks involved in the Cluny reforms.¹¹

According to Dawson, Christianity has been the core of European unity.

For Christianity has been the center of the whole European culture-complex round which the other elements revolve, and so long as the center remains, the continuity of culture and the preservation of its spiritual inheritance is secure.¹²

And,

Nothing could be more dissimilar than the Byzantine culture of the 9th century and the Baroque culture of the 17th. Both, however, were Christian cultures, and though their religion expressed itself in very different social and aesthetic forms, there can be no question of its theological identity. Consequently we cannot rule out the possibility of Christianity finding further social expression in some future development of the European tradition.¹³

In attempting to understand what Dawson means by "culture," it is best to see exactly how he defines it. "Culture is man's social inheritance. It is man's common way of life by which he adjusts to his natural environment and his economic needs. It represents the whole complex of life and thought."¹⁴ There are many different cultures, yet nonetheless they may communicate. All have common characteristics of language, religion and ritual, morality, art and technology, social organization and law, custom, education and enculturation.¹⁵

The end of the Dark Ages marked the formation of that society of peoples known as Europe today. Their common spiritual tradition included Hellenism, the Roman world of Alexander and Constantine who spread this culture, the period of the formation of Western and Eastern Christendom, and the Medieval Christendom of the 11th through the 15th centuries. The descendants of those living in the Dark Ages were to witness the evolution of this culture through the age of religious division of humanist culture of the 16th through 18th centuries and through the age of revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries. Those of their descendants alive today are witnessing the disintegration of Europe, visible in both the causes and results of World Wars I and II.¹⁶

Dawson is careful to make a distinction between Medieval and Catholic. They do not necessarily mean the same thing. He does not equate them. The culture of the Middle Ages is only one of "five successive ages of Christian culture, each of which had its own mission and vocation and must be studied for its own sake."¹⁷ In each of these periods, Christianity had to face and attempt to solve different problems with varying degrees of success and failure. The goal has always been the progressive transformation of humanity by the new principle of divine life which the Incarnation has brought into the world and which, Dawson contends, will continue until the end of history and time. The civilization of Western Europe has been dynamic, as opposed to static, and has exerted a transforming influence on the social life of the world.¹⁸

The Church, for Dawson, constitutes the true organ of the spread of Western culture. Some of its contributions to culture are in the realms of learning, literature, music, art, education, poor relief and care of the sick.¹⁹ Contemporary man lives in the same culture. "This Western culture has been the atmosphere we live and breathe. We know it by documents and monuments and by personal example."²⁰

Yet the atmosphere we live and breathe today is scented by another peculiarly stringent odor. Dawson describes this as the spirit of nationalism. Hegel's idealized state has become the goal of a great many countries since the 19th century. These countries seek by all means to enhance their own particular state. Each nation "claims for itself a cultural unity and self-sufficiency that it does not possess."²¹ Each disregards the foundation it has in common with other states. Dawson sees the World Wars as evidence of the tension between nationalities. He deplores this situation, because he feels that European civilization is a real concrete social organism, as real as national

unities and far more important. "Nobody has ever thought of calling Europe a nation."²² He sees the spirit of nationalism as a barrier to the effective and unified functioning of this social organism.

Dawson understands the modern civilization to be an area of conflict and chaos. There are conflicting ideologies, institutions and moral standards. There is a spiritual vacuum. There is no sense of spiritual community of common religious beliefs as the Church has provided in past ages. Even those who distrust nationalism, support abstract internationalism, which has no historic tradition. Champions of internationalism are advocates of Liberalism, Socialism and international finance.

According to Dawson, the notion of God and nature has been replaced by the "man made monster, the bureaucratic, technocratic state--the New Leviathan, characterized by social organization and by scientific psychological control. Nietzsche has commented that 'secular civilization leads to nihilism and to self-destruction.'"²³

Christian culture has lost its social influence and intellectual prestige with the social and political changes of the last two centuries. This is evidenced in education, politics, and economics. The state, not the Church, is the new universal society. Dawson expresses this concept when he says that "the foundations of our world are shaken and we shall not save it by replanning the superstructure."²⁴

If we consciously permit the guidance of the modern world to pass from the leaders of culture to the servants of power, then we shall have a heavier responsibility than the politicians for the breakdown of Western Civilization.²⁵

When Dawson speaks of the need for a new spiritual dynamism, he means a return to the basic Christian philosophy of life which has been expressed in past cultures, Medieval culture being only one expression. He emphatically denies that Medieval culture equals Christian culture. This is why he believes the historian of the Middle Ages alone cannot rid present Western civilization of the existing prejudice against the Catholic Church in the field of education in particular. When he accepted the Christian Culture Award in 1951, he entitled his acceptance address "Ploughing a Lone Furrow." This title expressed his feeling that he has been practically alone in advocating that Christian culture, particularly as it has evolved through the work of the Catholic Church, should be studied as part of the curriculum of prominent universities.

Dawson feels that the Christian culture has been subject to religious and secular prejudice. There are many who have shared the sentiments of Voltaire who said that there were a "barren thousand years of stupidity and barbarism between the fall of Rome and the Renaissance."²⁶ Attitudes like this were passed on from the Renaissance to the 18th century Enlightenment and from the Enlightenment to modern secularist ideologies. Today the attitude still influences both consciously and unconsciously modern education and contemporary man's notion of his past. Dawson seeks to remove this prejudice by preaching the conscious study of Christian culture, because, as he sees it, this culture is the historical basis of our own civilization. He cites the English coronation of Queen Elizabeth II on June 2, 1953 as an example that this tradition is still alive today.²⁷ Some aspects of our social life are therefore rooted in the remote past.

There is hope for mankind in Dawson's writing. "Our spiritual resources still lie dormant yet not extinct under the surface of our extroverted and divided society."²⁸ He believes in the possibility of modern man's acquiring the badly needed spiritual dynamism. Although he feels that scientific specialisms have replaced classical humanism, he writes that

The Church exists to be the light of the world, and if it fulfills its function, the world is transformed in spite of all the obstacles that human powers place in the way. A secularist culture can only exist, so to speak, in the dark. The recovery of spiritual vision gives man back his spiritual freedom. And hence the freedom of the Church is in the faith of the Church and the freedom of man is in the knowledge of God.²⁹

Hence Dawson places his hope for the future of the world on the "creation of a new world civilization, which will unite the nations and the continents in an all-embracing spiritual community."³⁰ This is seen as a real possibility. He views the present spiritual crisis or darkness as merely temporary and transitory, observing that other historical periods of spiritual darkness have been merely temporary and transitory. History is therefore the "waxing and waning of Christian culture."³¹ The Incarnation is consequently progressively alive in history; it is a theological mystery.

Dawson thinks that our civilization can very well survive if a common European consciousness and a sense of historic and organic unity can be developed. His means to this end involve a return to the common element of Christianity found in all past Christian cultures. "We must first undo the false view of the European past of the last century which has been spread through propaganda. We must discover a true sense of European tradition and rewrite history from the European point of view."³² As Dawson explains his theory, once Western civilization achieves a new dynamic purpose, it will be able to change the world and to widen the frontiers of human knowledge. Only then will Europe survive. The plane of religion is therefore seen as well above politics or economics.

Western civilization today as secularized has been spread across the globe. Many new nations of Asia and Africa often resent what they see as Western imperialism. They have adopted Western civilization, but not Western culture, because it has not been sufficiently possessed to be given to them. For this reason, Dawson repeatedly stresses the importance of cultural education if Western civilization is to survive. The Christian people need to rediscover a social ideal. They need to be educated to realize the depth of the Christian tradition and the inexhaustible possibilities of new life it contains.³³

Dawson realizes that this is a difficult task. It is even more difficult due to the trend of modern history to use the present to judge the past and to "view all history as an inevitable moment of progress that culminates in the present state of things. This leads to the self-satisfaction of the modern Philistine."³⁴ Another danger that Dawson sees in writing history is that history may be used as a weapon against the modern age, either on account of a "romantic idealization of the past, or in the interests of religious or national propaganda."³⁵

Dawson wants his attitude toward his subject matter to be absolutely clear, and states it explicitly in the introduction to the Making of Europe:

If I have written at length on these matters, it is not to prove a theological point or to justify a religious point of view, but to explain the past. This is not a history of the Church or a history of Christianity; it is a history of culture, of the particular age that is ancestral to our own. . . Many of us even have in our veins the blood of the makers of the medieval world.³⁶

In this lengthy explanation of his intent, Dawson's key theme seems to be culture, but a particular type of culture--Christian culture. Yet it is difficult to believe Dawson at his word when he says he does not seek to prove a theological point of view. There is simply too much theology interwoven into practically all his writing. Evidence his concluding remark when delivering his "Ploughing a Lone Furrow":

For behind all the temporal vicissitudes of Christian history, and the changing fortunes of Christendom there stands the reality of the one great society which is the hope of humanity and which St. Peter defined in a memorable sentence as a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a special people. . . who in times past were not a people, but are now the people of God (I Peter 2:9).³⁷

This is a beautiful, theologically oriented concept. It is a good example of Dawson's tendency to emphasize religious factors in history at the expense of other factors. Although he would not deny that economic and political factors are very important, he says that religion nonetheless is by all means the most important factor. Perhaps it is because he views religion as the most important factor that he makes so little mention of every other possible factor.

The main themes which run throughout his writings are the following: Religion is at the core of every culture; the Christian religion has historically been the great culture-forming vehicle of Western civilization; Western civilization needs a new spiritual dynamism, a realization of indebtedness to the traditions of Christian culture; the nations of the world need to respect this Christian culture. These summarize his creed.

It is obvious that this twentieth century historian places all his stress on one factor--Christianity. The salvation of the human race, for Dawson, lies in modern man's ability to recapture the vision of the Christians of the Roman Empire. It lies in the conversion of the apathetic masses. The education in Christian culture and the mission of the Church seem to be the two solutions to the present problem facing Western civilization. This outlook is hopeful and visionary, yet it is also limited and idealistic. An explanation of history only in religious terms neglects economic, social and political factors. These are also important. Whether or not religion is the most important factor, the others may not be completely overlooked. Dawson's answer is a bit too easy. It is too simple to accept alone. Together with other considerations, it is marvelous.

Man is a very complex being. He will always remain so. His problems and his future must be examined from all aspects of his personality--psychological, economic, physical, social, political, as well as religious. The rejuvenation of Christian culture for which Christopher Dawson strives will possibly become a reality if the Christian interpreters of history are able to cooperate with those who see man in terms of economics, politics or psychology.

NOTES

- 1 Christopher Dawson, "Ploughing a Lone Furrow," Christianity and Culture (Baltimore, 1960), p. 18.
- 2 Ibid., p. 19.
- 3 Dawson, The Dynamics of World History (New York, 1956), p. 102.
- 4 Ibid., p. 115.
- 5 Ibid., p. 235.
- 6 Ibid., p. 250.
- 7 Ibid., p. 286.
- 8 Prudentius, the Christian writer, as quoted in Dawson, The Making of Europe (New York, 1958), p. 40.
- 9 Dawson, The Formation of Christendom (New York, 1967), p. 117.
- 10 The Dynamics, p. 107.
- 11 The Formation, p. 17.
- 12 The Dynamics, p. 407.
- 13 Ibid., p. 101.
- 14 The Formation p. 34.
- 15 Ibid., p. 37.
- 16 Dawson, Understanding Europe (New York, 1952), p. 165.
- 17 The Formation, p. 280.
- 18 Making of Europe, p. 165.
- 19 Ibid., p. 228.
- 20 Dawson, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture (New York, 1950), p. 3.
- 21 Making of Europe, p. 20.
- 22 Ibid., p. 21.
- 23 The Formation, p. 26.
- 24 Understanding Europe, p. 227.
- 25 Ibid., p. 22.
- 26 "Ploughing a Lone Furrow," p. 17.
- 27 Ibid., p. 19.
- 28 Understanding Europe, p. 239.
- 29 The Dynamics, p. 261.
- 30 Ibid., p. 412.
- 31 The Formation, p. 28.
- 32 Making of Europe, p. 22.
- 33 Understanding Europe, p. 225.
- 34 Making of Europe, p. 16.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Making of Europe, p. 19.
- 37 "Ploughing a Lone Furrow," p. 20.

RECONSTRUCTION

by Lynne C. Heintz

Very much in keeping with one of the attributes of human nature, it could be said that there are probably almost as many interpretations of a given historical era as there are historians writing about it. Certainly the validity of the above assertion would tend to increase in proportion to the emotion--either pro or con--elicited by the events. An excellent illustration of this point can be seen in historical writings concerning the years 1865-1877, the Reconstruction period of our country's history; the recording of the facts by each historian is influenced, to a great extent, by how he views them--including any personal prejudices as well as biased source material. This paper is not, by any means, a comprehensive analysis of the ten historians under consideration. Rather, an attempt has been made to present their stylistic characteristics as well as some of the key themes each one emphasized, concentrating on the social rather than the political or legislative.

The very title of Claude G. Bowers' book, The Tragic Era, implies his partisan treatment of the Reconstruction period. He presents a pitiful picture of the exhausted and emaciated ex-Confederates under the brutal and unscrupulous Radical Republicans who, inspired by personal ambition or party motives, assumed the pose of philanthropists and patriots, thus deceiving and misguiding vast numbers of well-meaning people in the North.¹ After charging that many historians have overlooked the more appalling aspects of carpetbag rule in the South, Bowers calls for a reappraisal of the key figures of the times, stressing the Congressional minority and the "brilliant and colorful" spokesmen of the white Southerners. It is interesting to juxtapose the chapters dealing with Andrew Johnson and Thaddeus Stevens. His portrait of President Johnson, whom he greatly admired, envisions the man as having made his way up from log cabin poverty to larger-than-life proportions, somewhat in the Lincoln tradition. On the other hand, Stevens is pictured to be an abnormal and mysterious misanthrope to the point that Bowers has given an opposite interpretation to some of the qualities that he praised so highly in Johnson (for example, Johnson's strength becomes bitter domineering in Stevens). Bowers also asserts that the Negro was loyal to and protected by his former master, against whom the carpetbaggers were trying to instill hatred. His sources for the book include contemporary diaries, family letters, and newspapers, but these he treats as facts, seemingly disregarding the emotional prejudices of the writers. The Tragic Era reads somewhat like a novel with an extremely dramatic, flowing style reminiscent of Charles Gayarre's. For example,

The night before, Andrew Johnson, occupant of these rooms, had been awakened from a deep slumber and told of the tragedy at Ford's Theatre. Shaken with emotion, he had clung momentarily to the fateful messenger, unable to speak. Then, disregarding the protests of his friends, he had turned up his coat collar, drawn his hat down over his face, and walked through the crowded streets to the deathbed of the stricken chief.²

In his article, "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction," Francis B. Simpkins presents what seems to be an equally one-sided version but from the opposite extreme. He maintains that the misery supposedly permeating Southern life was largely fictitious, the result of journalistic creativity and sensationalism; he contends instead that the legislation enacted during carpetbag rule was progressive and constructive. He further makes the naive assertion that both

Negro and white lived through Reconstruction in the South relatively "wholesome and happy." However, nowhere does he support this and similar statements with any facts to give them foundation, though he does hold the thesis that since Reconstruction governments were unnatural and artificial impositions from without, they did not necessarily reflect the condition of the social life. The article is not so much a treatment of the actual historical events occurring between the years 1865-1877, but more the interpretations and results that have come about because of them. He attempts to debunk the concept that excessive radicalism occasioned the failure of the carpetbaggers by insisting that a truly radical program would have "called for a confiscation of land for the freedmen."³ In speaking of the Negro imitation of white society that was contemporaneous with independence, Simpkins makes the interesting observation that "among the more cultivated Negroes, the more independent their society is of the whites, the stronger the resemblance."⁴ The article concludes with a plea to the historian's civic responsibility of overcoming prejudice with reason in order to aid in solving the race problem. Unfortunately, the author did not make use of his own advice to "promote truth and scholarship in the austere sense of those terms" by banishing "that provincialism which is based on priggishness and ignorance of comparisons."

William A. Dunning, in his Reconstruction: Political and Economic, has succeeded in giving a more balanced view of the era, although he certainly is not completely objective either. His stated purpose is to show that Reconstruction with all its hardships and inequities was not directly planned as a punishment and humiliation for those formerly in rebellion, though the spirit of retribution had its part. Though it failed, Dunning credits it with laying the foundation for a more permanent national harmony. He focuses his attention primarily on the North because to him "Reconstruction is not simply a process applied by the victorious section to the defeated; but a realignment of national powers, a readjustment of political forces." In the preface Dunning states that the social, economic, and political forces that wrought positively for progress are to be found in the record not of the vanquished but of the victorious section; although it is less spectacular, moral and dramatic values must not have greater weight in the writing than they have had in the making of history. He contends that there was not a meeting of the minds between the North and the South, but that the Union was preserved primarily in a territorial sense. The initial steps in the readjustment after the termination of hostilities were guided by the widespread Northern belief that the old Union had been maintained; the final steps, in the truth of the Southern view that a new Union had been created.⁵ He designates racial antagonism and an unbalanced economic system as being fundamental factors in the intense struggle undergone by the South. It was as inconceivable to the Southerners that rational men of the North should seriously approve of Negro suffrage per se as it had been in 1860 to the Northerners that rational men of the South should approve of secession per se. In both cases, a craving for political power was assumed to be the only explanation of an otherwise unintelligible proceeding.⁶

Georges Clemenceau's American Reconstruction is more concerned with the political situation in the North. Having arrived from Europe in 1865, young Clemenceau witnessed many of the imperfections of the United States governmental processes, yet he kept an optimistic faith in the efficacy of democracy through it all. Yet even a visiting Frenchman was not free from bias entirely; he was characterized by an almost blind confidence in the Negro race despite their lack of education, perhaps the result of his strong liberal training. Clemenceau mostly reports the fluctuating tides of opinion in New York and Washington society, the

press, and Congressional proceedings--although he does bring in some economic interpretations of his own. However, he seems to be rather simplistic in that he reduces everything to either white or black: the North is good; the South is bad; and the Negroes are to be admired and pitied. His book is written in the first person, in the form of a diary or a journal covering the period from September 28, 1865, to April 12, 1870.

The South during Reconstruction, by E. Merton Coulter, seems to be fairly objective in its attempt to present the facts in the spirit of the times rather than as evaluated in the mid-twentieth century. The author's point of view is to broaden the picture of the South during Reconstruction by giving greater attention to the lives of the people, both white and black, rather than stressing the purely political--an attitude that is consistent with the concept of the "new history." Coulter also maintains that human emotion played a dominant role in the development of the South, so much so that what happened was often less significant than what people thought and wanted.⁷ Although he admits that Reconstruction is primarily responsible for the development of the "Lost Cause" attitude, the author editorializes a bit when he states that the Civil War was not worth the cost because the good it did effect would have come about anyway, and without the bad consequences that accompanied it. Coulter brings out what he considers to be a lack of bitterness on the part of Southerners toward the invading army (with the exception of popular attitudes towards Sherman and Butler); he also maintains that those who did blame all of their troubles on the war did not take into consideration that the North also suffered some ill effects. Coulter is of the opinion that the Radical Republicans, not realizing the extent of the Negro's problems, actually harmed instead of helping him with their false information and promises; he holds the theory that the former slave owners were really best to the freedman because they understood him. Inequality within the Negro race as well as rivalry between the free Negro and the laboring white is also mentioned in the book. Another example of Coulter's tendency to insert little editorial comments is his tribute to the Southern spirit:

The greatest loss that a people can suffer, greater than any material destruction, is the loss of their spirit. Some Southerners so suffered, but in the end the mass surmounted their deep despair, and in so doing the South won its greatest victory.⁸

C. Vann Woodward's Reunion and Reaction has been hailed by Harvey Wish as adding immeasurably to a more convincing and objective interpretation of a highly controversial theme. Woodward states that his purpose is to explain the inadequacy of the traditional account of the Bargain of 1877 and to place on record the large aspects it omits. He recounts the historical details and what some historians have had to say about them, concluding that a more extensive analysis of the known facts is necessary. For example, he indicates inaccuracies in regard to time and he mentions the existing economic conditions in other parts of the country; although he does admit earlier that the entire truth is an unattainable goal in regard to history, the author realizes the importance of coming to realize accurately as many facts as possible. His theory is that the Civil War and Reconstruction eras represent a break in the traditional compromise diplomacy that had characterized United States government. For him, principles held sway and differences were framed in terms of moral issues during the Reconstruction period. So long as this was true, there was no room for compromise, for compromise had to come at the expense of principle; principles had to give way to expediency and force to persuasion.⁹ He concludes that the end of the Reconstruction era signified a return to the ways of concession. Reunion and Reaction is a well-documented and rather technical discussion on the politics of the postbellum years.

Herbert Carter proposes that although Reconstruction does have different connotations for various historians, all agree that this decade after the Civil War has left an angry scar beneath the nation's politic and that the old wound still has not healed. His theory of Reconstruction is that it was intended as a device by which the defeated states of the Southern Confederacy would be joined back to the Union, the more than three million black freedmen absorbed politically and economically in a nation reunited by force of arms, and safeguards provided against any possible renewal of rebellion.¹⁰ Carter also notes that the South has been ravaged from the effects of the vindictive Radicals who were animated by a "ideological hatred of the Southern aristocrats--they called them the planters and blamed them alone for the war..."¹¹ All in all, Reconstruction was a period during which angry voices drowned out those seeking peaceful reconciliation. Long after the war had ended, victims of "Southern atrocities" were still being heard alive--often for personal gain. Northerners condemned the Reconstruction system that evolved as being a thinly veiled form of slavery, yet many Northerners north of the Mason-Dixon line were remiss in granting suffrage to the freedmen. This certainly increased the bitterness of the Southerners who felt that they were being deprived of their constitutional rights, and the sense of unity in a common cause can still be observed today. A great part of the distinctiveness that still characterizes the South can be traced to the opposition against Radical Reconstruction. Carter makes the point that the bitterness and the North in its disinterest are both unaware of the lasting achievements of the carpetbag administrations. The good was overshadowed by the bad, but Radical Reconstruction was doomed to failure in any case because of the Southern negation of the new status of the Negro.¹² The Angry Reconstruction is a very well-written and well-documented book, employing many primary sources and giving many pertinent examples.

Reconstruction, the Battle for Democracy, by James S. Allen, attempts to view Reconstruction in terms of revolution and class struggle. The author criticizes many historians with cloaking the true revolutionary character of the Reconstruction by aligning the "heroic" leadership of the Radical Republicans. He points out the sectional nature of the conflict and the geographic division of the country. The ruling classes have obscured the essentially revolutionary nature of the Reconstruction in which bourgeois were fighting for power against the landed aristocracy. The prime economic force that propelled the North in its struggle with the South was the capitalist need for assurance of its own home market; this requirement included the destruction of slavery, on which depended the economic and political power of the landed barons.¹³ Even if this book does not present a full element of truth, it certainly could not be considered historically accurate since it interprets all of the facts in the light of one restricted viewpoint. It is, however, a well-written piece of propaganda.

G. Randall, in his Civil War and Reconstruction, makes a conscious effort to be both comprehensive and objective in his treatment of the "military and political factors projected against a cultural background." He tries to present adequately the problems facing both sides after the destruction brought about by the division of the four-year war. Randall asserts that the designation "Reconstruction" is actually a misnomer since it signifies a return to normalcy which in fact occurs; social and economic rehabilitation were out of the question within the framework of political chaos. In comparing the wartime conditions with the postwar performances, he concludes that the resulting conditions are both ironic and tragic.¹⁴ Harvey Wish quotes him as saying that the movement under Radical Republican rule in the South had become a kind of "reconstruction." However, Randall does not blame the Negro for the irregularities and

abuses of the carpetbag administration, but puts the burden on the whites who manipulated him for their own ends. Nor does he find it surprising that Southerners would react so violently in such societies as the Ku Klux Klan. Randall does deny the necessity of the thesis of inevitability which is held by some historians; he does not conclude that it is false, but he emphasizes that it is only a hypothesis. His style is very readable, but he could make his points more effectively if he did not use so many comparisons and examples.

W. R. Brock's book, An American Crisis, ultimately deals with the responsibility of the power that had won the military victory; although the great bulk of the work deals with the political aspect, the author does give some consideration to the effect Reconstruction had in both North and South. Northern propaganda easily translated the idea of defending a government into the need to eradicate those elements in American society which had threatened American government with failure, notably the Southern leadership.¹⁵ And in the eyes of the North, the abolition of slavery soon came to be the prime issue or motivating force in place of the more abstract democratization of the South. Brock points out that a new concept of national existence demanded a new construction of the Union, a dedication to a belief in equal rights; the restoration of the South had to be accompanied by a restoration of Southern minds. On the one hand was an unshakeable confidence in the justice and morality of the Northern cause, and on the other a deep-seated and popular conservatism sustained by traditional modes of life. Reconstruction was an ideological struggle, and the crisis must be understood in emotional terms and not merely as a record of personal rivalries, conflicting interests, and political maneuver. This was the true crisis of Reconstruction.¹⁶ Brock also discusses the causes of the inevitable failure of the Radical Republicans. He points out the usual weakness of the equalitarian theory, that of demonstrating to people convinced of another's inferiority that people ought to be treated as equals; he also mentions the difficulty of deciding precisely which rights are involved and how to go about securing them through positive law. Finally, he assigns the failure of this branch of bourgeois liberalism of the nineteenth century to its inability to remold the Southern way of life. He concludes his rather intellectual treatise with the remarks:

They left a record of failure in the South and permanent alterations in the law of a great nation. They faced intractable problems which still vex the modern world and they anticipated many of the assumptions with which men now tackle these problems. There was tragedy in the crisis of Reconstruction, but the tragic element transcends the particular circumstances of the post-war era and belongs to the whole condition of modern man.

NOTES

- 1 Claude G. Bowers, The Tragic Era (Cambridge, 1929), p. 35.
- 2 Ibid., p. 3.
- 3 Francis B. Simpkins, "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction," Reconstruction in the South, Edwin C. Rozwenc, ed. (Boston, 1952), p. 88.
- 4 Ibid., p. 90.
- 5 William A. Dunning, Reconstruction: Political and Economic (New York, 1907), p.
- 6 Ibid., p. 111.
- 7 E. Merton Coulter, The South during Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 39.
- 8 Ibid., p. 146.
- 9 C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction (Boston, 1951), p. 92.
- 10 Hodding Carter, The Angry Scar (New York, 1959), p. 17.
- 11 Ibid., p. 27.
- 12 Ibid., p. 406.
- 13 James S. Allen, Reconstruction, the Battle for Democracy (New York, 1937), pp.
- 14 J. G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction (Boston, 1937), p. 689.
- 15 W. R. Brock, An American Crisis (New York, 1963), p. 3.
- 16 Ibid., p. 14.

THE SOVIET CINEMA: ART AND PROPAGANDA

by Thomas F. Budlong, Jr.

The cinema, perhaps the most effective means of education and instruction in the USSR, has played an important role in Soviet society and culture. The Soviet Union was quick to grasp the possible implications of its use to further the ideals of Soviet Communism. The cinema in the Soviet Union has reached pinnacles of artistic merit while often operating in the depths of artistic freedom. It is hoped that the following pages will give some insights into the growth and development of the Soviet film industry with special emphasis in its relationship to propaganda.

The first films were shown in Russia in May of 1896 during the festivities for the coronation of the new Tsar, Nicholas II. The first film theatre was opened by the Lumiere people on May 19, 1896, on the Nevsky Prospect in St. Petersburg. The first films made in Russia were those of the coronation of May 14, 1896, filmed by the Lumiere troupe in Moscow. They also filmed the tragedy on the Khodinka Plain outside Moscow, which resulted in five thousand dead, but their film was confiscated by the Tsarist government and never shown.

A small film industry developed, entirely dependent on Western European supplies and equipment, which was devoted to making small closet dramas and travelogs. However, most films shown in Russia before the Revolution were imports.

Nicholas II is known to have watched the cinematograph at his camp of Stavka, General Headquarters of the Russian Army, during World War I. His letters to his wife inform us that his favorite film was a serial entitled The Exploits of Elaine. Leon Trotsky, during his stay in America under the name of Bronstein, was in a Vitagraph Russian spy melodrama entitled My Official Wife, in which he portrayed, ironically, a nihilist glowering in an underground meeting place. Russian film star and imperial ballerina Vera Coralli served as bait for Rasputin on the night of December 16, 1916, when he was murdered by Grand Prince Pavlovich, Prince Yusupov, and Pureshevich. Lenin attended the film theatres of Zurich to study Europe, watching the appearances and spirits of the warring countries in the newsreels and the faces of diplomats and generals--especially those generals who had decided that his death would make the world safer for war.¹ These are just a few examples of the influence of the cinema on early figures of the Revolutionary period.

Film workers greeted the February Revolution with joy, but everyone forgot to film any of the events of February 26th to the 28th. The cameras were not brought out into the streets until March 1st. When they did come out, there was little to photograph save debris. The result of the earliest filming was the Military-Cinematographic Department of the Skobelev Committee's production, Great Days of the Russian Revolution from February 28 to March 4, 1917.

When the Revolution did triumph, the few existing studios were in a state of liquidation, since many directors had fled abroad in the first days. The new film industry, like every Russian industry, reflected the dual power of the Duma-Soviet. Whereas before the February Revolution the only strong industrial organization was that of the theatre owners, the workers and professionals in the industry now began to demand their own unions. In the joy of the first days, little did anyone see the fight that lay ahead for these rights.

The March days of 1917 were days of sentimental hope and illusion for the cinema. Censorship was put aside temporarily. Now cinema could speak in its true voice! Many hoped that the Revolution would at least reconcile the owners with the studio workers and the creative workers, would wipe out rivalry, would eliminate friction between theatres and distributors; projectionists prepared to demand a vacation and an eight-hour working day; the directors and cameramen dreamt of enough raw film to film true uncensored works of free cinematographic genius.²

On March 3, 1917 the All-Russian Society of Kino-Theatre Owners proposed "to organize from the responsible workers of cinematography for the aid of the Soviet of Workers Deputies, a commission to dispose and circulate films in Russia and abroad."³ They made no mention at this time of the union question. A second meeting was held on March 6th. This was attended by a mass of workers, directors, actors, designers, cameramen, and others who pushed through the organization of a Temporary Committee. Out of this developed three unions: The Union of Workers in the Film Industry, the Union of Office Employees of the Film Industry, and the Union of Artistic Workers of the Cinema. Thus was the first victory of the workers accomplished. More will be said later on the organizational development of the industry from this point.

What types of films were shown on the early Revolutionary period? For a while there was a continuous stream of anti-Romanov films, especially those depicting the many Rasputin scandals, such as Dark Powers, Grigori Rasputin, People of Sin and Blood, The Holy Devil, and others. These films, however, soon came under government ban for their pornographic and over-politicalized aspects. The censor showed more leniency to films that depicted earlier figures in the Dynasty such as Nicholas I and Peter III. Examples are: Thus it Was and Thus it Will not Be and Chained in the Claws of the Double-headed Eagle. There were also a few films of revolutionary content which were made and were dangerously popular, such as The Revolutionary and Andrei Koshukhov, based on the life of the terrorist Stepniak. Rasputin was the perfect villain, however, and could not be killed often enough to suit film viewers.

The British tried to coax the Soviet soldiers into continuing the war by showing them war films of the Western Front, but the usual effect was to increase the desertion rate of a people who wanted peace. The Provisional Government made a number of films showing Lenin as a duped idiot and accomplice of the Germans, exemplified by From Tsar to Kaiser, which pushed the sealed car legend; Lenin & Co.; Bolshevik; A Stab in the Back; and Fatherland in Danger. After February there had been a fever of change. Besides the new "revolutionary films," old films were reissued carrying fiery new subtitles. But this fever wore away as quickly as it did in the Provisional Government.⁴

"When the Russian Revolution broke out, the silent film found itself in the midst of crisis. Also the World War had left only the Americans chances to further its development."⁵ Film art lagged behind technical progress in the West, but the opposite was the case in the Soviet Union. The achievements of the mind surpassed the poverty of equipment. Some of the first Soviet world successes were produced under very primitive conditions. Eisenstein's masterpiece Potemkin introduced a new stylistic approach, yet it was taken almost completely in the open air with very antiquated cameras, as contemporary studios were almost useless. The fame of Soviet film became firmly established after Potemkin, despite occasional films of low quality and propaganda. Something outstanding came to be sensed in its art.

The first period of Soviet cinema (1920-1925) is not as important as the second because directors remained too strongly attached to the old peep-show histrionics. Early in 1921 Dziga Vertov founded an avant-garde film group, "The Camera Eye," and turned his back on the Theatre. His specialty was the documentary film. His best works include: History of a Piece of Bread, The Man with the Movie Camera, and above all The Eleventh Year. These were of decisive influence on the Soviet film theory and strongly influenced the work of Eisenstein. The films of Vertov were picture serials built up with absolute mathematical accuracy. He precisely determined the proportion of every scene's footage to that of other scenes and the work as a whole. These works did not leave a feeling of sheer pleasure at their perfection, but evoked respect and curiosity.

The second period of Soviet films (1925-1930) was dominated by the triumvirate of Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Dovshenko. These three men brought world fame to Soviet cinematographic efforts.

S. M. Eisenstein (b. 1898) came from the stage to films. He was responsible for breaking away from the peep-show stage and introducing filmic elements into the stage. His first film was Strike (1924-1925), which gave no real indications of the genius which was to be shown a year later in his masterpiece Potemkin. This was the closest thing yet to perfection in the new art. Pudovkin said of it: "One could neither conceive nor present this work in the theatre, one can only show it on the screen."⁶ Neither his first film, Strike, nor his third, October, reached the same height of creative genius.

VI I. Pudovkin (b. 1893) was not as great a figure as Eisenstein, but he made some excellent contributions, nevertheless. He used a softer, calmer approach and believed in a slower, psychological development of theme. He verged on being a romantic. He also did not share Eisenstein's preference for amateur actors. His greatest films were: Mother, Storm over Asia, and The End of St. Petersburg. Eisenstein says of him:

In his films the spectator's attention is concentrated less on the historical development than on the psychological stages in an individual's development under the influence of a social process. Pudovkin puts genuine, lifelike characters in his works. His films achieve their effect by virtue of their emotional power.⁷

The third figure of this period, the Ukrainian, Dovshenko, came, like Eisenstein, from another artistic medium, painting, to the films. He was thus free of the theatrical tradition. His work is a combination of the aggressiveness of Eisenstein with the power of psychological expression of Pudovkin. In his first film, Svenigora, he gives a filmic solution to mental problems and protests against old-fashioned cinematography. His reputation was built on The Only Arsenal, but his most famous work was Earth, a film poem on the collectivization of estates, which has been described as artistic propaganda.

Other leaders of the second period of Soviet cinema who gave the lead and formulated the standards of the period were Turin, Room, Trauberg, Tassin, Kosintzov, Prototsanov, Soloviev, and the woman director, Preobrashenskaya.

A new problem dominated the third period in the Soviet films. This was the sound revolution. In an industry that was still adjusting to the process of constructing adequate facilities for the silent films, this posed serious problems. First of all, they had to wait until they could afford the new equipment.

In a short time, two Russians, Shorin and Mikutin, constructed sound on film systems, which enabled the industry to make the transition more easily; and sound dominated the third period (1930-1935).

It was still maintained by Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Alexandrov that the art of cutting was more important than sound, but they also admitted that sound was more important than color of plastic quality. Their new theory was:

Only the use of sound as counterpoint against visual cutting opens up new possibilities and will further perfect the art of editing. The first attempts at sound are to be devoted towards non-coincidence (That is, non-synchronism). Only such an approach will bring the desired effect and in time create a new orchestral counterpoint of picture images with sound images.⁸

Vertov did not follow these theories on his first sound film, Enthusiasm. He stayed conventional as did Eisenstein in Thunder over Mexico, which offered nothing better than the Western companies. The question of formulating a new style of expression for the new medium remained throughout the period.

Slight changes are seen in themes at this time. E. Dzigan's We of Kronstadt was one of the last prominent works which glorifies the collective and the masses' sacrifices into the cause of the Revolution. No consideration was given to the nerves of the spectators. Apparently in the USSR, nerves are made of sterner stuff than in the West. F. Ernler's Peasants expresses the triumph of Kholkhoz idea, but it shows also that the individual is beginning to occupy a central place in the plot.

During the fourth period of Soviet films there is a sense of the bourgeois setting in. The ideas of socialist realism begin to leave their mark on films, as in the other arts. This is the individualistic rather than the collective era in films, a period of calm consolidation. The freedom of development which characterized earlier efforts is now thwarted. With astounding effrontery, the Soviet Encyclopedia of 1932 castigates the mighty Eisenstein as follows:

In his works October (1927) and The General Line (1927-1929), Eisenstein, despite his great ability, yet gave no deep analysis of the Socialist Revolution and made a diversion to formal experiments. Eisenstein is a representative of the revolutionary section of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia which is following in the path of the proletariat.⁹

Film directors were compelled to dampen their aggressive ardor. The revolution of films was now a part of history. "The bureaucratization and bourgeoisierie of the USSR is well on the way to robbing Soviet films of all their aggressive strength,"¹⁰ says Kurt London.

The Stalinist purges did not pass up the film industry. It was a dark period of suspicions, informers, arrests, and disappearances. There were a few bright spots, however, such as the establishing of a children's film studio and the filming of some of Chekhov's stories, including The Bear, The Mask, Burbot, and Man in a Case. Until the Nazi-Soviet Pact, a goodly number of anti-Nazi films were made, such as Professor Mamlock, Swamp-Soldiers, and The Oppenheims. The masterpiece of the period was Eisenstein's Alexander

Nevsky, which was released in 1938.

During the war years, most studios were evacuated to distant corners of the Soviet Union, where they continued to produce a number of films. Old anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist films were revived, and new ones were made, as well as a great number of shorts and newsreels. Major documentary films include The Defeat of the German Army near Moscow, Moscow Strikes Back, and Siege of Leningrad. Fictional films on the war include How the Steel Was Tempered and Fellow from Our Town. Much attention was also devoted to the making of training and propaganda films at this time. Towards the end of the war, subjects switched from those about defense of the fatherland to those on the defeat of the Axis powers. Included in this group would be: Towards an Armistice with Finland, The Defeat of Japan, Liberated France, and Berlin.

In the post-war years, there was, until Stalin's death a drive on the government's part to tighten again the controls which had necessarily been loosened during the War. The mystique of socialist realism was still a governing factor, but there was a new recognition that it was dramatically harmful to ignore all forces except external material ones. Some attitudes and images which were taboo ten years before were now allowed to surface. Distinctions were finally made between unity and uniformity, with precautions taken against encroachments from the dangerous latter. The danger of making the Soviet audiences passive with monotony or conformity was recognized at both the administrative and creative levels of the industry, and some ambiguity was admitted for participation's sake.¹¹

The Soviet cinema experienced a greater awakening in the 1950's than the legitimate theatre. According to some observers, the period after 1954 was "the second greatest phase in the history of Russian cinema."¹² Releases which engendered this praise were such films as Three Men on a Raft (1954); Othello (1955); The Forty First (1956); Don Quixote (1957); The Cranes are Flying (1957), winner of the Grand Prix de Cannes; A Man Is Born (1957); The House I Live In; A Man's Destiny (1959); and Ballad of a Soldier (1960). These films derive artistic merits from the fact that they were "no longer dedicated to the Party, or its offshoots, but to humanity."¹³ They also treated more fundamental and realistic themes.

The methods used by the Communist leaders to gain dominance over the film industry have been varied. They set up a central administration of the motion picture industry. The Party assumed control of every film study. Scenario writers and directors were subjected to pressures. Theatres, factories producing raw film, cameras, and projectors were taken over. Party agencies dictated and censored the content of films and regulated import and export. These methods were continued until full control was achieved for purposes of propaganda.

The Party initiated indirect regulation shortly after the Bolshevik coup of 1917. Complete operational control was vested in the government of the USSR to insure political control by the Party through continual reorganization, enlargement and centralization of administrative structures of the industry. The Communist premise was that successful regulation of film content depended on control of the economic base of the industry.

The Party's determination to use movies for political purposes is reflected in the early measures adopted for control of the industry. Their

first objective kept the industry operating in private hands, but assured the elimination of anti-Bolshevik films while encouraging the depiction of events favorable to the Bolsheviks and propaganda for the Red Army and urban workers. In 1917 The Peoples Commissariat of Education (Narkompros) was established with a School Extension Department under Nadezhda Krupskaya. A movie subdivision was set up to administer the "educational" activities of the industry in 1918. This originally showed confiscated liberal pre-revolutionary literary classics free to workers, which were accompanied by "agitation" speeches by Party representatives.

In March of 1918 the Moscow and Petrograd Movie Committees were established to assume control over the film studios. In May 1918 Narcompros created the All-Russian Movie Committee, a government supervisory organ, headed by Leshchenko. The day-to-day cinema operations were still in private hands. During the period of War Communism the government seized control over the economy and in August of 1919 the movie industry was signed over to Narcompros. In September of 1919 the administration of motion picture affairs was reorganized, and in June 1920 the All-Russian Photo-Movie Department of Narkompros was founded to foster centralized state control over production and distribution instead of individual initiative. It was handicapped by a shortage of personnel, raw materials, power, and equipment.

With the NEP in 1921, the All-Russian Photo-Movie Department became anxious to get private investment capital, which resulted in increased private enterprise in the industry. Rental activities and film production rapidly expanded. In January 1922 the industry was put under the Supreme Council of National Economy of the RSFSR, and Lenin pushed for the establishment of new theatres in rural and eastern areas for propaganda dispersion. The All-Russian Photo-Movie Department proved inadequate to carry out Lenin's directive of January 1922. Narkompros abolished the Photo-Movie Department and replaced it with the Central State Photo-Movie Enterprise (Goskino).

Goskino was granted the rights of a juridical person and ordered to practice cost accounting. It was granted a monopoly over film distribution and rentals. The international film trade was regulated by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade. Censorship powers were retained for the Main Committee for Control of Repertory (Glavrepertkom). Films exhibited illegally were subject to confiscation by the NKVD. Other distributing agencies cut into Goskino's monopoly and often distributed films illegally, however. The Party Congress of April 1922 resolved to strengthen it, and in June 1924 Sovkino was established under Leonid Krassin. This body was vested with sweeping control over the entire industry, including production, rental, and trade in foreign films. It was organized as a stock company and assumed the characteristics of a syndicate.

Sovkino succeeded in securing a monopoly over film rental in the RSFSR by eliminating or absorbing the competitors that had beset Goskino. It expanded its activities to actual production by 1927, and gradually studios owning shares in Sovkino were integrated more closely into the Sovkino Administration until they lost their individuality.

Despite Sovkino's expansion other government organs continued to exercise some control. Censorship of scenarios and films was undertaken by the Main Committee for Control of Repertory and the Main Committee on Political Education, which established an Art Council to give ideological direction to scenario writers.

Sovkino retained control of the everyday operations of the industry until February 1930, when the first Five Year Plan was introduced. Sovkino did not meet the demands of the new policy for three reasons: 1) It did not control production of the industry's economic base, i.e. raw film, photo chemicals, cameras, lights, projectors, and recording equipment. 2) It did not have jurisdiction over movie production on all constituent republics of the Union, and 3) It was organized as a stock company based in part on the capital of domestic and foreign investors. Because of these factors, a new advisory government body for motion picture affairs called the Movie Committee of the Soviet Union was established, subordinate only to the People's Commissars of the USSR. The Committee consisted of forty-two members representative of many organizations and companies. Two administrative changes were made during the life of the Movie Committee. All movie enterprises were instructed to establish a special section for political documentary films, on which 30% of budgets must be spent. Every "art" film was to be accompanied by a documentary. The second change was the establishment of an All-Union Combine of the Movie Photo Industry under the Supreme Council of National Economy of the USSR. By this the entire industry was taken out of the sphere of private investment. The All-Union Combine was the first operational governing body for cinema affairs on the All-Union level and was known as Soyuzkino. There was a stipulation that the ideological guidance of motion picture production remain the duty of the Commissariat of Education in each constituent republic. It was managed by an administration of seven people named by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

The Supreme Council of National Economy was dissolved in January of 1932, and Soyuzkino was reassigned to the People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the USSR. In February of 1933 Soyuzkino was reorganized into the Main Administration of the Movie Photo Industry, placed directly under the control of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and not subordinate to any individual commissariat. Some of the old trusts of Soyuzkino were kept and a few new ones were added for all levels of production, distribution, and supply. In 1934 the internal structure of the Main Administration was reorganized by the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR to contain a manager, two deputy managers, a twenty member council, thirteen functional divisions, and sixteen trusts.

This was also a period of far-reaching purges, and Soviet movies of the early 1930's were certainly not devoid of propaganda, but the responsibility for close direction of film content had not been centralized in a single administrative agency. The government demanded "unification of all guidance over the development of the arts."¹⁴ The purges took their toll not only in creative artists but in administrators as well.

A decree of March 23, 1938, set the motion picture on a par with all other arts by the establishment of a Committee of Cinema Affairs, independent of the Committee of Art Affairs established in 1936. This was under the direction of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. All existing distribution and supply agencies were liquidated and new departments were established. The Committee on Cinema Affairs operated the industry throughout World War II. It mobilized to meet wartime needs establishing the Front Line Film Department. Government efforts to reestablish strict ideological control began even before the conclusion of World War II. The principal change was the creation of an Art Council in September of 1944 under the Committee on Cinema Affairs.

The Committee on Cinema Affairs was then transformed into the Ministry of the Cinema (Ministerstvo Kinematografii). Finally, on March 15, 1953, the USSR

Ministry of the Cinema was subordinated to a newly created USSR Ministry of Culture.

Party leaders evaluate every work of art in the Soviet Union primarily in terms of its ideological impact. The Party took alarm at "the alien and hostile ideology of foreign films" and their "subversive" influence on spectators. The Bolsheviks attacked the "bourgeois philistine ideology"¹⁵ of all foreign films. To neutralize the influence of foreign films, they censored and edited at Soviet movie studios. They changed subtitles and edited out certain scenes to interpret totally different meanings. Film villains were transformed into "class enemies" such as capitalists or bankers. Villains who were originally bandits became "Russian emigres" or "White Russians" fighting the Reds. Heroes and heroines were identified as members of the "working class groaning under the yoke of capitalists."¹⁶

The first Five Year Plan brought "socialist realism," which demanded that the artist look upon reality from the point of view of its future development. It was promulgated as the only approved method in art, and all other methods were outlawed through merciless suppression of individual creative attempts and frequent purges.

Only a Party member can become a studio director. The post is usually entrusted to an administrator from a mill or factory who has earned the confidence of the Party. The director bears the responsibility for the work of the studio as a whole. He is subject to trial by a Party "court" for his mistakes and shortcomings. The most powerful individual in the studio is the secretary of the Communist Party Committee. His power in practice is vast. He not only interferes at every stage of actual film production, but he has the decisive voice in all artistic, ideological, and administrative problems. He is, in fact, the real head of the studio and is usually backed by a well organized network of informers.

In the Soviet Union, the cinema is taken far more seriously than it is in the West. In the West it is primarily looked upon as a form of entertainment. It is used, of course, for instruction; but more often on the level of the training film than that of the ideological statement. There are a number of "message" films made, but the cinema still generally serves the purpose in the West of entertainment. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the primary purpose of films is propaganda. They play an important role in building a communist society. Films made purely for entertainment are unheard of in the Soviet Union. Entertainment is the sugar coating used to make propaganda more palatable.

Huntly Carter, an English visitor to Russia in 1921, said that "Perhaps never in the history of civilization has a mechanical contrivance been used more successfully under exceedingly difficult conditions to assist in the construction of a new nation."¹⁷ The men at the top of the Soviet hierarchy realized at once the profound significance of the film for the purposes of instruction and enlightenment:

At a time when many intellectuals, hampered by literary traditions, looked on the film as a vulgar form of amusement, the Soviet leaders saw in it the art of the machine age and more especially, the art of the masses. "Where millions are," they said, "there serious politics begins," and cinema was an art which could be intelligible to millions of workers and peasants unaffected by poems, novels, or theatres.¹⁸

Lunacharski held that it was the function of the cinema to educate workers in the spirit of Communism. He conceived of a grandiose project to produce a series of historical films developing such themes as the development of the bourgeois state, the history of religions, the revolutionary movement in all countries and all ages, and scientific discoveries and inventions. A directive of the Seventh Party Congress in 1918 set the tone for future government action:

Political propaganda in the country must be conducted both for literates and the illiterates. . . . The cinema, theatre, concerts, exhibitions, etc., as much as they will penetrate the country, and towards this end all forces must be applied, must be used for communist propaganda directly, i.e. through their contents, by combining them with lectures and meetings. . . . There is no form of science or art which cannot be linked with the great ideas of communism and the infinitely diverse work of building a communist economy.¹⁹

Lenin, the first great builder of Soviet culture, saw that the reconstruction of Russian culture presented serious difficulties:

Culture problems cannot be solved as quickly as political and military problems. . . . It is possible to achieve a political victory in the epoch of acute crisis within a few weeks. It is possible to obtain victory in war within a few months. But it is impossible to achieve a cultural victory in such short time. . . .²⁰

On January 17, 1922, Lenin set up a system of proportions for film showings. Each program showing an entertainment picture was ordered to show on the same program pictures prepared under the title of "From the life of peoples in all countries." These were films of specific propaganda intent, with such suggested titles as the colonial policy of England in India and starving people in Berlin. These films of propagandistic nature were to be reviewed by Old Marxists to insure that the propaganda did not achieve aims contrary to that intended. Particular attention was to be given to establishing film theatres in the villages and in the East, where the film was still a novelty and the propaganda would be particularly effective. In a conversation with Lunacharski, Lenin said that "he had an inner conviction in that great gains could be won in the matter, if properly handled."²¹ Lenin believed that the production of new films permeated with communist ideas must begin with newsreels. "Of course, censorship is necessary, all the same. Counter-revolutionary and immoral films should find no place here. . . so you must well remember that, of all the arts, for us the cinema is the most important."²²

During the NEP, Stalin was one of the few persons in a position of authority who paid the cinema more than lip service. Within a program of increased cultural autonomy for the non-Russian states; he, without fuss or pronouncement, gave the cinema equal standing with the other arts. As People's Commissar of Nationalities, after observing the visible educational advances made by showing films to the peoples of the national minorities and the peasants, Stalin announced at the Thirteenth Party Congress in 1924 that "The cinema is the greatest means of mass agitation. . . ."²³ At a meeting of Alexandrov, Eisenstein, and Stalin in the spring of 1929, Stalin said:

The significance of Soviet film art is very great--and not only for us. Abroad there are very few books with Communist content. And our books are seldom known there, for they don't read Russian. But they all look at Soviet films with attention and they all understand them.²⁴

He goes on to instruct that filmmakers have a very responsible job. They should note the words of heroes. Their work will be judged by millions, so they should not invert images but learn from life. Stalin's actions during the purges and other laws show that he respected the medium of the cinema more than the artists who worked in it, however.

An extensive quotation from the master filmmaker Eisenstein will be valuable in examining the outlook of the artist on the purposes of the Soviet cinema. Eisenstein asks that we:

Imagine a cinema which is not dominated by the dollar; a cinema industry where one man's pocket is not filled at other people's expense; which is not for the pockets of two or three people, but for the heads and hearts of one hundred and fifty million people. . . . Suddenly a new system arises. A cinema is created, based not on private profit but on popular needs. Such a cinema may be hard to imagine; it may even be considered impossible; but one has merely to study the Soviet cinema, and one will see that it is not only possible but has already been achieved. . . To achieve such a cinema, however, certain prerequisites are necessary. Commercial competition must be eliminated. . .

Nowhere except in the Soviet Union does the cinema benefit by a unification of the three forms of centralization. . . centralization of economic production, . . . ideology, . . . method.

The Soviet cinema aims primarily to educate the masses. It seeks to give them a general education and a political education; it conducts an extensive campaign of propaganda for the Soviet State. . . With us "art" is not a mere word. We look upon it as only one of many instruments used on the battle-fronts of class struggle and the struggle for socialist construction. . .

In the Soviet Union art is responsible to social aims and demands. . . The Soviet cinema and theatre can hardly keep pace with the new social orders issued every day by the people carrying out tremendous social tasks. There is no time to reflect, to present the situation "objectively" through art. . .

Posterity must have a photographic reproduction of the great Revolution, a living textbook for the inspiration of other generations. As for history "in general" that is a sweet idealization of bourgeois historians. The "great" and "illustrious" personages of the past ruled the fate of millions according to their limited views. They were "gods" invented out of whole cloth. It is time to reveal the bunk about these paid romantic heroes. The concealed traps of official history must be exposed. . .

The Soviet cinema, then, is a cultural instrument serving the culture aims of the Soviet State.²⁵

The themes of Soviet cinema therefore reflected the aims of government teaching, not box office demands.

Let us now examine a few examples of the ways in which the Soviet cinema serves the purposes of government propaganda. The following caricature of Soviet realism by Getmansky, called "Standard Types in Soviet Realist Films," is not only a good example of Soviet humor, but also an expression of the cynical truth about government propagandizing. It pokes fun at standard characters in Soviet films, such as the following:

Alcoholic: Beast, tormentor, bad union member. Usually ends badly; in delirium tremens.

Bureaucrat: Clumsy, Pot-bellied, bad union member; Tears young inventors to

pieces; Chews apprentices for dessert; Ends badly, thanks to Worker and Peasnat Inspection.

Hooligan: ~~halp~~-corrupt element; Terror of neighborhood; Ends badly, giving up drinking and becoming a vegetarian and active member of the Auto-Club.

She: Bacillus of corruption; Powder-puff and lip-stick; Scourge of all active union members; Ends somehow, marries a Nepman.

Kulak: Monster; An oppressor, and generally a blood-sucker; Does not belong to union; Ends badly, dies in horrible agony.²⁶

These characterizations obviously represent the official government viewpoint on various types of people, and are meant to make the people support or suppress various elements in society as the government wishes. Another key to the Soviet manner of using propaganda is to look at the ethnic nationality and socio-economic class ascribed to villain and heroes in Soviet films. This in general coincides with those of real enemies under attack by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Heroes shared the ethnic nationality and socio-economic class of Party members and their allies. The Party periodically required changes in the characterizations to keep up with new developments in the domestic and foreign policies of the Communist regime. Of villains portrayed, 54% were foreigners. Of Soviet citizens portrayed as villains, 26% were agents of a foreign power. Thus 80% of villains were all either foreigners, pre-Revolutionary Russians, or Soviet accomplices of foreign powers. The appearance of Polish villains in 1939 coincided with the Red Army's entry into eastern Poland. U.S. villains predominated as the Cold War warmed up in Berlin and Korea, with British villains increasing at the same time.

Almost 90% of heroes were natives of the Soviet Union or the Russian Empire. Of foreign heroes (11% of the sample) almost half were German (usually strugglers against the Nazis in the 1930's). After the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939, this kind of hero disappeared.

In the socio-economic group, "specialists in violence" and the group of politicians and administrators accounted for 65% of villains. More than 10% were capitalists and bourgeoisie, with only 4% peasnants, who disappear almost completely after 1937. Of the heroes, only 23% were specialists in violence, compared to 43% of the villains. More were portrayed as peasants and workers than administrators and politicians.

In regard to ages, 90% of the villains were adults between the ages of thirty and sixty-four. Heroes were usually classified as young adults with children, adolescents, and the elderly comprising 18%. Of the villains, 93% were of the male sex, whereas 25% of the heroes were female. The majority of villains were motivated by social goals, with an increase from 39% in 1925 to 57% in 1937 and 70% in 1950. Heroes in Soviet films exceed villains in social goal motivation. In the villains there is a predominance of politics for motivational areas, and most heroes actively oppose politically motivated villains.

The transition to history form propaganda is sometimes achieved in such a way as to be hardly noticeable. Films which showed how workers suffered in Tsarist Russia are made propagandistic because they point to the benefits of the successful Revolution, but they also have a basis in history. Very often movie makers were arrested because of changes in the Party line. After a sudden reverse in Party policy, members would be immediately accused of deviations, exaggerations,

wrecking, and other crimes allegedly committed in defiance of the Party leadership. Thus those at the top could find scapegoats for their own faults in the lower officials of the Party.

All the work put into producing a film could be wasted if it did not express the ideological message clearly. Films were banned when they allegedly suggested thoughts or moods which the Party frowned upon, or if they prompted undesirable comparisons. In a movie a collective farmer had to appear happy, or the audience might suspect that his work was not as enjoyable as the Party proclaimed it was.

Again, it is worthwhile to quote extensively from the master, Eisenstein, to see how government pressure can prey upon an artist. Eisenstein's film Ivan the Terrible, Part II, was condemned by the Central Committee of the Party in September 1946. He was forced to make an apology in the form of an article entitled "My Worthless and Vicious Film." The Soviet system makes use of such public self-criticism to keep ideological nonconformity to a minimum. This humiliation by command can be seen very well in the following selections from Eisenstein's essay:

Reading again and again the resolution of the Party Central Committee about the film Great Life, I always linger on the question which it put forth: "What can explain the numerous cases of production of false and mistaken films? Why did such Known Soviet directors as Comrades Soukov, Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Kozentzev, and Trauberg create failures while in the past they have created films of high art and value?"

First of all, we failed because at a critical moment in our work we artists forgot for a time those great ideas our art is summoned to serve. Some of us forgot the incessant struggle against our Soviet ideals and ideology which goes on in the whole world. We lost for a time comprehension of the honorable, militant, educational task which lies on our art during the years of hard work to construct the Communist society in which all our people are involved.

The Central Committee justly pointed out to us that the Soviet artist cannot treat his duties in a light-minded and irresponsible way. Workers of the cinema should study deeply whatever they undertake. Our chief mistake is that we did not fulfill these demands in our creative work. . .

We forgot that the main thing in art is its ideological content and historical truth. . . We lightmindedly allowed the precious stream of creation to be poured out over sand and become dispersed in private unessential sidelines. . . Soviet art has been given one of the most honorable places in the decisive struggle of the ideology of our country against the seductive ideology of the bourgeois world. Everything we do must be subordinated to tasks of this struggle. . .

In the second part of Ivan the Terrible we committed a misrepresentation of historical facts which made the film worthless and vicious in an ideological sense. . . The sense of historical truth betrayed me in the second part of Ivan the Terrible . . .

We must master the Lenin-Stalin method of perception of real life and history to such a full and deep extent as to be able to overcome all remnants or survivals of former motives which, although they have been abolished from our consciousness a long time, are obstinately and maliciously attempting to infiltrate into our works as soon as our creative vigilance is weakened even for a single moment.

This is a guarantee that our cinematography will be able to eliminate all

ideological and artistic failures and mistakes which lie like a heavy load on our art in this first postwar year. This is a guarantee that in our nearest future our cinematography will again create highly ideological artistic films worthy of the Stalin epoch.²⁷

The preceding passage certainly reflects a different spirit than that which characterized our earlier selection from Eisenstein. It is interesting to note that Ivan the Terrible, Part II, was eventually released in 1958 when it apparently was no longer considered either worthless or vicious.

The Soviet cinema has led a most interesting life. It has in a period of fifty years risen from difficult beginnings to a position of great importance in Soviet society. It has reached high artistic levels, but most importantly the Soviet cinema has shown the world the importance of the medium for education and the formation of a great national consciousness. Without the cinema, the Soviet system would have most probably succeeded in reaching the same position it holds today, but the climb to the top would certainly have been more difficult.

NOTES

- 1 Jay Leyda, Kino, A History of the Russian and Soviet Film (New York, 1960), p. 91.
- 2 V. Rosolovskaya, Russian Cinematography in 1917 (Moscow, 1937); quoted in Leyda, p. 93.
- 3 Leyda, p. 94.
- 4 Ibid., p. 106.
- 5 Kurt London, The Seven Soviet Arts (New Haven, 1938), p. 271.
- 6 Ibid., p. 272.
- 7 Ibid., p. 273.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 274-275.
- 9 Ibid., p. 289.
- 10 Ibid., p. 290.
- 11 Leyda, p. 398.
- 12 Basil Dmytryshyn, USSR: A Concise History (New York, 1965), p. 285.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Paul Babitsky and John Rimburg, The Soviet Film Industry (New York, 1955), p. 42.
- 15 Ibid., p. 68.
- 16 Ibid., p. 69.
- 17 Huntly Carter, "Kinema Culture in Soviet Russia," Kinematograph Weekly (September 22, 1921); quoted in Leyda, p. 155.
- 18 Joseph Freeman, Joshua Kunitz, and Louis Lozowick, Voices of October: Art and Literature in Soviet Russia (New York, 1930), pp. 221-222.
- 19 Leyda, p. 139.
- 20 V. I. Lenin, "Speech of October, 1921," Selected Works, trans. by J. Fineburg, Vol. o, p. 274; quoted in Leyda, p. 155.
- 21 Lunacharsky, Letter to Boltyansky, January 9, 1925; quoted in Leyda, O. 161.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Leyda, p. 170.
- 24 Alexandrov, "Great Friend of Soviet Cinema," Iskusstvo Kino (December, 1939); quoted in Leyda, pp. 268-269.
- 25 Freeman, pp. 225-237.
- 26 Getmansky, Sovietsky Ekran (July 3, 1929); quoted in Leyda, p. 256.
- 27 Sergei Eisenstein, "My Worthless and Vicious Film," Kultura i Zhizn; quoted by Thomas Riha, Readings in Russian Civilization, Vol. III: Soviet Russia, 1917-1963 (Chicago, 1964), pp. 705-706.

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE
AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE COLD WAR

by Adán Benavides, Jr.

Europe, disfigured and dismembered, needed to be reconstituted in 1945. The first drafts had been made at Yalta in February with Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. Two months later, Truman succeeded to the Presidency following the death of Roosevelt. It was arranged that the heads of state of Russia, Great Britain and the United States meet to discuss the war against Japan, war reparations, the territorial limitations of Poland and Germany, and the recognition of freely elected governments in Italy and the Balkan states of Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. The subsequent actions and reactions between the East and the West resulting in the Cold War are open to different interpretations.

Any truth table of two propositions has four possibilities: one is true, while the other false (providing two possibilities); both are true; or both are false. Since the reality of the Cold War is not contested, we eliminate the chance that both propositions are false (e.g., that neither the West nor the East is subject to blame for the Cold War). The "orthodox American viewpoint" admits that the West is true in asserting that the East has failed to be honest; the revisionists assert that the East has been true and has responded to the aggressiveness of the West; and the "moderates" on the Cold War issue imply that neither is fully exonerated: that in fact, both are partially to blame.

The historians that will be reviewed in this paper holding the orthodox American viewpoint will be Herbert Feis, Norman A. Graebner, James F. Byrnes, former President Harry S. Truman, and Cabell Phillips. The revisionist thesis will be represented by its two outstanding historians, Gar Alperovitz and D. F. Fleming. Wilfrid Knapp and Donald Watt may be considered as moderates on the Cold War issue. The tenth historian is George F. Kennan. His particular slant on the situation does not allow for immediate placing within the three divisions already mentioned. He, in fact, appears to fall outside of the truth table. The necessary qualifications will be given in the course of the paper.

Herbert Feis (b. 1893) has a long history of service within the government of the United States having served as economic adviser to the Department of State during the early 1930's and serving as a special consultant to the Secretary of War from 1944 to 1946. Mr. Feis discusses the growing antagonism between the East and the West from 1945. His concern is that the Allies were able to overlook their own individual differences while fighting against the common threat of the Axis powers, but that with the end of the war, these differences were brought out into the open.

[T]he friction over the measures that closed the war against Germany was a disturbing portent. It became clear that the ordeal had not joined the three great allies together in lasting trust and cooperation; that although their peoples were thankful of the end, the nations had separate strides and stances.¹

He points out the developing tension as a result of the abrupt withdrawal of American Lend Lease; Poland, the major topic of the Potsdam Conference, the dissension in deciding the German war reparations; the Italian border settlement

between Yugoslavia and Italy; and the control over Austria. Remaining true to the orthodox American tradition, Mr. Feis views Russia as the transgressor: "As Soviet egotism and transgression became increasingly apparent, British and American authorities began to diverge in their ideas of how best to deal with the emerging situation."²

Taking one brief excerpt, we might be able to discern some major considerations in the writing of history by Mr. Feis.

The time of war is one of effort, vigil, heroism, suffering. The brief season that follows is the time of determination: whether the struggle will have been just another match between nations--black against white, gray against gray--or whether it may be seen as the pangs of creation. I believe that these few months in the spring and summer of 1945 were crucial; and that knowledge of what happened then is essential to an understanding of the present. 3

The first point to be considered is his general statement concerning war. In his writing he often states past events with a clear indication that history has some recurrent themes--not necessarily that it repeats itself, however. In the description of German conditions at the end of the war, he states: "So often in history has the dilemma of how to treat an aggressive nation baffled its conquerors!"⁴

From the general statement the author then goes on to state the particular, current, event: the spring and summer of 1945. And this event, for a proper understanding of the present situation, must be clearly known. In presenting the various facts, he selects what is important without dwelling upon the minutiae. As he states, "So the talk [concerning the role of the future Russian satellites in Eastern Europe] spun on, more and more confusingly. No one would want now to follow its wearisome turns."⁵ Mr. Feis writes most descriptively; a quick review of the above quotes would suffice, but perhaps two more selections might further the point:

In the spring of 1945, when the drizzle of dissension began to fall upon their talks with their western allies about the arrangements for Europe after the war, this suspicion [that the West would accept a German surrender without demanding an end to fighting on the Eastern frontier] had revived.⁶

And,

The antiphony in the performance of the coalition could be heard by trained listening ears in all three countries. Anxious doubts beat against the rhythm of the common cause.⁷

Norman A. Graebner (b. 1915), a Professor of History at the University of Illinois who has done radio programs in Chicago concerning current affairs, is both a prolific author and a noted lecturer. His book Cold War Diplomacy, 1945-1960, contains his interpretation of the meaning of the Cold War. His general comments about American diplomacy are summarized in the following quote:

Between the wars the inclination of American leadership to embrace the cause of humanity permitted it to come to grips with nothing.

This tendency to pursue abstractions rather than concrete interests continued to dominate American diplomacy in the postwar era. . . . If future historians, examining these troubled years, could credit the United States with

a truly beneficial role in world affairs, it would be not because this nation held within its grasp an unprecedented capacity to destroy or because it was adept at verbalizing utopias for itself, neither of which required much imagination, but because it recognized its fundamental interests amid the varied challenges of the age and defended them with determination.⁸

Dr. Graebner is concerned with the apparent tendency of American diplomacy to deal with the abstract--to be driven by its own ideals. He sees as the traditional American dilemma, a people convinced in the assumption of the demise of the enemy, no matter who or what, and of "the creation of the illusive world of justice and freedom. . . . [which] creates a vague and optimistic national detachment from external crises. What was so perilously true in the troubled days before Pearl Harbor was equally true in the fifties."⁹

At the Potsdam Conference, "world politics began to assume a bipolar structure. The leading nations, already distrustful of the U.N., were beginning to seek security in their own resources."¹⁰ Mr. Graebner distinguishes between the Yalta and the Potsdam Conferences: the former, a meeting of commanders-in-chief, the latter, a meeting of political leaders. It remained for the smaller nations to quite naturally gravitate toward either one of the poles, or as the case might have been, to be drawn to one or another side.

Judging from the bibliography, Dr. Graebner's work is well documented, but he footnotes his text only in the most general terms (who said it or wrote it). Furthermore, he tends to rely upon the spoken word--if we may judge from the selected documents which compose the latter half of the book as ten of the twelve texts are from speeches or conferences. Dr. Graebner writes with a very direct, forceful, and convincing style. However, there seems to be a tendency to oversimplify the issues. For example, he writes that on the questions of Germany and Eastern Europe "there was no possible compromise."¹¹ Actually, the West may have not gotten what they wanted in Germany, but neither did Stalin exactly achieve his goals. Professor Graebner is more interested in analyzing the general principles behind American diplomacy more so than studying the positive aspects of Russian means.

James F. Byrnes (b. 1879), Senator from South Carolina, was appointed by President Roosevelt to be Supreme Court Justice and later was Director of Economic Stabilization and also Director of War Mobilization during the final days of the War. President Truman, in a gesture to placate possible party rivalry, appointed him as Secretary of State and Byrnes was sworn in on 3 July 1945.¹² His book, Speaking Frankly, was written shortly after his removal from Truman's cabinet. As he states in the Foreward, "I have tried . . . to give you a seat at the conference table. . . . [I]f it were possible to give the people of this world an actual rather than a figurative, seat at the peace conference table, the fears and worries that now grip our hearts would fade away."¹³

Byrnes was a Wilsonian in the sense of favoring an organization that would guarantee peace and do away with the traditional sense of spheres of influence and balance of power. Reflecting later on his membership in the House after World War I, he states: "I had been deeply impressed with the vital part the home front plays in the winning of a war. And I had seen what a tragic role the home front had assumed in losing the peace."¹⁴ He recognized in Potsdam several issues of importance which display the efforts of a man who wished to establish the sovereignty of the European states (including Germany) and the hope to end the constant friction which Russian policy had created in Eastern Europe since the Crimea

Conference.¹⁵ He compares the change in American regard for the Russians as a result of their actions:

[I]f one can recall the attitude of the people of the United States toward the Soviets in the days immediately following the German surrender, he will agree that, as a result of our sufferings and sacrifices in a common cause, the Soviet Union then had in the United States a deposit of good will, as great, if not greater than that of any other country. It is little short of a tragedy that Russia should have withdrawn that deposit during the last two and a half years. Our assumption that we could co-operate, and our patience in trying to co-operate, justify the firmness we now must show.¹⁶

From the vantage point of an actual participant in the Potsdam meetings, Mr. Byrnes is able to substantiate his belief that the Russian policy had changed and become more aggressive. "[W]hat are the Russians after? . . . My experiences merely confirm an answer that actually is found in Russian history . . . Russian expansionism."¹⁷ This change was reflected in the increased demands for Polish territory, for dividing Germany into zones, and for political control of the Balkan countries. Although Byrnes is not misled into overlooking the concessions that the United States and Great Britain agreed to, he can state:

We considered the conference a success. We firmly believed that the agreements reached would provide a basis for the early restoration of stability to Europe.

The agreements did make the conference a success but the violation of those agreements has turned success into failure.¹⁸

Byrnes is writing history from a first-person point of view. The experiences he relates are his own and the sources are frequently his own notes as well as his memory. We remain, then, with an impressionistic record of facts--which does not invalidate them, but which must be reckoned with. His feelings are somewhat reserved in his own work but yet there is an "immediacy" to the events--he succeeds in placing his readers in the conference seat. He is not, however, a literary artist in the sense of someone like Herbert Feis. His work is easily read and comprehended, this facility stemming from the first point of view, undoubtedly. One might suggest that he is writing this history to exonerate himself from criticism for his actions while under the administrations of Roosevelt and Truman, but the sincerity of James F. Byrnes in this work would militate against such criticism.

Memoirs by former President Harry S. Truman (b. 1884) provide us with a very important source for understanding the Potsdam Conference and the American policy which determined so much of the outcome of the Cold War. It of course reiterates part of what has been said by the previously mentioned historians: Truman is the man who must ultimately be credited for the American policy formed during the period under consideration. The image of Truman portrayed in his memoirs is that of a person who is direct and to the point, seeing little need for the "extras" of protocol. This man Truman is a moral man dedicated to democracy and American principles.

Perhaps, by way of hindsight, Truman states that during his Presidency he was concerned with preventing a third world war in the long run, and attempting to win the war and maintain peace in the short run. As President he was more informed than he had been as Vice-President; this new knowledge allowed him to state:

I could see that there were more difficulties ahead. Already we were at odds with the Soviet government over the question of setting up a truly representative Polish government, and there were troubles in other areas. Many of these seemed to indicate an ominous trend. The next few months, I knew, could well be decisive in our effort to achieve an orderly world, reasonably secure in peace.¹⁹

As Truman states, his primary purpose in going to Potsdam was to gain a promise of Russian support in the Eastern theater against Japan.²⁰ This understanding he had gotten from Stalin within the first several days of the conference. However, the displeasure that he underwent while at these meetings as a result of petty bickering, long drawn out statements about what he considered irrelevant topics to the major issues involved, and the tenacity of the Russians to maintain control in the Central and Eastern European countries, convinced Truman that new tactics were in order.

But the personal meeting with Stalin and the Russians had more significance for me, because it enabled me to see at first hand what we and the West had to face in the future. . . . I had already seen that the Russians were relentless bargainers, forever pressing for every advantage for themselves. . . . Anxious as we were to have Russia in the war against Japan, the experience at Potsdam now made me determined that I would not allow the Russians any part in the control of Japan.²¹

The ultimate goal of Truman for Europe was to establish its independence from all foreign aid and occupation as soon as possible. He stated to Stalin and Churchill that "our [America's] only ambition was to have a Europe that was sound economically and that could support itself."²² It was his opinion that the three major powers should prepare the conditions that would allow for these countries to help themselves.²³ However, the events at the meetings caused a change in Truman's own mind:

As I left for home I felt that we had achieved several important agreements. But more important were some of the conclusions I had reached in my own mind and a realization of what I had to do in shaping future foreign policy.²⁴

Like the book by James Byrnes, that of Truman must be considered as a personal reconstruction of past events. Truman's work also has that element of "immediacy," due to the first point of view technique. In it, we find a greater dwelling upon an intuitive approach. It seems that Truman does not present the logical rationale that Byrnes seems to have for his actions and decisions. This is not to say that Truman was more impulsive--rather, that the causal relationships are not always related in Truman's Memoirs.

The fifth and last historian of the orthodox American viewpoint concerning the interpretation of the causes of the Cold War is Cabell Phillips. Phillips writes only of the events related to this paper in the context of the biography he has written about Truman. In The Truman Presidency, Phillips writes of the significance of Potsdam:

A significant consequence of the Potsdam meeting was a hardening of attitudes between East and West that made inevitable the ultimate ringing down of the Iron Curtain. The Americans and the British came away from Potsdam reluctantly convinced that a new menace threatened the peace of the world--namely, that Russian Communism would dominate all of Europe. The Russians, confirmed in their Slavic philosophy that all who are not with you are against you, came

away convinced that the West was intent upon depriving her of the fruits of victory. These concepts have not altered in twenty years.²⁵

Several of the impressions gleaned from the Memoirs of Truman are verified in the writings of Cabell Phillips. The character of Truman seems very strong, determined, and principle-minded. In the preface, Phillips states that he is writing this history because he feels that an adequate one has not been done concerning the highlights of Truman's tenure in office. The paradox of Truman's character is that he was quite an ordinary man, and also quite an extraordinary President.²⁶ "Its aim is to show what kind of person he was as a man and President, the nature of the problems he faced, his style and strategy in coping with those problems, and finally the impact of his tenure on the institution of the Presidency."²⁷

The language written is excellent, in the true style of journalism which reflects Phillips' long career as a professional newspaperman. His arguments sometimes sound too facile; perhaps because he is writing from secondary sources much of the time and he was not personally involved as some of the other authors previously reviewed were. And, Mr. Phillips attempts to make his "hero" much better than everyone else by sometimes being unduly harsh upon other characters. An example would be his brief treatment of James Byrnes whom he describes as "a man of volatile temperament and caustic tongue. . . embittered by his rejection for the Vice Presidency at the 1944 Democratic convention."²⁸ Phillips sees a strained relationship between Byrnes and Truman. Byrnes, being a significant contributor to Truman's developing foreign policy, "might have succeeded better than he did," speculates Phillips, "had it not been for his tendency to try to reverse his and the President's roles."²⁹

Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam by Gar Alperovitz, Fellow of King's College in the University of Cambridge, is one of the clearest statements of the revisionist view concerning the onset of the Cold War. The principle thesis of this possibility in the earlier mentioned truth table, is that the East ~~has~~ been true and has responded to the aggressiveness of the West. Professor Alperovitz writes:

It is often believed that American policy followed a conciliatory course, changing--in reaction to Soviet intransigence--only in 1947 with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. My own belief is somewhat different. It derives from the comment of Truman's Secretary of State that by early autumn of 1945 it was "understandable" that Soviet leaders should feel American policy had shifted radically after Roosevelt's death. It is now evident that, far from following his predecessor's policy of cooperation, shortly after taking office Truman launched a powerful foreign policy initiative aimed at reducing or eliminating Soviet influence from Europe.³⁰

Professor Alperovitz states that Truman was forced into a situation that he did not know well. Truman had had little knowledge of the broader implications of foreign policy while Roosevelt was alive; the challenge that he faces was great--and was divergent from that of his predecessor. This author states that at Potsdam the American strategy was one of delay: hoping to stall so that the atomic bomb could be completed. "It is for this reason that the American delegation was not all depressed with the seeming stalemate recorded in the Potsdam protocol."³¹ At the conference itself, Dr. Alperovitz points out the noticeable change in the manner of President Truman when he had received news of the successful blast in New Mexico. "[T]he first effect of the atomic bomb was simple, yet profoundly important one--it confirmed the President's belief that he would have enough power

to reverse Roosevelt's policy and attempt actively to influence events in the Soviet sphere of influence."³²

The revisionist theory of Alperovitz is intriguing. One is struck with the apparent scholarship, the extensive bibliography, the scores of explanatory footnotes, and the hundreds of reference footnotes. However, a careful reading of the major sources makes it difficult to accept his theory. Perhaps Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is right when he states that Alperovitz "twists his material in a most unscholarly way."³³ In the matter quoted above, Professor Alperovitz bases his thesis upon James Byrnes comment that Molotov's attitude of noticing a considerable change in policy between Roosevelt and Truman was "understandable. A careful reading in Speaking Frankly of the relevant passage does not, however, lead one to suspect that the change is part of an antagonistic American policy but that it is in response to the increasingly unreasonable demands by the Russians. This is not meant to totally reject the points which Dr. Alperovitz is presenting, but rather, to ask that they be evaluated in their proper perspective.

D. F. Fleming's (b. 1893) study, The Cold War and Its Origin, 1917-1960, is a lengthy presentation of the revisionist case. Dr. Fleming received his education at the University of Illinois in Political Science. In his work, Dr. Fleming describes the British and American leaders as refusing to grant Russia the minimum of assurances of settling the problems facing them at the end of the European war. It was perhaps their failure to place themselves in the Russians' position and see the necessity that she have countries of her political persuasion along her geographical perimeter. But the Western powers did not allow her to have access to the Mediterranean through a Soviet base on the Turkish Straits nor to have trusteeship of one of the Italian colonies in North Africa.

Here was an issue which would have caused little difficulty if the Allies had trusted each other. . . . But, since the Russian occupation of the Balkans had caused great distrust and fear, the Americans were quite certain to support the British in holding on to exclusive control of the Middle Sea. There would be fear that the world strategic balance would be to greatly upset, if Russia came into the Mediterranean.³⁴

Dr. Fleming uses quite extensively newspaper reports and columnists' articles for his work. The difficulty in using them, of course, is the rapidity with which they are produced by necessity and the great risk of error. However, if we accept the basic themes of the work, there is again the problem of over-simplification. One feels that at least one of the attempts of Dr. Fleming is to educate the reader to place himself within the Russian situation and to question the myths of a communistic world-wide conspiracy.

Many of the voices recorded have been bellicose. It is my belief that most of our belligerence has been unnecessary and dangerous, and that a great deal of it has been based upon false premises and information.

I have also told in various places the story of our anti-Red and anti-liberal hysterias, and of the incalculable damage they have done both to our reputation abroad and to our heritage of freedom of thought and expression at home.³⁵

Fleming is greatly concerned with the imminence of world wide disaster if our present policies (written in 1961) are not changed. He is concerned with the great continuing struggle of our twentieth century "which will determine whether our civilization is to disappear in the nuclear flames of a final war

of annihilation or find essential unity in one family of organized nations."³⁶

The third proposition of the truth table, mentioned earlier, is that both sides, East and West, are to blame for the Cold War. Wilfrid Knapp in A History of War and Peace, 1939-1965 does not see Potsdam as an important crystallization point for the Eastern and Western factions. He tends to look upon the developments from 1947 (the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan) as more important. Of the Conference at Potsdam he writes:

The Potsdam conference opened on 17 July 1945 and lasted for sixteen days. For a venture of such importance the extent of effective agreements was small indeed; such as it was it owed much to last-minute bargaining between Byrnes and Molotov for a 'package deal' on the main issues outstanding between them. . . .

From . . . conflicting purposes the agreement that eventually emerged gave neither side all that it wanted, and provided ample ground for dissent in the future.³⁷

Knapp allows for arguments on both sides of the Cold War to account for its inception. Or, as he presents in "The Partition of Europe," he allows for a misreading by the West of the Russian actions arising from the power machine developed by Stalin. For Stalin,

The whole of his career testifies to his successful aspiration to ever-increasing personal power, and this could only be achieved in Eastern Europe through the dominance of the Russian Army and security services, supporting local Communist leaders amenable to Stalin's wishes. Once this was done there was no reason or incentive for Stalin to surrender any part of his personal power in this area, any more than any other.³⁸

The openness to Western mistakes in policy is similar to that of D. F. Fleming with the exception that Knapp is not placing all the blame on the Western side.

The analysis of Germany by Donald Watt, following the division of that country by the Potsdam agreements, is similar to that of Wilfrid Knapp; Watt is also stating that both sides erred in the establishment of political machinery after the Second World War. In his view, the sufferer during this stage of the Cold War had been Germany.

The three Allies . . . approached the Potsdam Conference with very different outlooks and policies, making further trouble for themselves by their refusal to admit French participation. The outstanding issues to be settled were those of German's eastern frontiers, and the payment of German reparations to the Soviet Union.³⁹

The conflict that resulted at the conference is only understandable within the context of the different ideas and principles guiding them. The major consideration of each seemed irreconcilable. England feared the take-over of a disarmed, unified Germany by the Russians; the United States did not wish to underwrite the reparations of Germany nor did she wish to stay for an intolerable length of time; Russia had the possibility of a hostile satellite if it did not increase Poland's western boundaries to make up for the eastern territory that she had incorporated; in so doing, however, the dismemberment of Germany was

inevitable. Russia also wished primarily to extract from Germany unlimited reparations for the reconstruction of western Russia.⁴⁰

The compromise agreed on the reparations issue, nevertheless recognized the economic division of Germany de facto. American initiative secured agreement that the bulk of Soviet and Polish reparations claims should be met from the Soviet Zone. . . . The compromise amounted virtually to a barter treaty between the Soviet Zone and the West.⁴¹

Mr. Donald Watt falls into the category which recognized the inconsistencies of both sides in the question of guilt for precipitating the Cold War. His study is an interesting one, enhanced by his understanding of the various problems; however, there is a difficulty in following his position. He uses more technical terms because, perhaps, he is concerned with the effects of the Potsdam Conference and the Cold War on Germany specifically.

The last historian to be considered on this question of Potsdam and its implications for the Cold War is George F. Kennan (b. 1904). His long service in the Department of State as a Foreign Service Officer (from 1926 to 1953) has led him to Geneva, Hamburg, Berlin, Riga, Moscow, Vienna, and Prague; later, in 1952, he became Ambassador to Russia. The reason he is placed outside of the truth table established in the introduction, is that he was opposed to the Potsdam actions in toto, and because he recognized a change of Communist tactics by means other than those perpetrated by the Cold War.

It will be understood . . . that I viewed the labors of the Potsdam Conference with unmitigated skepticism and despair. I cannot recall any political document the reading of which filled me with a greater sense of depression than the communique to which President Truman set his name at the conclusion of those confused and unreal discussions.⁴²

His intimate knowledge of the Russian mentality allows him to make the large sweeping statements above. He goes on to clarify his position. He criticizes the use of such general terms as democratic, peaceful, and just; the reparations settlement he considered unworkable; the question of trial for war criminals seemed to him as the height of hypocrisy: for the Russians sitting at tribunals for crimes of which they could also be accused (Stalin's great purges); and the sanctioning of the territorial adjustments relating to East Prussia, Germany, and Poland.⁴³

Mr. Kennan admits that his criticism necessarily means that indignant reactions against him will result in Russia for his views, but he writes:

I doubt that there could be anyone in the Western world who has deeper feeling than do I for the qualities of the Russian people or greater respect for the paths of heroism and suffering by which this people has groped its way from the degradation of earlier despotisms toward the ideal of human dignity and social responsibility.⁴⁴

In another work, Realities of American Foreign Policy, Mr. Kennan states his belief in how Russia will change her tactics. This will rely upon a change within the communist system itself. Only when the "vital prestige of Soviet power" is allowed to change quietly and not too drastically nor abruptly, will the Soviet power recede from its present positions.⁴⁵

The works of Kennan relate serious matters with great candor. One can sense a certain drive within the man himself through his writings. He spares no words in stating faulty foreign policy on the part of the United States or on the part of Russia or even when he himself is wrong. There is the sense of "immediacy" which was noted in the Memoirs of Truman and in Speaking Frankly by James Byrnes. Kennan's own Memoirs are very interesting reading and provide us with yet another view of the East-West relations in the period stemming from the Potsdam Conference.

The truth table provided only the possibilities of truth and falseness. In assessing the Cold War, Schlesinger has written some cogent words which soften the impartiality of that table. He writes: "[I]f it is impossible to see the Cold War as a case of American aggression and Russian response, it is also hard to see it as a pure case of Russian aggression and American response." He goes on, stating that the Cold War is perhaps tinged with tragic elements: the question which remains is whether it is a Greek tragedy ("What a pity it had to be this way") or a Christian tragedy ("What a pity it was this way when it might have been otherwise").⁴⁶

NOTES

- 1 Herbert Feis, Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference (Princeton, 1960), p. 5.
- 2 Ibid., p. 73.
- 3 Ibid., p. v.
- 4 Ibid., p. 52.
- 5 Ibid., p. 197.
- 6 Ibid., p. 9.
- 7 Ibid., p. 25.
- 8 Norman A. Graebner, Cold War Diplomacy, 1945-1960 (Princeton, 1962), p. 9.
- 9 Ibid., p. 10.
- 10 Ibid., p. 24.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 James F. Byrnes, Speaking Frankly (New York, 1947), p. 65.
- 13 Ibid., p. xii.
- 14 Ibid., p. 18.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 67-68.
- 16 Ibid., p. 71.
- 17 Ibid., p. 282.
- 18 Ibid., p. 87.
- 19 Harry S. Truman, Memoirs, Vol. I: Year of Decisions (Garden City, 1955), p. 22.
- 20 Ibid., p. 411.
- 21 Ibid., p. 412.
- 22 Ibid., p. 377.
- 23 Ibid., p. 365.
- 24 Ibid., p. 411.
- 25 Cabell Phillips, The Truman Presidency: The History of a Triumphant Succession (New York, 1966), p. 100.
- 26 Ibid., p. xi.
- 27 Ibid., p. xii.
- 28 Ibid., p. 83.
- 29 Ibid., p. 84.
- 30 Gar Alperovitz, Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam (New York, 1965), p. 13. Reference is made to Byrnes, p. 104.
- 31 Alperovitz, p. 175.
- 32 Ibid., p. 151.
- 33 Arthur [Meier] Schlesinger, Jr., "Origins of the Cold War," Foreign Affairs, XLIV (October 1967), 24, n.e.
- 34 D[enna] F[rank] Fleming, The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960 (New York, 1961), Vol. 1, p. 291.
- 35 Ibid., p. xiii.
- 36 Ibid., p. xi.
- 37 Wilfrid Knapp, A History of War and Peace, 1939-1965 (New York, 1967), pp. 77-79.
- 38 Knapp, "Petition of Europe," The Cold War, A Re-appraisal, Evan Luard, ed. (New York, 1964), pp. 52-53.
- 39 Donald Watt, "Germany," The Cold War, p. 93.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 88-95.
- 41 Ibid., p. 95.
- 42 George F. Kennan, Memoirs, 1925-1950 (Boston, 1967), pp. 258-259.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 259-261.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 261-262.

- 45 Kennan, Realities of American Foreign Policy (Princeton, 1954), p. 78.
46 Schlesinger, p. 52.