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Andropov's Gamble: Samantha Smith and Soviet Soft Power

Anton Fedyashin

Introduction

On a November evening in 1982, a ten-year-old fifth-grader from Manchester, Maine—population just above two thousand—became concerned about world peace under the impression of news stories about the Soviet nuclear threat. To alleviate her daughter's fears, Jane Smith sat down with Samantha to read a *Time* magazine article about Yuri Andropov who had just succeeded Leonid Brezhnev as General Secretary of the CPSU. The introductory paragraph read: "When Joseph Conrad wrote about the place, he called his novel *Under Western Eyes* because he wanted his readers to understand that his history was told by an outsider, meaning that no non-Russian could ever hope to see into that particular heart of darkness with any clarity or certainty. It is the same now. With Leonid Brezhnev gone, where are Western eyes to look, at the man or at the space he left, for an understanding of this moment?"[1]

Samantha decided to write a letter to penetrate that darkness, addressed it to Andropov, and received a reply from the Kremlin inviting her to visit the Soviet Union and report what she saw. The most successful Soviet PR campaign of the late Cold War, the Smith visit demonstrated a creative, albeit short-lived, variation on the rich history of Soviet public relations.[2] This surreal epistolary exchange and visit have attracted limited scholarly attention.[3] And this article will add to the conversation by exploring some important but overlooked details in the context of evolving political narratives emerging out of Moscow and Washington in the early 1980s—the clash between the Soviet quest for legitimacy founded

[1] Roger Rosenblatt, "Half a World Lies Open, Leonid Brezhnev Leaves a Vacuum Greater than the Man Who Filled It," *Time*, 22 November 1983, 11.

[2] David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Michael David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to Soviet Russia, 1921–1941* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[3] Andreï Kozovoï, "L'enfance au service de la guerre froide: Le voyage de Samantha Smith en URSS (juillet 1983)," *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, No. 96 (Oct-Dec, 2007), 195-207; Margaret Peacock, "Samantha Smith in the Land of the Bolsheviks: Peace and the Politics of Childhood in the Late Cold War," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2019), 418-44; Matthias Neumann, "Children Diplomacy During the Late Cold War: Samantha Smith's Visit of the 'Evil Empire'," *History* (April 2019), Vol. 104 Issue 360, 275-308.

on the Second World War foundation myth and the Reagan administration's remoralization of the Cold War with a renewed emphasis on American messianic exceptionalism. By then, the Soviet Union had squandered the sympathy of European leftists, while the conservative duumvirate of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher openly challenged the foundations of the Soviet way of life. Gone was the messianic spirit in Soviet propaganda—neither Brezhnev, nor his two immediate successors dreamed or threatened to outperform the West.

Yuri Andropov's recourse to cultural and public diplomacy therefore constituted an attempt to reinvent the Soviet regime's international image without reforming its fundamental structure, which would fall to Gorbachev. With its ideological magnetism spent, the only form of internationalism left to the Soviet leadership was to play on fears of a nuclear holocaust, which were very real by the early 1980s. By inviting the Smith family to tour the Soviet Union, Andropov made a last-ditch effort at a popularly driven, grass-roots détente that aimed to outmaneuver the Reagan government by appealing directly to the American people. However, this attempt to decouple geopolitical aspirations from domestic policies rendered Andropov's public relations gamble highly vulnerable. By the late twentieth century, Muscovy, the Romanov Empire, and Soviet Russia had developed a long tradition of cultivating and altering, imitating and rejecting, engaging and distancing, borrowing and quarantining Western models in all spheres of life. Andropov's attempt combined and reinvigorated these opposing tendencies in a PR tactic of unprecedented proportions channeled through the US but aimed at the entire world.

Epistolary Overtures

Having looked through the *Time* article, Samantha Smith asked her mother to write a letter to the General Secretary "to find out who was causing all the trouble." Instead, Jane Smith suggested that Samantha do it herself. And so she did. The hand-written letter read:

> Dear Mr. Andropov,
>
> My name is Samantha Smith. I am ten years old. Congratulations on your new job. I have been worrying about Russia and the United States getting into a nuclear war. Are you going to vote to have a war or not? If you aren't please tell me how you are going to help to not have a war. This question you do not have to answer, but I would like to know why you want to conquer the world or at least our country. God made the world for us to live together in peace and not to fight.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> Samantha Smith[4]

[4] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 4.

Samantha's father Arthur Smith, a professor of English Literature at the University of Maine at Augusta, helped his daughter attach a 40-cent stamp to the letter and mail it to "Mr. Yuri Andropov, The Kremlin, Moscow, USSR."

A few months later on 11 April 1983, *Pravda* reprinted the letter and its facsimile along with quotes from other letters sent from the United States. The anonymous *Pravda* article about Samantha argued that the letters of ordinary Americans proved just how out of touch with its own population the Reagan administration had become in its aggressive narrative about the USSR. Introducing Samantha's letter, *Pravda* expressed surprise at the gross scale of disinformation to which "the dirty work of the military-industrial complex propagandists" had exposed the American public. "We think that Samantha can be forgiven for her confusion—she is only ten years old," the article concluded emphasizing the difference between the American people's views and wishes and their government's policies.[5]

Since the *Pravda* article did not answer her questions, Samantha dashed off another epistle to Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin asking whether Mr. Andropov would ever respond. Samantha recollected: "About a week later I had a phone call from a man with a heavy accent. The caller said that he was from the Soviet Union, and he said that I would soon be getting a letter from Yuri Andropov. The man on the phone sounded like someone in a movie. I thought maybe this was one of Dad's friends playing a joke. He wanted me to call back when the letter came, and he gave me a bunch of telephone numbers to write down." Arthur Smith checked the numbers with the FBI and found out that the call came from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC. On April 25, a reply with Yuri Andropov's signature finally arrived.

Andropov's letter reminded Samantha that in World War Two, the USSR was "in alliance with the United States" and "fought for the liberation of many people from the Nazi invaders." Moreover, he stressed that the USSR "want very much to live in peace, to trade and cooperate with all out neighbors on this earth […]. And certainly with such a great country as the United States of America."[6] Andropov was invoking the second of two Soviet foundation myths—victory in the Second World War.

By definition an imperial myth that emphasized spheres of influence, state sovereignty, competitive coexistence, and international legitimacy, this myth was fundamentally defensive, unlike the first foundation myth that revolved around the October Revolution with its utopian, messianic, and Comintern-driven aim to spread revolution to the entire planet. Western confusion of the two myths found its most elucidating expression in two conflicting interpretations of post-war Soviet policies—George Kennan's "Long Telegram," which mistook the brutality of Soviet policies in Eastern Europe for revolutionary expansionism and Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech several weeks later, which correctly recognized the creation

[5] "Trevoga, nadezhdy, pozhelaniia, Iz-za okeana prodolzhaiut postupat pisma na imia Iu. V. Andropova," *Pravda*, 11 April 1983, 4.

[6] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 8.

of a defensive sphere of influence. Although Khrushchev's embrace of decolonization marked a temporary embrace of revolutionary utopianism, Andropov was continuing Brezhnev's legitimacy-seeking mode.[7]

The General Secretary compared Samantha's courage and honesty to that of Becky Thatcher from Mark Twain's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, a novel "well known and loved in our country by all boys and girls." Samantha felt flattered by the comparison and took it as proof that "Mr. Andropov is not as grim a man as she had imagined." "When you think of Yuri Andropov," she told a reporter, "you really don't think about him having any humor."[8] In answer to Samantha's question about Soviet war plans, Andropov's letter read: "We want peace—there is something that we are occupied with: growing wheat, building and inventing, writing books, and flying into space. We want peace for ourselves and for all peoples of the planet. For our children and for you, Samantha. I invite you, if your parents will let you, to come to our country, the best time being the summer. You will find out about our country, meet with your contemporaries, visit an international children's camp—'Artek'—on the sea. And see for yourself: in the Soviet Union—everyone is for peace and friendship among peoples."[9]

The children's weekly *Pionerskaia pravda* published Andropov's reply and quoted Samantha's father as saying that it was "warm, friendly, direct, and sincere."[10] The Soviet Embassy in Washington made the reply public, while the *Toronto Star* "offered to fly Samantha and her parents to Moscow for the visit."[11] Andropov's gamble promised to pay off handsomely. The domestic and international environment of the time may explain the General Secretary's unexpected and friendly reply.

The Cold War Background

Andropov remains the most inscrutable of the Soviet leaders and only two biographies have explored the man who presided over the KGB for fifteen years before becoming General Secretary.[12] After Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign, which institutionally demoted the security services from Commissariat-Ministry to (the newly renamed) Committee, it fell to Andropov to bring the Soviet security apparatus to the apex of its size and efficiency by the early 1980s. As head of the KGB, which was the best informed about the depth of the coun-

[7] For an in-depth discussion of the changing narrative towards the US, see Rosa Magnusdottir, *Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945–1959* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[8] Peter Jackson, "It's a Red-Letter Day for Maine Girl," *The Buffalo News*, 26 April 1983.

[9] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 6-9.

[10] "Otvet Iu. V. Andropova na pismo amerikanskoi shkolnitsy," *Pionerskaia pravda*, 29 April 1983, 1.

[11] Peter Jackson, "It's a Red-Letter Day for Maine Girl," *The Buffalo News*, 26 April 1983

[12] Zhores Medvedev, *Andropov* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984); Leonid Mlechin, *Andropov* (Moscow: Prospekt, 2006).

try's weaknesses and problems, Andropov brought to the Kremlin a desire for reform, albeit with a disciplinarian streak. His preference for the shadowy halls of power and reluctance to appear before television cameras contrasted greatly with Reagan's "great communicator" image of relaxed California-style openness. However, Andropov's speeches were brief and lacked the mind-numbing Party jargon that had become the norm during the late Brezhnev years. And despite his personal distaste for public appearances and fanfare, his government became more aware than Brezhnev's of the value of public relations, as the Samantha gamble demonstrated.

Conscious of the Soviet Union's economic backwardness and social apathy, Andropov first targeted corruption by dismissing hundreds of entrenched regional party bosses and bringing to Moscow young and ambitious talent from the provinces—Mikhail Gorbachev became his most famous protégé. After eighteen years of Leonid Brezhnev's rule, Soviet society had reached the apex of material comfort as well as popular apathy and ridicule of official propaganda. Many Soviet citizens had already withdrawn into their private lives to escape the officialese that saturated the Soviet media and public performances of defensive fealty, such as the annual "Zarnitsa" and "Orlyonok" wargames for Soviet youth at young pioneer camps. A few weeks before Artek switched over to peace mode for the Smith family, Soviet television showed young pioneers dressed in combat uniforms of Soviet border troops complete with model AK-47s and two-way radios romping around the woods and along the Black Sea coast "in a mock hunt for border violators."[13]

The foreign policy front looked bleak. The Soviet was bogged down in Afghanistan and arms limitations talks had stalled, leaving Europe full of SS-20s and Pershing-2 "Eurorockets" and under the pall of potential nuclear Armageddon. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was gaining strength in the US and Europe. Most importantly, in his attempt to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and pull the US out of its stagflation-induced torpor, Ronald Reagan's political rhetoric re-moralized the Cold War. Andropov's April invitation to the Smiths to visit the Soviet Union aimed to dispel the effect of Reagan's speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida, on March 8, 1983, in which he referred to the "aggressive impulses of an evil empire." Two weeks later, Reagan proposed the Strategic Defense "Star Wars" Initiative. Resurrecting the image of the US as a City on a Hill, Reagan also clearly communicated that the US did not recognize Soviet communism as a legitimate regime, that the new policy in Washington was to win, not to outlast the USSR, and that "peace" from his perspective was not a process of coexistence, but the result of a Western victory in the Cold War. Dormant for almost two decades since Eisenhower presided over the institutionalization of the Cold War, American exceptionalist messianism came roaring back with pride in the form of Reagan's optimistic conservatism.[14] This view was

[13] Robert Gillette, "When Soviet Children Play War Games, It's for Real," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 July 1983, A1.

[14] Anton Fedyashin, "How Lenin and Wilson Changed the World," nationalinterest.org, 25 March 2017, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/how-lenin-wilson-changed-the-

fundamentally opposed to Andropov's defensive geopolitical vision of the Cold War order, and he needed a PR coup to break the standoff, for which Samantha's letter provided a unique opportunity.

Initial Reactions

Within days of receiving Andropov's reply, international media laid siege to the Smith household. *Pravda*'s New York correspondent Tomas Kolesnichenko barely got through to the household by phone. "This letter has turned my impression of the Soviet Union upside down," Samantha told him. "I believe every line in it. It is such a warm letter that it feels as if my father is talking to me. Now I am convinced that the Soviet Union is not planning to attack anyone." Kolesnichenko reported that Andropov's letter had also communicated to "millions" of Samantha's peers that the Soviet Union had peaceful aims, which the Reagan administration's propaganda machine had tried to distort.[15]

A few days before dashing off his letter to Samantha, Andropov had already replied publicly to a telegram from prominent American scientists—Carl Sagan among them—who opposed the militarization of space and the targeting of one another's satellites. "I can assure you that the Soviet Union will continue to exert maximum effort to prevent the ominous plans of transferring the arms race into space," Andropov stated.[16] The reply to Samantha was therefore part of the Kremlin's wider public diplomacy strategy. The US Embassy in Moscow identified the "apparently deliberate softening of high-level Soviet rhetoric toward the United States" that received "heavy play in the Soviet central media."[17]

Every major US newspaper carried the story, but reactions differed. An article in the *New York Times* argued that Andropov's letter was part of a "broader effort" to persuade Americans of the USSR's good will and "to undercut public support… for the Reagan administration's plan to strengthen American nuclear forces."[18] Samantha remembered, "The reporters kept asking if I was nervous about all this, which I wasn't, but I wondered if I was *supposed* to be nervous."[19]

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world-19900 (last accessed 28 January 2020); Anton Fedyashin, "American Messianism and Russian-American Relations," in *Russia and the United States in the Evolving World Order*, eds. Anatoly Torkunov, Norma C. Noonan, Tatiana Shakleina, (Moscow: MGIMO University, 2018), 343-382; Arthur Herman, *1917: Lenin, Wilson, and the Birth of the New World Disorder* (New York: Harper, 2017); David Foglesong, *The American Mission and the "Evil Empire": The Crusade for a "Free Russia" Since 1881* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[15] T. Kolesnichenko, "Slovo pravdy, Schastlivyy den v zhizni Samanty Smit," *Pravda*, 27 April 1983, 4.

[16] "Soviet Appeals to U.S. Scientists on Space Arms," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 Apr 1983, A2.

[17] "SAMANTHA SMITH AND HIGH LEVEL SOVIET RHETORIC," Cable sent from US Embassy, Moscow, 27 April 1983, ID #142046, WHORM: Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library.

[18] John F. Burns "Andropov Assures Girl That His Nation Seeks Peace," *New York Times*, 26 Apr 1983, A10.

[19] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 9.

After a while, the media circus became boring for her: "Everybody asks the same questions again and again. Why don't they just pass things along to each other?"[20]

In April 1983, *Pionerskaia pravda* began to publish letters from Soviet schoolchildren who had read Andropov's reply. Oksana Pototskaia of Osh in Kyrgyzstan believed that Andropov's letter addressed all the children of the world, so that everyone knew that the Soviet Union was "the greatest friend of all the children of the world." She added that her class visited Second World War veterans too old to participate in Victory Day celebrations in order to cheer them up "with bugles and drums"—which the veterans greatly appreciated, she believed—and called for American adults to "make friends" with their own children in order to prevent war. Vasia Slonov (seventh grade) of Shushinskoe village in Krasnoiarsk Region addressed Samantha in his letter and recounted how his school organized "labor landings" (*trudovye desanty*) at the local collective farm. After visiting Artek, Vasia argued, Samantha should come and help, too. Dima Ivanov of Leningrad described the crying women of Piskarev Cemetery where the victims of the Leningrad blockade were buried. "If you could only see this for yourself, you would immediately understand that our people do not want a war."[21] Indeed, Samantha would visit the cemetery during her trip and called it "the saddest place on earth."[22]

In Augusta, Samantha met Governor Joseph Brennan (D, 1979–1987) and spoke briefly before the state legislature. Some Americans suggested turning Samantha into a positive-PR campaign for the US by sending her to the Soviet Union as "the dove of peace" accompanied by the President and First Lady, several reporters, and "a very limited number of government officials and politicians," such as "Tip O'Neall, Howard Baker, and Mrs. Kirkpatrick."[23]

By May 1983, an avalanche of letters from concerned Americans flooded the Kremlin, reported the Communist Youth Organization newspaper *Komsomolskaia pravda*, although some also complained about being misquoted. Samantha's letter also inspired Soviet citizens to write directly to Yuri Andropov. The US press reported on a letter from fifth-grader Irina Tarnopolsky of the Ukrainian city of Kharkov who was inspired by watching interviews with Samantha Smith on Soviet television. Irina asked why her refusenik father was being held incommunicado for four months after being arrested for "slandering the Soviet system," which carried a three-year sentence in a labor colony or internal exile.[24] The US embassy in Moscow informed USIA in June 1983 that the American correspondent who originally translated Irina's letter and wrote an article about it "had his office searched in his absence and all three copies of the letter which he had stored there removed. The

[20] Geoff Williams, "The Littlelest Diplomat," *Entertainment Weekly Magazine*, 26 April 1996.

[21] "Priezzhai v 'Aterk', Samanta!" *Pionerskaia pravda*, 1 May 1983, [2].

[22] I. Afanasiev, "'Nash dialog prineset liudiam polzu'" *Pionerskaia pravda*, 22 July 1983, [3].

[23] Telegram, Mr. and Mrs. Donald K. Jelks to President Ronald Reagan, 26 April 1983, ID #142046, WHORM: Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library.

[24] Robert Gillette, "Unlike American Child, Irina Fails to Move Yuri," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 June 1983, B1.

entire file on the Tarnopolsky case was also mysteriously removed from the offices of another American news agency in Moscow."[25] Andropov's former employees were carefully managing the PR-campaign behind the scenes.

Declassified State Department documents show that in late April, Arthur Smith phoned the European and Soviet Desk "to ask for the State Department's views on the trip." State answered that it "considered this to be [the family's] decision and that if they decided to go, the Department would assist however possible" both in the US and in Moscow. State warned Smith, however, that "the Soviets are using and would continue to use the invitation for political and propaganda purposes." Smith responded that "he realized the Soviets had their own motives" and that he did not want his daughter's visit to turn out like Billy Graham's because she was "not as naïve." The Smiths clearly did not subscribe to born-again conservative politics. The declassified State Department summary of the phone conversation quoted Smith as saying that he wanted the trip "to be a low profile, educational experience for Samantha, not a press circus" and he accepted State's offer of a briefing prior to the trip.[26]

The State Department also decided to use the Smith trip to pressure the Soviet government into allowing families with children to reunite. Foggy Bottom sent Tom Simons to Maine in late June to brief the family and present it with a "children's representation list" that the Smiths would hand to the Soviets. "A preliminary check indicates," read an internal memorandum, "there are six families with children under 18 who are separated from close relatives because they cannot get exit permission."[27]

Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union declined from its apex of over 50,000 in 1979 to fewer than 3,000 by 1982. Irina Tarnopolsky never received a reply to her letter and her father received the maximum sentence after refusing to answer the court's questions.[28] Letters from Soviet émigrés petitioning the Soviet government to grant exit visas to their relatives also flooded the Smith household, which they brought to Moscow. Meanwhile, the Soviet press had a field day when a Soviet girl's letter addressed to Ronald Reagan at the White House was returned. The address had been written in Cyrillic, transliterated into English by someone at USPS, and still sent back marked "Addressee unknown."[29]

American kids also picked up their pens to ask questions of President Reagan. Some of these letters were routed through the National Security Council and the State Department, which weighed in on the answers. Ms. Holly Nachbar of Springville, New York, wrote to the White House that as she read an article about Andropov's reply to Samantha in *The Buffalo News*, "at first I believed him and

[25] "Subject: Letter from Irina Tarnopolsky to Andropov," U.S. Department of State, Case No. F-2011-25766, Doc No. C05104822.

[26] U.S. Department of State, Case No. F-2011-25766, Doc No. C05104830.

[27] "Andropov's Pen-Pal Samantha Smith," U.S. Department of State, Case No. F-2011-25766, Doc No. C05104824.

[28] Robert Gillette, "Soviet Scientist Sentenced to 3 Years in Labor Camp," *Los Angeles Times*, 1 July 1983, SD6.

[29] "Soviet girl's note to Reagan returned, address unknown," *Chicago Tribune*, 17 June 1983.

thought him to be an honest man, but I urge all who read it, study it and read deeper than the words on the paper." "Does he really want peace," Holly asked President Reagan, "or is he playing dirty-pool?" She signed her letter "Truly an American."[30]

The stream of letters from Soviet children to *Pionerskaia pravda* continued into the summer of 1983. According to the editors, the common denominator among them was the opinion that Andropov spoke for all Soviet children. Sveta Kuprina from Georgievka village in Kuibyshev Region wrote that the Soviet people did everything possible to ensure that its children live under "a blue sky and that when seen from space the earth resemble a blue sphere, not a black cloud."[31] Many kids wrote in about their grandparents' losses during the Second World War as proof that the Soviet Union did not want another conflict. In June 1983, members of Moscow's Club of International Friendship (*Klub internatsionalnoi druzhby imeni Iuriia Gagarina* or *KID*) sent a letter to their American counterparts, the content of which they recorded in a telephone message that was played at a meeting in San Francisco during the International Day for the Protection of Children. *Pionerskai pravda* carried the story on its front page.[32]

Youth activism and the role and uses of childhood during the Cold War have received commendable treatment from scholars.[33] It is worth adding here that the youth activism that Samantha unleashed stood in stark contrast to the commodification of youth culture during the early 1980s—a trend that the Western "victory" in the Cold War would successfully export to the rest of the world. The Reagan-era consumer revolution would hijack the activist youth counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s and transform it into an addiction to excess and financial debt. In a strange parallel to the late Soviet phenomenon, the emergence of America's young people as both market rulers and its targets, morphed activism into consumer solipsism—personal spending as fulfillment, the "Valley Girl" phenomenon, consumer fantasies, and celebrity cults. Samantha Smith was a sobering but temporary pause in this trend.

Moscow

The Smiths left first-class on their all-expenses-paid two-week trip on July 7, 1983. According to Jane Smith, the State Department prepped the family for the

[30] Letter, Holly Nachbar to President Ronald Reagan, 26 April 1983, ID #148936, ND018, WHORM: Subject File Ronald Reagan Library.

[31] "Pisma dlia Samanty," *Pionerskaia pravda*, 24 May 1983, [2].

[32] "Dialog cherez okean vedut sovetskie pionery s detmi Ameriki," *Pionerskaia pravda*, 3 June 1983, [1].

[33] Jennifer Helgren, *American Girls and Global Responsibility: A New Relation to the World during the Early Cold War* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2017); Sara Fieldston, "Little Cold Warriors: Child Sponsorship and International Affairs," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (April 2014): 240-50; Susan E. Reid, "Destalinization and Taste, 1953–1963," *Journal of Design History* 10, no. 2 (January 1997): 177-201; Catriona Kelly, "Defending Children's Rights, 'In Defense of Peace': Children and Soviet Cultural Diplomacy," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 711-46; Marina Balina and Evgeny Dobrenko, eds., *Petrified Utopia: Happiness Soviet Style* (New York, 2011); Margaret Peacock, *Innocent Weapons: The Soviet and American Politics of Childhood in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2014).

trip "even though they didn't want to be seen as endorsing it."[34] The family flew from Augusta, Maine, to Boston, and then to Montreal. In Boston, Arthur Smith declared that if the family trip "would be turned into a propaganda advantage by either country," they would not have undertaken it.[35] "Reporters in Montreal," Samantha recalled, "seemed to go wild and even the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who were trying to guide us, had trouble holding back the people when the reporters started shoving. They were all pushing microphones at me and shouting and then we got all jammed up and I bit one of the microphones that was pushed up against my face."[36]

A similar throng of European, American, and Soviet journalists met the Smith family in Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport. "I want to make friends with Soviet kids," *Pravda* quoted Samantha upon arrival, "I hope to make a close friend here, a fifth-grade girl."[37] Young pioneers from Moscow's Palace of Youth met her at the airport with bouquets of flowers.[38] Remembering their trip years later, Jane Smith admitted that she was most surprised by how well the Soviet government had organized their itinerary: "We were met with the highest diplomatic etiquette."[39] This was her second visit to the USSR where she had already been in 1964 with her college class. Soviet television gave Samantha's arrival prime time coverage, abandoning the usual fare of interviews with workers and peasants. The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (USSFCRFC), which paid for the trip, put the Smiths up at Sovetskaia Hotel in the center of Moscow—an honor reserved for the highest echelon of visitors to the USSR. The family called on US ambassador Arthur Hartmann on the afternoon of July 8 and received his offer of "any assistance they might need in passing messages to the States," but had not heard back from them (until at least July 10).[40] The family's attorney, Mr. George Haldeman, stayed in touch with the Smiths through the US embassy in facilitating "arrangements with the press."[41]

The next morning, the Smiths toured Red Square and the Kremlin in a throng of journalists. Their picture appeared in *Pravda*.[42] One of the places where they

[34] Josie Huang, "Remembering Samantha," *Portland Press Herald,* 13 July 2003.

[35] "Yuri's U.S. pen pal takes off on expenses-paid Soviet trip," *Chicago Tribune*, 8 July 1983, 3.

[36] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 17.

[37] S. Demidov, "Dobro pozhalovat, Samanta!" *Pravda*, 9 July 1983, 4.

[38] E. Kaliadina, "'Pust Samanta podruzhitsia s nami!," *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 9 July 1983, 3.

[39] Aleksei Anishchuk, "'Samolet snizilsia, mem'," *Moskovskii komsomolets*, 5 August 2004.

[40] "Official Informal No. 135," U.S. Department of State, Case No. F-2011-25766, Doc No. C05105026.

[41] "Samantha Smith: Our Office Received a Telephone," U.S. Department of State, Case No. F-2011-25766, Doc No. C05105035.

[42] *Pravda*, 10 July 1983, 6. The caption read: "Guests from all over the world come to Moscow. In the pictures: school girl from the American state of Maine with her parents on Red Square." Another picture showed members of the XIII International Film Festival at the Kremlin.

stopped was Yuri Gagarin's plaque in the Kremlin wall. In the office of Zinaida Kruglova, the Chairman of the USSFCRFC and a member of the CPSU Central Committee, Samantha received a call from Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman astronaut, who invited her to tea. One thing that the Soviet press did not show, but the American press picked up, of course, was the breakdown of the Chaika limousine that the Soviet government provided for the Smiths, which had to be replaced with a blue-and-yellow Mercedes-Benz sedan belonging to the Soviet militia.

The Crimea

The next day, a group of young pioneers met the Smiths at Simferopol Airport in the Crimea and accompanied them to Artek. On the road, the Soviet kids asked Samantha about her favorite sport, which turned out to be softball. They asked her if she had read any Soviet literature. With her mother she had read the children's writer Kornei Chukovski. Asked about her grades, Samantha responded that everything was alright until the journalists laid siege to her house. "Samanthamania," as Jane Smith put it, had officially begun in the Soviet Union as the state channels reported daily on Samantha's itinerary.[43]

In an interview published in the 1990s, Olga Sakhatova, the English-speaking Artek camp counselor placed in charge of Samantha, said that the Artek administration gathered the counselors the day before for a "political information" session during which they were directed "not to get in the way of the cameras, not to converse with enemy journalists" and the camp director even quipped that if anyone strayed, he would institute rule by emergency decree and "everyone will live as if in a real camp."[44] According to Sakhatova, the day of Samantha's arrival, the head of Artek asked her a hundred times: "Sakhatova, be honest, do you actually understand English or not?!" "After a while, I started to doubt it myself," she remembered.

One press bus fell behind after leaving the airport and the second took a wrong turn on the way to the camp, so when the Smith family arrived at Artek, there were only the kids to meet them. Several minutes later, the press caught up and sprinted from the parking lot to the main quad where the initial welcoming ceremony had already ended. The camp administration became so nervous at the sight of the stampeding journalists that they hurried the Smiths into the Morskoi dormitory.[45] The head of the camp asked Samantha whether she wanted to stay with her parents or with the kids and she chose the latter, so she joined Morskoi, which had English-speaking residents. Arthur Smith asked the head of the camp to keep the journalists away from Samantha. Natasha Kashirina became Samantha's bunk neighbor. The daughter of an English teacher from Leningrad, she had the strongest English at camp and a bunk was set up for Samantha right next to hers.

Samantha received a blue and white visitor's scarf which read: "Let there always be sunshine!" These were the opening lines of what became her favorite

[43] Dmitrii Bykov, irina Lukianova, "Tri goda Samanty," 2000, http://www.artekovetc.ru/press6.html, accessed on 3 December 2008.

[44] "V arteke Samantu Smit ispugali zheltye sosiski i bditelnost spetssluzhb," http://rep-ua.com/20865.html, accessed on 3 December 2008.

[45] "V arteke Samantu Smit ispugali zheltye sosiski i bditelnost spetssluzhb," http://rep-ua.com/20865.html, accessed on 3 December 2008.

song. She also donned the blue pioneer uniform complete with the *pilotka*, or aviator cap, which was reserved for visitors (the young pioneers, of course, wore the red). The Artek community immediately accepted Samantha and she exercised and ate with the Soviet children. In the Pioneer Palace, Samantha visited an exhibit covering the Soyuz-Apollo mission where she correctly identified a portrait of Gagarin. She also attended a meeting of the "International Political Club," which on that day happened to be discussing the Senate Arms Committee decision to vote an extra $186 billion for "new missiles." Artek's pioneer headquarters (*shtab*) invited Samantha to their meeting in order to educate her about the organization. Andrei Babkin of Briansk told her that education was the young pioneers' most important activity, which enabled them to give back to society—he wanted to become an astronomer. Rita Podkovyrova had not made up her mind regarding her career path, but she was convinced that manual labor made people happy. Liuda Flutkova from Ashkhabad said that the Turkmens had been almost completely illiterate before the revolution, but now they had "scientists, a museum, and music schools." Samantha had no questions.[46]

Since she was a special guest, camp rules were relaxed for counselor Olga and Samantha's friend Natasha, and instead of taking the obligatory—and uncompromisingly imposed—mid-day nap, the girls played on the beach. Once while they were swimming, a lifeguard rowed over in a boat and took them for a ride, which was cut short by a motorboat with a dark-suited KGB agent who seemed to appear out of nowhere and shouted at the lifeguard and Olga for taking "such an important guest" on an "unsanctioned sea stroll without a life vest." There was no policy of life vests in Artek at the time. Olga calmed the frightened Samantha by telling her that being out in the sun for too long had made the man irritable. When a boy in a stained shirt attracted Samantha's attention during dinner in the mess hall, Olga explained that he was a young painter and would change after dinner. He later received an official reprimand for "incompatibility with Soviet ideals." Samantha also asked Olga why the sausages they ate were yellow in color and Olga explained that they were of a special variety, but Samantha refused to eat them anyway. As soon as the kitchen staff noticed the incident, one of the cooks appeared with a tray full of goods that were never on the menu.[47]

On Sunday July 10, the "Artek Republic"—ten sections made up the camp—organized a children's postcard campaign, which targeted NATO headquarters in Brussels, the White House, the heads of "major capitalist countries." According to Artek tradition, a boat released the bottled messages into the sea. Samantha wrote on her card: "I am for peace in my lifetime! Samantha." In an article about Samantha's days in Artek, *Komsomolskaia pravda* concluded: "Children and peace—for us, Soviet children, there is nothing more valuable than this. Now you know this, Samantha!"[48]

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[46] T. Krasnova, I. Afanasiev, and V. Mashatin, "Ia liubliu tebia, 'Atek'!" *Pionerskaia pravda*, 19 July 1983, [2].

[47] "V arteke Samantu Smit ispugali zheltye sosiski i bditelnost spetssluzhb," http://rep-ua.com/20865.html, accessed on 3 December 2008.

[48] E. Ovcharenko, E. Uspenskii, "'Za mir na vsiu zhizn!—napisala na otkrytke Sa-

Samantha wrote, "Sometimes at night we talked about peace, but it didn't really seem necessary because none of them hated America, and none of them ever wanted war. Most of the kids had relatives or friends of their families die in World War II, and they hoped there would *never* be another war. It seemed strange even to talk about war when we all got along so well together."[49] During a tour of the Yalta Palace, the head of the museum let Samantha climb into the chair where FDR had sat in 1945. The Second World War foundation myth emphasized the mutually respectful and beneficial war-time cooperation as a standard to which Moscow hoped to return. Samantha wrote in the Visitor's Book: "I have fallen very much in love with your camp and I would like to return. Your grown-ups and children—are the best on Earth. Peace to all!" Addressing the Artek kids before her departure during a bonfire ceremony, Samantha read a note that her father helped her to compose: "My visit to 'Artek' was very good. I think that we will remain friends even across the ocean. I love you, 'Artek'!" The pioneers gave her an ember of the bonfire as a keepsake.[50] According to Sakhatova, film cameras from all over the world filmed the farewell ceremony, but only the Soviet cameraman ran out of film half way through, which is why the central news channel aired a shortened version of the event on the nightly news.[51] Before leaving Simferopol, a local collective farm hosted the family to a sumptuous meal.

Leningrad and Moscow

From the Crimea, the Smith family travelled to Leningrad where they attended a performance of *The Fountains of Bakhchisarai* by the Kirov Ballet. Ballerina Alla Chizheva gave Samantha an autographed pair of toe shoes. A cable from the US consulate in Leningrad described "a cortege of Chaikas usually reserved for visits by heads of state" roaring up to the "House of Friendship" on July 14 and "as doors flew open and militia men stood at attention, little Samantha Smith got out and was escorted inside." The cable continued: "Aside from the melancholy which one feels at seeing the agit-prop machine exploit a small child, one must admit that this type of thing strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of most Russians."[52]

"I liked everything in your country," Samantha told *Izvestiia*. "Your country is beautiful, but the main thing is the kindness and warmth of all the Soviet people—both grown-ups and children." If she were a magician, she added, she would make "all the bombs disappear." When reporters asked her whether she wanted

manta Smit, kotoraia v eti dni stala gostiei 'Arteka'," *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 12 July 1983, 3.

[49] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 49.

[50] E. Ovcharenko, E. Uspenskii, "'Vashi vzroslye i deti—luchshie na zemle!'," *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 14 July 1983, 3.

[51] "O Samante, shokoladkakh, bandikakh i bditel'nykh spetssluzhbakh, Samanta Smit v Arteke—kak eto bylo na samom dele (vospominaniia ee vozhatoi)" http://www.artek-ovetc.ru/samsmitvoj.html, accessed on 3 December 2008.

[52] "Samantha in Leningrad," U.S. Department of State Cable, Case No. F-2011-25766, Doc No. C05105024.

to be an astronaut, Samantha replied that she preferred to become a veterinarian because she loved animals.[53]

Back in Moscow, Samantha had lunch at the American Ambassador's residence known as Spaso House. The day after, she met Tereshkova at the offices of the Soviet Women's Committee and visited the Exhibit of People's Economic Achievements (VDNKh), toured the Bolshoi (which was closed for repairs) and the Krylatskoe Olympic Center, and attended a show at the Moscow Circus. "The Soviets love kids so much that I might be spoiled if I lived here."[54] "Mr. Andropov was still very busy with his government work," Samantha wrote in her book, and a personal meeting never happened. But the truth was that he was already sick with kidney failure. Instead, the head of the Central Committee's Department of Information, Leonid Zamiatin, met with Samantha and for the first time she caught a glimpse of the Soviet hierarchy: "Gennady did the translating between us, but I think Mr. Zamiatin knows English. A couple of times he interrupted Gennady's translation and changed the words. One of the waiters was serving Russian tea to everybody, and he was so nervous that the teacups rattled like crazy when he carried them to the table. I was staring at the waiter because it was funny, but I didn't laugh. I don't think he was nervous about me."[55]

At the last children's press conference in Moscow's Pioneer Palace, Samantha promised "to tell everyone at home what I had seen. And, most importantly, what I found out—that not a single Soviet person, neither old, nor young, wants war."[56] Having augmented her Russian vocabulary during her stay, Samantha said goodbye at Sheremetyevo Airport with the words "Do svidaniia, dorogie druzia [Goodbye, dear friends]."[57] However, when she was invited to put her name under a "vote for peace" that included a condemnation of plans for stationing new US missiles in Europe, Jane Smith intervened and the card remained unsigned.[58]

In the conclusion to her book, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (1985), Samantha summed up her trip: "The world seems not so complicated as it did when I looked at travel books from the library. And the people of the world seem more like people in my own neighborhood. I think they are more like me than I ever realized. I guess that's the most important change inside me."[59]

Reactions

The Smiths returned to Montreal on July 22 to a Soviet Consulate limousine that drove them to their hotel. They turned down complimentary tickets to

[53] A. Valentei, "Esli b i byla volshebnitsei," *Izvestiia*, 17 July 1983, 2.

[54] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 110.

[55] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 115.

[56] I. Afanasiev, "'Nash dialog prineset liudiam polzu'" *Pionerskaia pravda*, 22 July 1983, [3] and A. Valentei, "Do novykh vstrech, Samanta!" *Izvestiia*, 22 July 1983, 6.

[57] "Samanta Smit: "Do vstrechi, druzia'," *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 22 July 1983, 3.

[58] John F. Burns, "It's Back to Maine for Schoolgirl Who Disarmed the Russians," *New York Times*, 22 July 1983, A2.

[59] Samantha Smith, *Journey to the Soviet Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 119.

a baseball game that evening, however. As soon as the Smiths returned to the US—with between 14 and 24 pieces of luggage (by different accounts) and gifts packed neatly in red paper—their trip became a cause célèbre in the American press. Former US Ambassador to Moscow Malcolm Toon (1976-1979) attacked the public relations stunt as designed to make the Soviets look like promoters of peace with no responsibility for international tension. Toon saw Moscow as successfully "exploiting" Samantha Smith with "the possible result that we could end up in a confrontation that nobody wants."[60] Sitting Ambassador Arthur Hartman (1981-1987), however, called the visit "a plus to us all."[61]

Asked whether what they had seen the real conditions in the Soviet Union, the Smith family answered diplomatically that when someone invites you to their home, they do not show you its worst rooms—Samantha walked away from her trip with an impression that there were "good and bad people in both countries," but that the Soviet people were not aggressive. According to Jane Smith, they were aware that the "KGB and CIA closely monitored their visit" and that Samantha's name became a propaganda tool, but "propaganda of kindness and peace is not that bad of a thing."[62] Arthur Smith maintained that Soviet officials "were careful to avoid propaganda" and "let the kids be kids with one another."[63]

Some Americans wrote letters to newspapers claiming to be revolted by the whitewashing of the Soviet Union and the Smiths' naiveté. A reader of the *LA Times* brought up Irina Tarnopolsky's father who was serving a three-year sentence in a labor camp outside of Chita near the Manchurian border. The girl's plea "along with thousands of others, was treated like dirt and swept under the Red carpet."[64] While the fate of the refuseniks came up in dozens of published letters, other struck a more moderate tone. "And yet, who are we to throw stones?" wrote a resident of Illinois. ""Do we, when foreign dignitaries visit, show them our Indian reservations, our ghettoes or our lines of the unemployed? ... We all play the same old game: You pretend to fall for our snow job and we pretend to fall for yours."[65] "Ninety-nine percent of the letters urged her to go," said Samantha's grandmother about the mountain of mail to which the Smiths returned at their house.[66] Even President Ronald Reagan appealed to childhood wisdom when he opened a press conference on US policy in Central America with a quote from a letter he had received from thirteen year old Gretchen. "Don't you wish sometimes you could just stamp your feet and shout at the press or senators to be quiet, and sit down and listen to what you're saying?"[67]

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[60] Chuck Conconi, "Personalities," *Washington Post*, 13 July 1983, D3.

[61] "Headliners," *New York Times*, 17 July 1983, E8.

[62] Aleksei Anishchuk, "'Samolet snizilsia, mem'," *Moskovskii komsomolets*, 5 August 2004.

[63] "Samantha returns, says Soviets don't want war," *Chicago Tribune*, 22 July 1983, 3.

[64] Lillian Goldman, "Samantha Smith's Visit to Russia," *Los Angeles Times*, 25 July 1983, C4.

[65] Eva Baker Watson, "A Soviet snow job," *Chicago Tribune*, 23 July 1983, 8.

[66] "From Russia Back to 'Regular Things'," *New York Time*s, 23 July 1983, 5.

[67] Mary McGrory, "Central America Policy Is a Problem Only for Close Listeners," *Washington Post*, 28 July 1983, A3.

The White House received letters directly from American citizens or through their Representatives. Morton Matthew of Connecticut asked Reagan to return Andropov's invitation and to open a "hairline crack in the iron-uranium wall between east and west" by inviting a Russian girl to visit the US. Urging a direct dialogue between ordinary citizens, Matthew wrote, "Samantha might be the start of something tremendous."[68] The White House responded that it avoided "highly visible and well-publicized visits" that "gave a misleading impression about Soviet policies." Since the Soviet Union continued to disregard "understandings embodied in the Helsinki Final Act," including free travel and access to information for its citizens, highly publicized trips such as the Smiths' was simply a way around the Helsinki Accords and the Reagan administration would not fall for this Soviet ploy.[69]

Back in Maine, Samanthamania now infected the US. During a press conference at their home, Arthur Smith said that Samantha "would keep her comments to a minimum until he lines up a schedule of television appearances."[70] During the homecoming parade, Maine Governor Joseph Brennan praised Samantha "for conducting her visit to the Soviet Union with grace, with charm and with a simple but elegant message of peace."[71] The US media aggressively pursued the new Cold War celebrity. CBS and NBC sent a chartered plane to Maine to retrieve Samantha and her mother for appearances on the *CBS Morning News*, the *Today Show*, and *Nightline*. Ted Koppel, Jane Pauley, and Diane Sawyer interviewed her. She was flown to California to meet Johnny Carson and appear on his show. The Smith family hired lawyer George Haldeman to act as Samantha's agent.

When a member of the audience during the *Phil Donahue Show* mentioned that the Smiths' trip was "the greatest propaganda stunt the Soviets could hope for," Arthur Smith responded that the real value was to introduce the Soviet people to "the independent spirit of the American child." Samantha appeared on the *Phil Donahue Show* together with a seventeen-year-old Presidential Scholar who presented President Reagan with "a controversial nuclear arms freeze petition" after accepting her medallion at the White House.[72] The harshest criticism of the Samantha Smith phenomenon came from columnist Charles Krauthammer. "To gloss over contradictory interests, incompatible ideologies and opposing cultures as sources of conflict is more than antipolitical," he wrote equating the Soviets with the Iranians and Syrians. "It is dangerous. Those who have long held a mirror to the world and seen only themselves are apt to be shocked and panicked when the mirror is removed, as inevitably it must be."[73]

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[68] Letter, Morton P. Matthew to Hon. Nancy L. Johnson, 11 July 1983, ID #154386, C0165, WHORM: Encloses Letter from Mr. Morton R. Matthew, Writes Concerning Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library.

[69] Letter, Alvin Paul Drischler to Hon. Nancy L. Johnson, 8 September 1983, ID #154386, C0165, WHORM: Encloses Letter from Mr. Morton R. Matthew, Writes Concerning Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library

[70] "Samantha's hometown gives a parade welcome," *The Sun*, 24 July 1983, A7.

[71] "Girl Welcomed Back From U.S.S.R.," *New York Times*, 24 July 1983, A2.

[72] Joseph Sjostrom, "Samantha appears on Donahue show, charms audience," *Chicago Tribune*, 16 August 1983, A13.

[73] Charles Krauthammer, "Essay: Deep Down, We're All Alike, Right? Wrong," *Time Magazine*, 15 August 1983. http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,949728,00.html last accessed 4 February 2011.

KAL 007

The Smith trip's PR success proved short-lived when Soviet interceptors shot down Korean Air Lines flight 007 just west of Sakhalin Island on 1 September 1983. All 269 people onboard died. And instead of admitting and explaining the unintended tragedy, the Soviet government decimated its credibility by stonewalling. The Reagan administration and Western media pounced on the issue obliterating the remains of whatever good will the Smith visit had generated a month and a half earlier. According to Seymour Hersh, before going public about the tragedy Reagan had signed a National Security Decision Directive stating that it presented "an opportunity to reverse the false moral and political 'peacemaker' perception that [the Soviet] regime had been cultivating."[74] In response to this, the Soviet delegation walked out of nuclear arms reduction talks in Geneva.

Although the National Security Agency informed the White House that according to their decrypts, the Soviets genuinely believed that they were tracking an American RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft instead of a Boeing passenger jet, the Reagan administration ignored the intelligence.[75] In response to a letter from a young man from Santa Fe who inquired whether the White House intended to follow up on the Smith visit to the Soviet Union, the administration responded that as a "hostile, predatory empire," the USSR had demonstrated its ruthlessness many times—"a few weeks ago the murderous attack on an unarmed civilian airliner with 269 passengers aboard was a chilling reminder of Soviet contempt for human life."[76]

The incident reflected directly on the Smith family's hope to lessen Cold War tensions and the blowback implicated them. A reader of the *Chicago Tribune* ridiculed Samantha's statement about the USSR's peaceful intentions: "It would be interesting to hear her comments now."[77] Another letter accused the Smiths of doing "Moscow's bidding."[78] Some readers, however, were disgusted at the "grim and thoughtless undercurrent of satisfaction" in the Soviets' losing a PR move.[79] "We are not Soviet experts even after two weeks there," AP quoted Arthur Smith. "But this incident is the best example you could find to continue to find solutions to international problems."[80]

Stardom

In December 1983, Samantha attended an International Children's Symposium in Kobe, Japan, at the invitation of a trade group promoting Japan's science and technology exposition Tsukube '85. Her newfound popularity in Japan made her a valuable brand. In Kobe, Samantha proposed that Soviet and American lead-

[74] Anthony Lewis, "Why Reagan Blinked," *New York Times*, 2 October 1986, A23.

[75] Matthew M. Aid, *The Secret Sentry: The Untold Story of the National Security Agency* (Bloomsbury Press: New York, 2010), 174-175.

[76] Letter, Ronald Reagan to Mr. Dale A. Garcia, 1 November 1983, ID #183454, C0165, WHORM: Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library.

[77] David A. Heckler, Letter to the Editor, *Chicago Tribune*, 10 September 1983, 8.

[78] David Wilkie, Letter to the Editor, *Chicago Tribune*, 11 September 1983, C2.

[79] Ellen Goodman, "A Hollow Victory," *The Sun*, 16 September 1983, A15.

[80] "Samantha Smith 'upset' by airliner incident," *The Sun*, 7 September 1983, B3.

ers exchange granddaughters for two weeks every year, arguing that leaders would not want to bomb countries that their granddaughters were visiting. Samantha brought a copy of Nicholas Meyer's recently released apocalyptic film *The Day After* and then traveled to Tokyo to meet Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. "If she doesn't get an agent," a *Washington Post* columnist quipped, "she'll probably next be invited to a plumbing and hardware manufacturers exposition in Zagreb."[81] Asked where she would like to go next, Samantha said "Ireland." The *Washington Post* reported acidly that there was neither indication of a letter to Prime Minister Garrett Fitzgerald, "nor mention of a telegram to Sinn Fein."[82]

Samantha then went on to host a children's special for the Disney Channel entitled "Samantha Smith Goes To Washington... Campaign '84," for which she interviewed several presidential candidates, including George McGovern and Jesse Jackson. By the time "pigtail diplomacy" yielded to "pigtail journalism," she was travelling with a media agent and Arthur Smith took leave from his teaching job to handle her career.[83] Samantha's life now adopted the tell-tale signs of 1980s stardom as she began to morph from peace activist to peace celebrity. But then pop icon status was necessary for political influence in the 1980s, the decade of brands, when America's most successful brand, Ronald Reagan, had himself been a film star. Margaret Peacock correctly noted that while the Soviets saw childhood as a stage of communist character formation, Reaganite conservatives dismissed it as a period of dangerous "fables and fanciful dreams" about coexistence and world peace to be cured by experience and moral clarity.[84] The American entertainment industry, however, treated childhood as a marketing opportunity as America's youth was fast evolving into the MTV generation with enormous commercial clout—ready to consume and be manipulated into consuming.

Ironically, the *Wall Street Journal* gave credit to "Cecil B. Andropov" for turning "an American pre-teen into a bona fide celebrity" as only "a theatrical producer" can.[85] In *The New Republic*, Krauthammer complained that adults used to ask kids' opinions about the world "in order to find out about kids; now we do it to find out about ourselves."[86] Confronted by Arthur Smith in the magazine's office, Krauthammer responded that "there was a good reason the voting age was 18 and not 12."[87] All jokes aside, however, when the Washington elite—George Schulz, Henry Kissinger, George F. Kennan, Clark Clifford, Anatoly Dobrynin, and many others—gathered to celebrate Dean Rusk's 75th birthday in February 1984 at the State Department, Samantha Smith was on hand to present the birthday cake together with Rusk's two granddaughters.

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[81] Chuck Conconi, "Personalities," *Washington Post*, 23 December 1983, D3.

[82] "Personalities," *Washington Post*, 2 January 1984, C3.

[83] Lois Romano, "Samantha Smith: On to Journalism," *Washington Post*, 20 January 1984, D4.

[84] Margaret Peacock, "Samantha Smith in the Land of the Bolsheviks: Peace and the Politics of Childhood in the Late Cold War," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2019), 441.

[85] "Asides; Cecil B. Andropov," *Wall Street Journal*, 25 January 1984, 32.

[86] Charles Krauthammer, "Kids' Stuff," *The New Republic*, 13 February 1984, 10.

[87] Chuck Conconi, "Personalities," *Washington Post*, 2 February 1984, D3.

The Eastern Bloc's decision to boycott the 1984 Summer Olympics inspired an epistolary crusade from an American High School in Los Angeles that pinned its hopes on Samantha's initial success. The Los Angeles Olympics Organizing Committee received two thousand hand-written letters from ninth graders to hand over to the Soviet side. One kid wrote: "Don't listen to your leaders who told you that we're going to drug you or something like that. They're just a bunch of #@!/*." The general opinion was that the games would not be interesting to watch. "Come on," wrote another student, "You guys are our only competition, without you guys the Olympics is nothing." Teachers were more than happy to encourage the campaign. "Hell," said the principal in an interview, "anything we can do to get them to write an effective paragraph before they've left junior high, we feel is having won half the battle in education."[88] Unfortunately, the letters failed to move Konstantin Chernenko's government.

Death

In 1985, Samantha landed a role playing Robert Wagner's daughter in a television series called *Lime Street*. Even critics who panned the show admitted that Samantha "took to acting like a natural."[89] After shooting for two weeks in London, Samantha and her father were returning to Lewiston-Auburn Regional Airport in Maine on August 15, 1985, when their Beechcraft 99 airplane crashed short of the runway due to bad weather conditions killing everyone on board. On August 28, 1985, *Pravda* printed her photograph and an obituary entitled "The Little Voice that Sounded Loudly." Author G. Vasiliev remembered meeting Samantha and her father when they visited the Soviet Embassy School in Washington, DC, earlier that year to drop off a bag of letters from American kids to their Soviet counterparts, as part of a pen-pal campaign that became very popular after Samantha's trip. Arthur Smith told Vasiliev that nine-tenths of the mail that the Smiths received at their home supported their efforts while the rest disapproved and even threatened them.[90] To this day, the FBI maintains that it has no file on the Smith family.[91]

The Soviet media immediately began to hint at foul play. Television commentator Genrikh Borovik accused the CIA of having planned the accident.[92] The nightly news program *Vremia* concluded its report by suggestively noting that

[88] Paul Feldman, "Pupils Send Letters to Soviets About Olympics," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 May 1984.

[89] Tom Shales, "'Lime Street': A Lemon; ABC's Weary Return for Robert Wagner ABC 's 'Lime Street'," *Washington Post*, 21 September 1985, C1.

[90] G. Vasiliev, "Golosok, zvuchavshii zvonko," *Pravda*, 28 August 1985, 5.

[91] William M. Baker, "No Smith File," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April 1986, B4. Mr. Baker was Assistant Director of the FBI's Office of Congressional and Public Affairs in 1986. In response to the author's FOIA request, the Bureau responded: "A search of the general indices to the Central Records System did not reveal that the subject of your requests has been the subject of FBI investigation by this office." The Justice Department sent only cross references to the Smith family.

[92] Vsevolod Furtsev, "Kroshka Tsakhes po nevole, Kak rebenok unichtozhil sverkhderzhavu," *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 15 July 2004.

the Beechcraft 99 had one of the safest records in the industry.[93] *Izvestiia*'s former American correspondent Melor Sturua admitted that he cried when, with his two granddaughters, he watched a program honoring Samantha Smith on Soviet television. She was the "ray and spark" who "refused to see the little devils in the 'Empire of Evil'," Sturua wrote. "Of course our world is not the sun-drenched and sea-stroked 'Artek,' where Samantha's happiest days passed. Nor is it the fateful Auburn-Lewiston Airport, where people and dreams come crashing down." Sturua called on the children of the world to heed Samantha's call to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.[94] *Komsomolskaia pravda* reported that they continued to receive letters addressed to Samantha Smith and forwarded them to the US when they could. She was the "girl with the bell that called people to peace. It called adults to remember the mournful bells of Khatyn and Oradura, Lidice and Hiroshima." In a telephone conversation with *Komsomolskaia pravda* journalists, Jane Smith admitted that she did not know how she would go on living without her husband and Samantha. "I am very touched that in these horrible days Samantha's friends from the Soviet Union remember her and mourn with me. She loved you all, her new Soviet friends, so much, she really believed that there would be peace between our people."[95]

The NTSB investigation of the incident found no foul play, but noted that the "absence of key equipment—such as cockpit voice recorders—made it impossible" to "say for sure what caused" the crash. Such accidents, a USA TODAY article noted, "might be prevented if commuter planes had to have the same safety equipment as major airline jets."[96] The NTSB concluded that a combination of pilot and control tower error led to the crash.

In the US, an NPR reporter praised Samantha for cutting through the cynicism of American politics and Cold War complacency: "Her small action suggested a more universal intent."[97] Another contributor to the *Chicago Tribune* praised Samantha for her candor "in the years before diplomacy [bred] directness" out of her.[98] Mikhail Gorbachev sent a telegram and a personal representative to Samantha's funeral, Vladimir Kulagin, who, according to Jane Smith, gave a very sincere and moving eulogy.[99] The State Department gave him special clearance because Kenebec County, Maine, was one of ten areas off-limits to Soviet citizens. There was nobody present from the US government, although the President and First Lady sent a note of condolences to Jane Smith. In a reply to an Ameri-

[93] "Soviets see foul play in Samantha death," *Chicago Tribune*, 29 August 1985, 5.

[94] Melor Sturua, "Luch i iskra," *Izvestiia*, 29 August 1985, 5.

[95] P. Mikhalev, E. Ovcharenko, "Devochka i kolokol," *Komsomolskaia pravda*, 27 August 1985, 3.

[96] Marilyn Adams, "Commuter Airline Safety Questioned," USA TODAY, 1 October 1986.

[97] John Hockenberry, "A girl who broke the barriers," *Chicago Tribune*, 30 August 1985, 23.

[98] Ellen Goodman, "Tempo; Farewell to Samantha Smith, the child who spoke for us all," *Chicago Tribune*, 30 August 1985, D2.

[99] Aleksei Anishchuk, "'Samolet snizilsia, mem'," *Moskovskii komsomolets*, 5 August 2004.

can angry about the US government not being represented, the White House responded that Ms. Smith's private citizen status did not necessitate a government official at her funeral.[100]

Legacy

By September 1985, Americans began to suggest exchange programs between Soviet and American schools that would facilitate mutual understanding and ease superpower tensions. Some Americans even suggested "including Chinese school children in such exchanges."[101] In October 1985, Jane Smith created the Washington-based Samantha Smith Foundation to promote "international understanding on a personal level" through student exchanges and summer camps for kids ages 11 to 16. She also joined the advisory committee of the US-Soviet Bridges for Peace organization. The Soviet Peace Committee met Jane Smith halfway with its "Samantha Project," which also facilitated student exchanges. By 1990, the Samantha Smith Foundation brought over its first group of children from the Chernobyl fallout zone, many of them suffering radiation-induced health problems. A year later, the foundation started what is thought to be the first business internship program in the U.S. for university graduates from the Soviet Union (and later its successor states). As declassified documents show, however, the FBI remained suspicious of all exchanges with the USSR because they were so closely curated by the Soviet government through "the new Soviet office set up to help facilitate and coordinate the increased level of exchanges."[102] By 1995, the Samantha Smith Foundation's activities declined due to the proliferation of other exchange programs, which it had pioneered. And it is currently dormant.[103]

On the backdrop of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva in November 1985, American students in Oceanside High School in California decided to launch a letter-writing campaign with a Soviet high school. "We don't know anyone over there and yet we're willing to kill everyone over there," said one student in an interview. "Maybe if we get to know somebody, find some friends, that will change."[104] When a Japanese girl wrote to Mikhail Gorbachev asking for "more and more peace" in the wake of the Geneva Summit, the Japanese press dubbed her "Japan's Samantha Smith," although she received no invitations to tour the Soviet Union.[105] By December of 1985, televised "bridges" between American and Soviet students started—the first was PBS's "Minnesota-Moscow Children's Space Bridge" in which John Denver participated. Structured around a play dedicated to Samantha Smith, the show culminated with an American boy and Soviet

[100] Letter, M. B. Oglesb, Jr. Assistant to the President to Mr. Senator William S. Cohen, 2 October 1985, ID #328562, WHORM: Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library.

[101] Juliet Reiter and Robert Lathers, "Samantha Smith's Dream for World Peace," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 September 1985, A2.

[102] FOIA Request, Section 4 of FBI memo [find out how to cite!].

[103] http://samanthasmith.info/Foundation.htm, accessed on 4 December 2008.

[104] Jennifer Warren, "Teen-Agers Extend Olive Branch to Gorbachev; TEENS: Gorbachev Sent Peace Message," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 November 1985, SD A1.

[105] "Dear M. Gorbachev surprises Japanese girl," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 January 1986, 4.

girl singing a duet as a split television screen showed them reaching out to each other across 9,000 miles.

In memory of Samantha, the Soviet Union released a 5-kopek stamp (the cost of mailing a letter within the Soviet Union) in 1985. Samantha also gave her name to the following: a 32.7-karat Siberian diamond, a variety of the violet flower in Lithuania, a street in a small town in Uzbekistan, a 13,000-foot mountain peak in the Caucasus, and an asteroid between Mars and Jupiter. An independent public radio station called Samantha RTV appeared in Moscow in 1990. A private American citizen proposed decommissioning two Minuteman II and SS-11 missiles and exchanging the carcasses that would be incorporated into memorials dedicated to Samantha in the US and the USSR. "History would then record," wrote Doc Blanchard of Long Beach, California, "that the only exchange of missiles between our two countries was a friendly exchange, dedicated to the memory of a brave child."[106] The White House refused the proposal, but the Maine State Legislature erected a statue of Samantha next to the State Library—she is releasing a dove while a bear cub, the symbol of both Maine and Russia, sits at her feet. Moscow dedicated a similar statue, but it was stolen at some point during the 1990s for the metal's value.

The Soviet Union sent its own "Samantha" to the US in March 1986, but Katia Lycheva's visit did not receive nearly the same coverage as the Smiths' 1983 trip to the Soviet Union, although she did meet President Reagan in the White House for a few minutes. According to declassified FBI documents, she "was no ordinary Soviet but in fact a professional actress… concerned only with promoting the Soviet desire for peace but also with criticizing US moves to 'militarize' space."[107] George Will referred to the evolving tradition as "child-mongering."[108] However, an American journalist visiting the Republic of Georgia in May 1986 gave Samantha Smith's smiling face painted on a school wall credit for offsetting the images of "a mean-looking Uncle Sam holding blacks in chains" depicted just down the same street.[109] By 1986, citizen diplomacy became all the rage as Soviets and Americans organized exchange visits for professionals and even biking tours of each other's countries. When in 1999 a ten-year-old Slovenian girl wrote Boris Yeltsin a letter expressing her concern about the possibility of nuclear weapons being used by Russia against NATO during the Yugoslav crisis, the Russian press quickly compared her to Samantha Smith.[110]

Samantha Smith's impact on Soviet citizens, this article's author included, was immediate and direct. "After those four days," remembered Artek camp

[106] Letter, Doc Blanchard to The President, 27 January 1987, ID #471910, PA002, WHORM: Samantha Smith, Ronald Reagan Library.

[107] FOIA Request, Section 4 of FBI memo [find out how to cite!].

[108] George F. Will, "'We Are the Righteous, We Are ...'," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 April 1986, D5A.

[109] Richard Cohen, "... And the Legacy of Samantha Smith," *Washington Post*, 18 May 1986, F7.

[110] "Spokesman Explains Why Yeltsin Answered Girl's Letter," FBIS, 29 May 1999 from ITAR-TASS World Service in English.

counselor Olga Sakhatova, "my opinion of Americans changed greatly."[111] Although mostly forgotten in her home country, Samantha Smith had an impact on her compatriots, too. One American wrote, "Beyond being a role model for the great things children can accomplish, Samantha was much more for me. In two weeks, this little girl fostered understanding where many thought none was possible. Now as we're warned about an 'axis of evil' and instructed to hate a 'homicidal dictator,' I'm more frightened than I was back in the days of the 'evil empire.' Because now I know another generation is growing up with skewed perceptions of other countries, the way I once stereotyped the Soviets."[112]

Ironically, although the Soviet government conceived Samantha Smith's trip in order to promote a positive image abroad, its greatest impact was on the Soviet Union itself. Millions of Soviet citizens saw a photogenic American family that was not at all threatening. Moreover, the Soviet regime's narrative that it was not a dictatorship bent on expansionism demonstrated the complete collapse of Soviet ideology and the attractiveness of its modernization model by the early 1980s—Moscow no longer had any messianic aspirations to sell to the world. It could only convince it that it would not trigger a nuclear holocaust. The fact that Samantha Smith is still remembered in Russia (and the broader post-Soviet space), but is mostly forgotten in the US is further testament that Andropov's original idea of projecting an image to the world was reversed by Samantha projecting herself much more successfully onto Soviet society. Alas, the legacy of soft power operations can often contradict the original intent of their initiators.

About the Author

Anton Fedyashin is Associate Professor of history at American University in Washington, DC. He received his BA from St. John's College in Annapolis, MD, where he studied the Great Books. He completed an MA at Harvard University in Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies and went on to defend his doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University. His articles have appeared in the *Journal of Cold War Studies*; *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*; *Revista de Instituciones, Ideas y Mercados*: *The Journal of Russian-American Studies*; *The Historian*; *The Slavic Review*; *Perspectives on History*; and *The Russian Review*. He is the author of *Liberals under Autocracy: Civil Society and Modernization in Late Imperial Russia, 1866-1904* and is currently writing his second book *Superpower Subconscious: The Cold War and the Spy Novel*. He regularly contributes analysis of US-Russian relations to media outlets in the US, Europe, and Russia.

[111] "O Samante, shokoladkakh, bandikakh i bditel'nykh spetssluzhbakh, Samanta Smit v Arteke—kak eto bylo na samom dele (vospominaniia ee vozhatoi)" http://www.artek-ovetc.ru/samsmitvoj.html, accessed on 3 December 2008.

[112] Maggie Downs, "A Little Girl Taught Us a Lesson about Peace: Have We Forgotten It?" http://www.commondreams.org/views02/1016-04.htm, accessed on 26 November 2008.

Russian Art and Russian Studies at Dartmouth: Case of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett

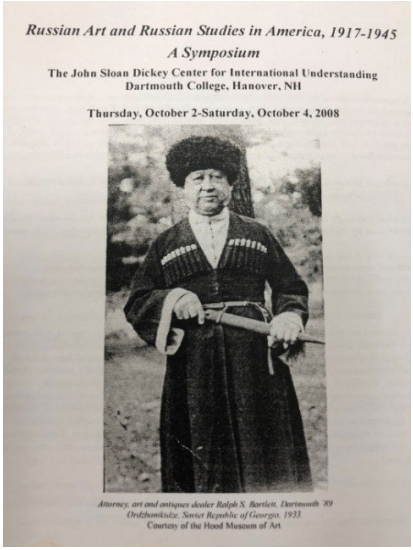
Robert H. Davis, Jr.

Ralph Bartlett, on Tuckernuck Island, Nantucket. Courtesy of Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

In archival files at the Hood Museum at Dartmouth College, there is a marvelous photo of a jowly gentleman, garbed in a Georgian *chokha*, clutching a traditional dagger. Although the photo was snapped in Soviet Georgia, in Ordzhonikidze, in 1933, the face that stared back at me was that of the archetypical northern New Englander. With my own roots deep in the rocky soil of three New England states, it was a type I knew very well.[1] This was my first "encounter" with Ralph Sylvester Bartlett, Esq. (1868–1960), Dartmouth College Class of 1889.[2]

[1] Perhaps more familiar than I originally thought: both my first paternal ancestor in the New World, John Davis (d. 1675), and Ralph's forebear Richard Bartlett (d. 1647) settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1635.

[2] In the preparation of this article, the following individuals have provided invaluable assistance: Peter Narbonne of Eliot, Maine generously provided scans from Ralph's huge collection of lantern slides. Eric J. Esau of Dartmouth's Rauner Special Collections Library located images of Ralph's reunion classes, copies of his many Class of 1889 reports, and internal Dartmouth memoranda pertaining to Bartlett's gifts to the College. Joan Waldron of Portsmouth, New Hampshire was instrumental in contacting and interviewing Ralph



Cover of the 2008 Symposium Program.

Yet while the face was familiar, the man was not. Bartlett looked for all the world like a prosperous farmer or small-town lawyer, and yet during his lifetime he had amassed one of the nation's largest collections of Russian *objets d'art* from the imperial period. In the years immediately preceding his death on September 19, 1960, Bartlett bequeathed this marvelous collection of over three hundred items to his alma mater, asking in return only funeral and burial costs—he is interred in Hanover's Pine Knoll Cemetery—and a small annuity during his lifetime.

In 1992, when I first examined the files connected with the Bartlett gift, I was just beginning to explore questions surrounding the migration of books and art objects from Soviet Russia during the 20s and 30s.[3] I was taken aback by the diversity and quality of materials Bartlett had assembled, including icons, porcelain, oils, textiles, and items in silver and gold ranging from the 17th through early 20th centuries.[4] Although some of the objects collected by Bartlett could be considered of marginal aesthetic or historic value, many are indeed spectacular museum pieces. In its entirety, the collection is perfectly suited to the diverse needs of a teaching museum such as the Hood.[5] An international conference sponsored

Bartlett's cousin, the late Joseph W.P. Frost, and in subsequently locating other visuals of the Bartlett family, from the collection of her late husband (and Dartmouth '43 graduate) Jeremy R. Waldron.

As always, my long-time colleague Edward Kasinec deserves great thanks for his role in initiating this investigation.

[3] The topic of Soviet-era nationalization and sale of art objects, books and manuscripts is now well-documented. Since the pioneering *Russian Art and American Money, 1900–1940* (Cambridge, Ma., 1980) by Robert Williams, a number of studies of this topic have appeared on both sides of the Atlantic, shedding new light on the question of what was sold, how it was sold, and who were the sellers and buyers. For example: Sean McMeekin's *History's Greatest Heist: The Looting of Russia by the* Bolsheviks (New Haven, 2009); the compendium *Treasures into Tractors: The Selling of Russia's Cultural Heritage, 1918–1938* (Washington, DC, 2009); and *Selling Russia's treasures: the Soviet trade in nationalized art, 1917–1938* (Paris and New York, 2013).

[4] A complete inventory of the Bartlett Collection is available via the Hood Museum's web search feature. http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/collections/search.html

[5] In addition to the items that are currently held by the Hood Museum, there were a handful of others that were subsequently deaccessioned, or sold to other institutions—most remarkably (and for obvious reasons) a large crystal chandelier purportedly from the Pavlovsk Palace, which at the time of his death Bartlett had on long-term loan to Gore Place, a historic home in Waltham, Massachusetts.

by the Dickey Center at Dartmouth College in October 2008[6] provided many attendees and the general public their first opportunity to appreciate the substance and diversity of the Bartlett collection, through special exhibitions at the Hood Museum, Baker-Berry Library, and the Rauner Special Collections Library.[7]

Finding such a rich trove on a college campus was unexpected. The Hood Museum archival materials that I examined pertained exclusively to the mechanics of appraising, and accessioning Bartlett's bequest, and provide few details concerning his background, interests, and motivation for assembling the collection. In the years that have followed, some of these blank spots have been filled in with substantive details of Bartlett's life and involvement with "things Russian."

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Ralph Sylvester Bartlett was born in 1868 at the family homestead in Eliot, Maine, on the site of a colonial-era blockhouse and 17th century massacre. The son of a well-to-do farmer who also was part owner of ships engaged in foreign trade (and a descendent through his mother of Sir William Pepperell, 1696–1759, the hero of Louisburg during the French and Indian war), Ralph graduated from of Eliot's Berwick Academy in 1885, and from Dartmouth with the Class of 1889.[8]

[6] "Russian Art and Russian Studies in America, 1917–1945: A Symposium," The John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding Thursday, October 2–Saturday, October 4, 2008. The Symposium was conceived and organized by Edward Kasinec, with the assistance of the present author, when both were still at The New York Public Library. It explored the rich cultural (as well as political and economic) dialogue between Soviet Russia and the United States during the two decades after the Russian Revolution, highlighting the historic role Dartmouth alumni, Curators, and faculty played in fostering an appreciation of foreign cultures broadly, and of Russian culture in particular. Participants addressed the ways in which the decorative and visual arts served to stimulate both an interest in Russia and its culture, and to establish the notion of Russian artistic achievement.

The Dartmouth symposium would not have been possible without the assistance of Ambassador Kenneth Yalowitz, the now retired Director of the Dickey Center, and former Dartmouth Provost Barry Scherr. John De Santis of the Baker-Berry Library did an outstanding job in planning and implementing conference activities.

[7] The Kim Gallery of the Hood Museum was the venue for "European Art at Dartmouth: Highlights of the Hood Museum of Art," with a special exhibition of Russian *objets* from the Ralph S. Bartlett Collection. The exhibit was prepared by the late Anne Odom of the Hillwood Museum in Washington, DC, and T. Barton Thurber of the Hood, presently Director of the Frances Lehman Loeb Arts Center at Vassar College.

Baker Library presented an exhibition of book materials entitled "Bringing Russia to Dartmouth: The Legacy of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett" curated by John C. DeSantis, Dartmouth College Library, while the Rauner Special Collections Library offered "An Imperial Provenance: Four Books from the Romanov Libraries Now at Dartmouth," an exhibit curated by Eric J. Esau, Dartmouth College Library.

[8] Helen Goransson of Eliot, Maine, has penned a research-based account of Ralph Bartlett and his family entitled *Views from Rosemary Hill* (Portsmouth, NH: Jetty House,

Sunday Brunch at the Bartlett Homestead. Ralph is seated at left center. Courtesy of Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

He went on to earn a law degree from Boston University in 1892, and formed his own practice with four associates in a suite of offices at the Exchange Building at 53 State Street Boston. By all accounts, Bartlett was good at what he did—largely, but not exclusively, trusts and estates—and he practiced law from 1896 until 1933.[9] Yet, as some of his jottings to his classmates make clear, in his heart of hearts, he aspired to do things beyond the comfortable life of a Boston lawyer. As he put it in one note, written during his second year of law school

> I have been trying to digest some very indigestible portions of real property, bills and notes, etc., and am still "grinding." Yet I still have a good appetite and the best of health, so still have hopes of grinding out and digesting the full course here by a year from June. By that time, I think I shall need a change of diet, but not having as yet decided just what that will be I cannot inform you at this time.[10]

As a dapper bon-vivant in the big city, Ralph resided at the Massasoit Club at 531 Mass. Ave., and threw himself into the social diversions of the University Club

2010). She devotes considerable attention to the Bartlett and related families from their earliest times in North America.

[9] Early in his career, Ralph took on the (unsuccessful) defense of one Michael J. Kilroy of East Boston, a coal shoveler, who stood accused of beating his wife to death in a drunken rage. The story was a sensation. "Kilroy's Case Trial begins in Superior Criminal Court," *Boston Daily*, October 7, 1902, p. 7.

[10] *Second Report of the Class of Eighty-Nine, Dartmouth College, June, 1891*, p. 22. A brief biographical sketch of young Bartlett appears in *Men of Progress: One Thousand Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Leaders in Business and Professional Life in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1896), pp. 841-42.

(where he was described as a "genial and favorite member"), and of Company B, First Corps of Cadets of the Massachusetts National Guard. By 1894, when Ralph first joined, the latter organization—founded in 1741—seemed less interested in drilling than frolicking, principally in the form of stage follies.[11] Bartlett clearly had a sense of fun.

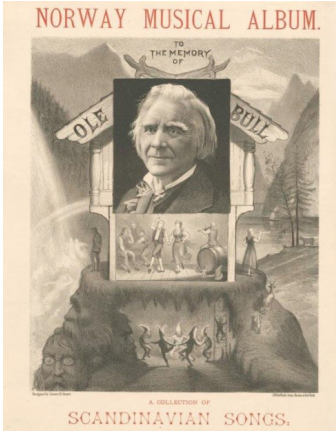
Ralph circa 1890s (left), and (at far right), as a participant in the First Corps' Follies. Courtesy of Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

Ralph's "change of diet" seems to have been precipitated by his involvement with the widow and daughter of Ole Bull (1810–1880) the famed 19th century Norwegian violinist. Bull traveled extensively in America during the latter half of the 19th century, and in 1870 took as a second wife Sara Thorp (1850–1911), forty years his junior, the daughter of a US Senator and lumber baron from Wisconsin. Sara, Ole, and their young daughter Olea (1871–1911), moved to Cambridge, Mass., renting "Elmwood," the home of the then-Minister to the Court of Spain James Russell Lowell (1819–91). There, Bull and his wife hob-nobbed with local luminaries such as the poets Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) and John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–92).[12] After Bull's death in Lysøen, the widowed Sara became an important figure in the cultural and social life of Boston, organizing the so-called Cambridge Conferences, lectures of leading literati and intellectuals, held at her home on Brattle Street twice yearly in the closing years of the nineteenth century.[13] In summers, Sara kept a cottage in Eliot, Maine.

In the years preceding her death in 1911 Sara had become—in the opinion of some—not "of sound mind." Sara had developed a deep interest in the teach-

[12] On Bull and his career from the pen of his devoted second wife, see Sara Chapman Thorp Bull's *Ole Bull: A Memoir* (Boston, 1883), *passim*.

[13] See her entry "Sara (Thorp) Bull" in the *Cambridge Women's Heritage Project Database*,



Music Division, The New York Public Library. "To the memory of Ole Bull" The New York Public Library Digital Collections. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47dc-8bde-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a9

ings of Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), the renowned proponent of Vedanta philosophy and Yoga in America and Europe.[14] She was one of several Americans named as executors of the Swami's will.[15] She became known to Vivekananda's followers as "Saint Sara," and in a revised will left a sizeable portion of her inheritance to individual members of his sect.[16] After Sara's death, Ralph took the case of her daughter, Olea Bull Vaughan, challenging the will on the grounds that Sara was under duress, and possibly insane at the time she wrote it, and a parade of witnesses described how Mrs. Bull believed she was regularly consulting the dead.[17] Ralph ultimately won the case, and

[14] She was hardly alone. Lectures and presentations during Vivekananda's two trips to the United States, in 1893–96, and again in 1899–1900 drew many prominent and admiring attendees, including Harvard's dean of the faculty of theology, Charles Carroll Everett (1829–1900), and the psychologist (and brother of Henry) William James (1842–1910), among many others. Vivekananda was offered academic chairs at both Harvard and Columbia Universities.

[15] Sara's summer cottage, "Lyselven," bordered the still-extant Green Acre Baha'i School in Eliot, Maine. Today, it serves as the school's library. Green Acre Inn, established by Sarah Farmer in 1894, became a meeting place for ideas from varying philosophies and religions. The Inn drew a fascinating crowd of intellectuals to Eliot during the early years of the twentieth century, ranging from W.E.B. DuBois, to William Dean Howells; from Sara Bull to John Greenleaf Whittier. Farmer's adoption of the Baha'i' faith was precipitated by her meeting Abdul-Baha'i in 1900. On Farmer and Green Acre, see: "Greenacre-on-the-Piscataqua," *New York Times*, September 19, 1897, p. IW6; and *Green Acre on the Piscataqua: A Centennial Celebration* (Eliot, Me., 1991), and www.greenacre.org.

[16] See Pravrajika Prabuddhaprana. *Saint Sara: The Life of Sara Chapman Bull, the American Mother of Swami Vivekananda* (Calcutta, 2002). At the time the will was presented to the court, it was the longest document ever probated in York County, Maine, with later codicils bequeathing substantial sums to Swami Saradananda, Jagadla Chunder Boss of Calcutta, and Margaret E. Noble, also of Calcutta.

[17] See, for example "Will case bares Vedanta Mysteries," *Boston Daily Globe*, May 28, 1911, p. 25. In addition to outlining the financial stakes and *dramatis personae* of the case, the article notes some of Mrs. Bull's erratic behavior, such as wiping the furniture in a room with olive oil and ammonia following a visit to her Cambridge home by the feminist educator May Wright Sewall (1844–1920) of the International Congress of Women, to "take off the hypnotism" of what Sara felt were the latter's evil intentions. Elsewhere, it was stated that she feared death via a "killing thought" transferred over the phone lines, administered by an unnamed Lebanon, Maine woman. "Made Ill by Thought Wave, Mrs. Bull Feared Death by Same Means" *Boston Daily Globe*, May 17, 1911.

Even her fellow Vivekananda executrix, the noted Anglo-Irish social worker and educator, Mrs. Margaret E. Noble (known as Sister Nivedita, 1867–1911) was forced to

Olea got her sizeable inheritance.[18] She had no opportunity to enjoy it, however, for even as the judge in the case was pronouncing his decision, emotionally frail, long-sickly Olea died of tuberculosis, leaving Ralph responsible for the legal guardianship of Olea Bull Vaughn's "adoptive" daughter, Sylvea (1907–88)—sometimes described as her foster daughter, as the adoption was never legalized.[19] Throughout the rest of his life, Ralph would be a central participant in all the high-points of her life—he was present at (and filmed) her graduation from Smith (Class of '30), and walked her down the aisle at her wedding in 1932.[20]

In 1911, Ralph travelled to Lysøen, the island home of Ole Bull in Norway, of which he was now, in essence, custodian. It wasn't his first time there, having visited Norway in 1906 when he attended (with Sara and Olea Bull in happier times) the coronation of King Haakon VII (1872–1957).

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admit that in her final days, Sara was "…perfectly crazy, out of her mind." (Cited from an article by Edwin J. Park. "Letters from JoJo Are Read: Messages reported to be from Dr. Coulter, long dead," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 16, 1911. Another press account ("Thought Mrs. Bull Insane. Miss Noble, Important Witness in the Will Case, is in India," *New York Times*, June 8, 1911, p. 3) states that Ralph read letters at the trial stating that "Miss Noble has expressed her misgivings and fears in relation to Mrs. Bull's mental condition. Miss Noble has described various actions on the part of Mrs. Bull which seem to indicate that she was acting in relation to her daughter under the fear of some malign influence…"

Helen Goransson (*Op. cit.*) devotes extensive attention to Ralph Bartlett's relationship with the Bull family, particularly during the nasty legal machinations surrounding his challenge to Sara's will.

[18] "Thousands for Adopted Child, Will of Mrs. Olea Bull Vaughn [sic] is Filed. Sylvia [sic] Bull Vaughn gets bulk of $500,000 Estate. Atty Bartlett and Miss Shapleigh Benefit," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 3, 1911.

[19] Helen Goransson (*Op. cit*.) provides evidence that Sylvea was, in fact, the illegitimate child of Ralph and Olea. See pp. 158-60, and pp. 186-87.

Following Olea's death, Bartlett and his cousin, Miss Amelia Shapleigh, were named legal guardians of five year old Sylvea in June of 1912. See "Guardians Appointed," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 5, 1912, p. 2. Sylvea took Shapleigh as her surname, and in published accounts refers to Ralph and Amelia as her aunt and uncle. Olea's ex-husband, Henry Goodwin Vaughan (1868–1938), was a Harvard-educated lawyer and avid fox hunter and yachtsman from an old Cambridge family. See: "Olea Bull Married," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 6, 1894, p. 10.

Their marriage in 1894, much reported on at the time, was evidently an unhappy one, and their only daughter, Edwina, died in infancy. See Goransson, *Op. cit*., pp. 156-58.

20 "Sylvia [sic] Shapleigh Bride," *New York Times*, June 12, 1932. She was married in West Lebanon Maine by the prominent Unitarian minister, social activist, and founder of the Community Church of New York, John Haynes Holmes (1879–1964). Her first husband, Mortimer B. Smith, died in 1981. They had four children, and divorced sometime before 1959, when she married Nelson G. Curtis. Sylvea is fondly remembered in Norway, for in 1974—in the presence of the Norwegian royal family—she presented Lysøen and its contents to the Norwegian Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. One Ole Bull item which was not given to Norway was his 1647 Nicolo Amati violin, which ended up in the possession of Sylvea's first husband in 1962, and sold in 1967.

Ralph Bartlett with Sara Thorp Bull (center) and Olea Bull in Stockholm, 1906. The Grand Hotel (as it appeared before later renovations) is in the background. Courtesy of Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

The trip that began in 1911 continued on to Sweden, Finland, and, in January 1912, to Russia. This trip was a defining moment in the life of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett, Esq. Aside from that 1906 trip to Scandinavia, his most exotic travel destinations were Council Bluffs, Iowa, and a summer on Narragansett Bay.

The University of Maine at Orono holds both his one-volume travel diary for the period 1912 through 1924, amusingly titled by the author as "Manuscript Travel Diary Covering Nine Different Trips Europe and USA First Class All the Way," as well as his travel film collection, which covers the period 1925 to 1933.[21] During that eight year period, his travels included the Arctic Sea, Egypt, Belgium, the Azores, Dalmatia, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Palestine, Syria, and present-day Iraq, among many, many other destinations, that in his words were "remote regions rarely visited by tourists." I count at least forty overseas destinations in the inventories of the University of Maine film collection. In 1924, for example, he motored across North Africa, from Marrakesh to Tunis, sleeping in tents with his "faithful Arabs," and, writing to his class secretary from the latter city that "After a visit here I shall go to Sicily, but have no definite plans further than that. In all probability, I shall remain in Europe until fall."[22] In 1925, he spent seven months traveling from Iraq and Turkey; in 1926, five months in the Balkans. In 1927, he was spending a weekend at the historic Rila Monastery in Bulgaria, followed by meanderings through the Baltics, Scandinavia, and Russia; in 1928, the month of September was spent in Russia, during which he writes that he "… had many interesting experiences…"; in 1929, his travels took him to the Arctic Circle, Norway and the Low Countries. His yearly extended trips almost always appear to have included stops in both Norway and Russia "combining business with pleasure," as he put it. The length of these journeys—four months long, on average—suggest that, after a diet of trust & estates, his legal practice

Bartlett, at left, in an undated novelty photograph. Courtesy of Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

was no longer foremost in Ralph's mind.

And yet, the only destination about which he wrote extensively in his own entry for a Bartlett family history in 1957, three years before his death at age 92, was Russia, and in particular his first trip there in 1912.[23] His account is infused with language and imagery that suggests he was captivated by what he encountered. He writes of his arrival in St. Petersburg in a blinding snowstorm, on Russia's New Year's Day; of visiting all of the historic sites, from the Cathedral of Saints Peter & Paul, to the Hermitage. How he had dinner with an old friend Curtis Guild, Jr. (1860–1915), a former Governor of Massachusetts, who served as special Ambassador to the Russian Imperial court from 1911–13. He writes how he witnessed the blessing of the waters of the Neva, and the appearance of the Imperial family on the balcony (to a tremendous public ovation, he adds). In his memoir, he contrasts the splendid tombs of the former emperors, with the sad fate of Nicholas II and family in Ekaterinburg. The story of the Russian imperial family was of particular interest, and found among his lantern slides are a number of images which he may have purchased from a Danish photographer, taken on the occasion of the coronation of King Haakon VII that he had attended with Sara and Olea in June of 1906.[24]

Traveling on to Moscow, staying at the Metropole, he waxes poetic about his first visit to a snow-swept Kremlin in a sleigh. Passing through the Spassky Gate, he writes that

> Once within the walls of the Kremlin, the experience of having a sleigh ride there amid the great conglomeration of ecclesiastical, palatial, and official buildings was mine to have and never forget.[25]

[23] *Bartlett Family in America. Notes compiled by Ralph Sylvester Bartlett of the ninth generation in America*, mimeographed typescript, September 1957, pp. 13-14. The copy of this compilation held by the Portsmouth Athenaeum in Portsmouth, NH, bears Ralph's armorial bookplate. In addition to traditional heraldic devices, in one quadrant his arms incorporate the Russian imperial double-headed eagle.

[24] The Russian royals are obviously still in mourning for Christian IX of Denmark (1818–1906), father of the Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna (née Dagmar, 1848–1928), who had died in January.

Nicholas II (center) and his wife Alexandra Fedorovna (seated at left, and Maria Fedorovna (neé Dagmar of Denmark) at lower right, among other "royals" in 1906. Courtesy of Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

He writes of visiting the Tretiakov, recalling the many works by Vasilii Vereshchagin (1842–1904) that he saw when they were exhibited in the Cyclorama Building in Boston in the 1880s (the exhibition at the Arena actually opened in October 1890).[26]

Ralph had always exhibited a passion for antiquities—his apartments at 139 Beacon Street, and later at 108 Mt. Vernon Street, were certainly well-stocked. He also possessed a deep-seated passion for history.[27] He recounts how on his first day in Hanover—the furthest he had ever been from the Great State of Maine—he was quizzed by the then-president of Dartmouth, the Reverend Samuel Colcord Bartlett (1817–98, President 1877–92), as to which common ancestor they shared. Ralph, embarrassed, admitted that he had no idea, and viewed it as his first "flunk" at Dartmouth (though, he admitted, not his last). Cut to the quick, young Ralph threw himself into the study of his past, and that of his community back in Eliot, although much of his published work on the subject appeared in print only during the last three decades of life when he was most intensively involved with the New England Historic Genealogical Society on Newbury Street in Boston, eventually giving over to them much in the way of documentation regarding Bartlett Family history.[28]

[26] For press coverage of the exhibition in Boston, see "Exhibition of Vassill Verestchagin's famous Russian war pictures," *Boston Globe*, September 21, 1890.

[27] See, for example, his *The History of York County, Maine and a Rambling Narrative about the Town of Eliot and its mother-town Old Kittery with Personal Reminiscences* (privately printed, 1938).

[28] The author wishes to thank Archivist Timothy Salls of NEHGS for his valuable

Ralph Bartlett's apartment in Boston.

In the concluding section of one of his genealogical works, he quotes Thomas Macaulay: "Any people, who are indifferent to the noble achievements of their ancestors, are not likely to achieve anything worthy to be remembered by their descendants."[29]

However, it was to the selling of Russian antiques that Ralph turned his hand as a second career. Perhaps inspired by his commercially-inclined nephew C. Edward "Ned" Bartlett (1915–2004), an antique dealer in Eliot, or his cousin Alfred (1870–1926), the owner of Alfred Bartlett Books, a publisher and bookseller on Scollay Square in Boston,[30] Ralph decided to establish an antiques shop. In March 1928, while still nominally a practicing attorney, he opened "Old Russia," located on the second floor of 16 Arlington Street in Boston, across the street from the Ritz-Carlton and the Public Garden. In Bartlett's own words:

> It was a gallery devoted chiefly to a collection of objects formerly in the palaces, museums, and ancient monasteries of

assistance in locating their files of Dartmouth College class books donated by Bartlett.

[29] *Bartlett Family in America*, *Op. cit*., p. 15.

[30] Alfred Bartlett, Dartmouth Class of 1894, published the so-called Cornhill Booklet series, which included everything from verse to literary calendars. Evidently, the press/shop at 69 Cornhill burned to the ground in 1912, destroying much of his stock. According to one branch family history, he also sold rare books and "first devised and popularized the American Christmas greeting card." See "Descendants of Daniel Goodwin of Eliot, Maine, Third Edition," Compiled by John Eldridge Frost (1917–92) and Beth Ann Brychta Frederick. Edited by Wilfred Collier Jr. (2017), available as a PDF, p. 70.

> Imperial Russia personally gathered by me from the Antiquariat [*Antikvariat*—RD] of the Soviet government.[31]

Each year, from 1927 through 1933, and again in 1938, Bartlett returned to Russia to add to his stock, and tour the country. In 1933, Ralph wrote that

> For the past five years, I have devoted considerable time to the development of an outside interest which took permanent form… in the opening of the shop "Old Russia"…. [which] contains principally collections I have acquired from Soviet Russia during my frequent visits there.[32]

Figure 11: Bartlett in 1917. Courtesy Peter Narbonne, Eliot, Maine.

The shop was opened at a propitious time for appreciation of things Russian, and indeed, as a "bricks-and-mortar" retail establishment, it was actually a bit ahead of its time: the wildly popular itinerant commercial exhibitions of imperial provenance items at department stores in New York and the Midwest,[33] organized by the Hammer Brothers Armand (1898–1990) and Victor (1901–85), were initiated only in 1933. The Hammer Galleries' physical premises (in Palm Beach and Manhattan) were established only in 1934 and 1935, respectively.[34]

In the fall of 1933, after formally retiring from legal practice, he was back in Russia and

> …procured important additions to this collection. While abroad… I traveled rather extensively in Russia (about 5,000 miles) visiting Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Crimea, and the Black sea regions, including a motor trip over the Georgian Military Highway…[35]

[31] *Bartlett Family in America*, op cit., p. 12. *Antikvariat* was established by the Soviet government in 1921 to manage the sale (and export) of art objects, jewelry, books and furniture confiscated from private individuals, religious institutions, art museums, and the collections of the Russian imperial family. They operated both physical stores aimed at the tourist market, and handled sales abroad via dealers and auction houses.

[32] *Dartmouth College Class of Eighty-Nine Twelfth Report*, May, 1933, p. 11

[35] *The Nineteen Thirty-Four Letters of Dartmouth '89. Thirteenth Report*, January 1935, p. 30.

In the context of travelers to Soviet Russia during the interwar period, Ralph was a bit unusual. He was not an academic like Harvard's Archibald Cary Coolidge (1866–1928),[36] nor a journalist (and fellow traveler) like Anna Louise Strong (1885–1970). He was not an artist like Paul Robeson (1898–1976), or librarians like Avraham Yarmolinsky (1890–1975), and Harry Miller Lydenberg (1874–1960).[37] He certainly did not possess any formal academic training in the region's history, or have any familial ties, political connections or sympathies, or Slavic language training. As a purveyor and collector of Russian antiquities, he most definitely lacked the marketing skills of his New York-based contemporaries.[38] He had neither the focused passion of Faberge collector India Early Minshall (1885–1965),[39] or the impeccable timing of Marjorie Merriweather Post Davies (1887–1973), wife of the United States' second Ambassador to the Soviet Union.[40] Rather, as a consequence of his perambulations throughout the world, he essentially stumbled into the Russian market, developed a personal attachment to the decorative arts of the *ancien regime* at a time when they could be acquired relatively cheaply from nationalized stocks *in situ*, and bought what he liked, indulging his second career as an gentleman antiquar-

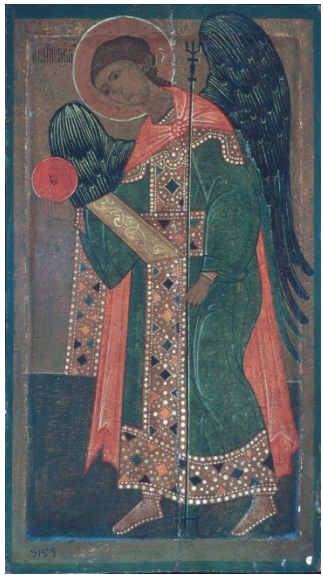

Figure 12: Unknown Russian, Archangel Gabriel, 17th c., tempera on wood panel. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Gift of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett, Class of 1889; P.966.22.

[36] In addition to his service as Secretary to the American Legation to St. Petersburg (1890-91), Coolidge taught a course in "Northern European History" at Harvard, was a member of the American Relief Administration in 1921, and became a major purchaser for Harvard of nationalized book collections during the interwar period.

[37] On the book-buying activities in Soviet Russia by Harvard's Coolidge and, most especially by The New York Public Library's Yarmolinsky and Lydenberg, see: *A Dark Mirror: Romanov and Imperial Palace Library Materials in The New York Public Library. A Checklist and Agenda for Research.* With a preface by Marc Raeff and an introductory essay by Robert H. Davis, Jr. and Edward Kasinec. (New York, 2000), pp. 1-46 *passim*.

[38] For one account of how nationalized art (in this case, icons) was marketed in the United States during the 1930s, see: Wendy E. Salmond, "How America Discovered Russian Icons: The Soviet Loan Exhibition of 1930–32," in Jefferson J.A. Gatrall and Douglas Greenfield, eds. *Alter Icons: The Russian Icon and Modernity* (University Park, PA, 2010), *passim*.

[39] Minshall willed her Fabergé collection to the Cleveland Museum of Art. Her principal suppliers were A la Vielle Russie, and Hammer Galleries.

[40] Mrs. Davies, heir to the Postum Cereal, and General Foods fortune, was married to Ambassador to the Soviet Union Joseph E. Davies (1876–1958), and resided in Moscow from 1938–39. Davies himself assembled a collection of icons and paintings, a selection of which were donated to the Chazen Museum at the University of Wisconsin in 1937.

ian in Boston.

Ralph's cousin, the noted New England historian and philanthropist Joseph William Pepperrell Frost (1923–2008) recalled to me that Ralph's customers included Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt II's (1912–99) first wife, née Manuela Mercedes Hudson (1920–78), who returned to exchange a pair of sconces.[41] In the Hood Museum archives there is also mention of a visit to the shop by a "Princess Radziwill"—quite possibly the eccentric memoirist Catherine (1858–1941). In 1938, Ralph wrote that Old Russia's "display rooms are visited by people from nearly every part of our country, and quite a good many from abroad. Its advertisements appear… in *The Connoisseur*, and *Apollo*."[42] However, again according to his cousin, the late Joe Frost, the financial success of Ralph's second career was undermined by the fact that Ralph was far more interested in *owning* and *enjoying* these antiques, than he was in *selling* them, so his turn at business was ultimately not a commercial success. This, coupled with ominous political events in the Soviet Union and health set-backs, ultimately brought Ralph's "Old Russia" venture to a close.

The fall of 1938 marked Ralph's final visit to Russia. In contrast to his long visits in the past, he wrote that he "spent a week in Moscow and Leningrad, intending to remain longer, but finding conditions there so changed from those existing on my previous visits, I took a rather hurried leave and departed by way of Finland."[43] Clearly, Bartlett sensed the atmosphere of fear, paranoia, and hostility that gripped Soviet Russia in the wake of Stalin's purges. One wishes he had provided more detail as to the particulars of his experience.

In February 1939, Ralph suffered

> a short, though rather serious illness, which finally induced me to decide, in light of the grave situation abroad at that time, to free myself of the responsibility of longer continuing the existence of Old Russia, which for the past eleven years had been maintained… for my Imperial Russian Collection.[44]

The doors closed April 29, 1939, the day of his seventy-first birthday.

Judging by the collections at Dartmouth, many of his rarest pieces didn't sell, or, more likely, he was simply unwilling to part with them. It is hard to imagine that spectacular items now at the Hood Museum—such as a gold and silver tankard, made in Danzig for the Muscovite court in 1664, or the silver gilt tea service of Catherine the Great—couldn't find buyers. Joe Frost remembered helping Ralph pack and transfer barrels of other Russian antiquities from the shop, and putting them in

[41] Series of interviews in September-December of 2007 at Joe's Eliot, Maine home, conducted by Joan Waldron, and the present author.

[42] *The Nineteen Thirty-Eight Letters of Dartmouth '89*. Fourteenth Report. June, 1938, p. 15. Tragically, Ralph's actual customer lists, and correspondence files with *Antikvariat*, the Russian agency with whom he dealt, were destroyed in Joe Frost's flooded basement some years ago.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 15.

[44] *The Nineteen Forty Letters of Dartmouth '89. Fifteenth Report*. June 1940, p. 26.

Figure 13: Ralph Sylvester Bartlett. A Line for Clothing, Moscow, 1930, gelatin silver print. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Gift of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett, Class of 1889; PH.2004.24.101.

temporary storage in the Shapleigh family barn in Lebanon, Maine, and gradually brought back to decorate his apartment on Mt. Vernon Street. Some of the prize pieces were loaned to various New England museums and historic houses. The Fogg Museum at Harvard, for example, took for exhibition some of Ralph's icons; the Museum of Fine Arts, some of the metal objects; the Harrison Gray Otis House at 141 Cambridge Street in Boston, furniture, and so forth. According to Joe Frost, still other choice pieces he gave to his former ward, Sylvea Bull Curtis, including a pair of wine coolers from the Tsarskoe Selo service, made in St. Petersburg by Zacharias Deichman the Elder (fl. 1731–76). She donated these to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1981.[45]

Bartlett's pride in his *alma mater* was evident throughout his long life. As a loyal son of Dartmouth, he early on became active in the Dartmouth Club of Boston, and throughout the thirties, forties, and fifties he was regularly donating "Dartmouthiana" to the College. Everything from early 19th century diplomas, to an album of signatures of prominent graduates in 1896; from the recovery of a long-ago pilfered bust of Daniel Webster from the College Library when it was located in Reed Hall, to photos of an 1887 Vermont train wreck that killed a classmate. In 1958, he wrote to the archivist of the College that he was transferring all documentation and correspondence he had pertaining to members of the Class of 1889, as he was then in his ninetieth year, and its only surviving member. [46]

Unknown Russian, Gilt Kovsh Dish, 1757, gold and silver. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Gift of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett, Class of 1889; 159.2.19450.

[45] An image of one of the wine coolers may be found on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's website: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/206898

[46] Letter from Bartlett addressed to the Archivist of Dartmouth College, September 11, 1958. Dartmouth College Library. Rauner Special Collections. Bartlett File.

Unknown Russian, Beaker Depicting Eight Sybils, 1682, silver gilt. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Gift of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett, Class of 1889; 159.2.19461.

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Ralph Bartlett's interest in specifically fostering Russian studies at his *alma mater* extends back to at least 1934. In the Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt[47] Papers at the Hoover Institution Archives are letters between Bartlett and the then-Dartmouth College Librarian, Nathaniel L. Goodrich (1880–1957).[48] Bartlett's correspondence was triggered by an article that appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* on December 7, 1934.[49] The article details how Ivan Ivanovich Chernikoff (1902–35), a young Russian émigré alumnus (Class of 1928) of Dartmouth's Amos Tuck School, had assembled a distinguished committee of former Russian nobility to "direct a world-wide search for White Russian records, books, trinkets, and other material to be deposited in a Russian section of the Dartmouth Archives."[50] The

[47] Von Mohrenschildt ((1902–2002) immigrated to the US in the 1920s, received a doctorate from Columbia, and went on to become a professor at Dartmouth and later Stanford. It is not clear why copies of Goodrich's correspondence on Dartmouth library matters are part of von Mohrenshildt's papers.

[48] Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives. With thanks to Edward Kasinec, Visiting Fellow at the Hoover, for reproducing the letters during a recent visit to Palo Alto.

[49] "White Russians Turn to Dartmouth as Future 'Capital' for Tsarist Records," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 7, 1934, p. 15. The article was retitled as "White Russians Find College As New Capital," and largely reproduced verbatim in *The China Press* of January 6, 1935, p. 9.

In his letter, Bartlett references an article "Dartmouth to House Old Russian Archives," in *The New York Times* of December 16, 1934; however, I have not been able to locate it.

[50] "White Russians Turn to Dartmouth…," *Op. cit*., p. 15. Thanks to materials located in the archives by Eric Esau of Dartmouth's Rauner Special Collections Library, we have a bit more detail on the biography of Chernikoff. His application for citizenship indicates that he was born in Voronezh, but his original "home" address is listed at Ekaterinoslav in a 1928 survey of Tuck alumni. After serving for two years (1918–19) in the infantry, and later an an armored division with the White Armies of General Deniken, and Baron Wrangel, he lived in Belgrade, where he studied law prior to leaving for the U.S. in November 1923 via Bremerhavn. In his 1923 application for citizenship, his occupation is given as "Supt. of Division Foreign Pub." (The National Archives at Philadelphia; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; NAI Title: *Declarations of Intention for Citizenship, 1/19/1842–10/29/1959*; NAI Number: *4713410*; Record Group Title: *Records of District Courts of the United States, 1685–2009*; Record Group Number: *21.*

Following graduation from Tuck he worked as a bookkeeper for Remington Rand

committee included Grand Duchess Marie (1890–1958), Princess Xenia (1903-65) and her sister Nina (1901–74), Nina's husband Prince Paul Chavchavadze (1899–1971), Prince George Chavchavadze (1904–52) a "General Imnadze," and Professor Homer D. Lindgren (d. 1942) of NYU.[51] Bartlett opined:

> That our college is to undertake the important work of collecting and preserving historical documents relating to Imperial Russia, now so widely scattered throughout the world, is most pleasing.[52]

He mentions that:

> In my collection are pieces belonging to former Tsars as far back as Peter the Great, some of which I may wish to donate, if found to be appropriate, to Dartmouth's "White Russian Archives."[53]

In his reply, Goodrich thanks Bartlett for his offer ("You may be very sure that if at any time you should feel like presenting anything to our collection we shall be most happy to receive it"),[54] and then explains that:

> We are acting simply as the depository for this material, and the collecting of it is being done by Mr. Chernikoff and those whom he is able to interest in the matter. So far it is no more than a project, but Mr. Chernikoff is very energetic and confident and we have hopes that it will in time become something worth while.[55]

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in their "Foreign Publicity Department." He filled out his following year on October 25, 1929, just days before the Crash. The following August, when he filled out the following year's Tuck alumni survey, he was working in the export department of Cotex Corporation, a manufacturer of leather and rubberized cloth, corroborating the 1930 U.S. Census, where his occupation is listed as "leather salesman" (Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Manhattan, New York, New York*; Page: *14B*; Enumeration District: *0244*; FHL microfilm: *2341293). By 1931*, he was unemployed, and it is only in the 1933 survey that he indicates his position as Head of the "Russian Information Center in the U.S.A." where the nature of his business is provide "authentic facts on Russian matters" disseminated via bi-monthly bulletin.

[51] Lindgren was a professor of public speaking in NYU's School of Commerce, Accounts & Finance.

[52] Bartlett to Goodrich, January 18, 1935, [p. 1]. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives. The typed letter is on "Old Russia" stationery.

[53] *Ibid*., [p. 1].

[54] Nathaniel L. Goodrich to Bartlett. January 21, 1935. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives.

[55] *Ibid*., Goodrich to Bartlett, January 21, 1935.

He also put Bartlett directly in contact with Chernikoff, who replied to Ralph's February 15 letter that he had been "very sick" for the past two months, and stated that:

> I have no doubt that any gifts you may care to make would be accepted with pleasure both by the Officials of the Baker Memorial Library and by the members of the General Committee.[56]

The White Russian Archives proposal fell apart following Chernikoff's aforementioned illness, and subsequent death from liver cancer on June 5, 1935.[57] One of the first persons with whom his widow made contact was Tuck Dean William R. Gray (1880–1937). wrote in reply that:

> Vanya's [i.e., Chernikoff's] plan for developing the Russian archives at the College was typical of his desire to make a lasting contribution to Dartmouth and to the Russian cause. It is most gratifying, therefore, to have your assurance that you and Vanya's friends have undertaken to carry on with this significant project.[58]

Gray was a regular correspondent with Chernikoff since shortly after the latter's graduation. On at least one occasion, Dartmouth paid Chernikoff a $25 honorarium for meeting with Amos Tuck students in January 1933.[59]

What, if any correspondence took place among the illustrious committee members following young Chernikoff's passing, or between Bartlett and this

[56] [Ivan Chernikoff] to Bartlett, February 21, 1935. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives. The letter bears no signature, but the address—503 West 138th Street—is that of Chernikoff as provided by Goodrich.

[57] The front page of the June 8, 1935 issue of the New York-based Russian émigré newspaper *Novoe russkoe slovo* includes a brief notice of his death (in "Whitestone, Long Island"). At the time, his residence was in the Queens neighborhood of Beechurst. He is buried in Flushing Cemetery in Queens

[58] [W.R. Gray] to Mrs. Maria Ottor Chernikoff. June 18, 1935. Dartmouth College Library. Rauner Special Collections. DA5 Box 2425 Chernikoff File.

[59] On December 7, 1934, Chernikoff wrote to Gray with what was essentially a proposal to teach "first Foreign Trade, and then everything pertaining to Russia." Noting that "My spiritual life has gone through difficult times… I don't think I want to go back into business, if I can help it. I prefer teaching as a profession."(I. Chernikoff to William R. Gray. December 7, 1934. Dartmouth College Library. Rauner Special Collections. DA5 Box 2425 Chernikoff File). He reminds Gray that he had sent outlines from his lectures, "from which I hope you could see the trend of my development in recent years."

Gray's response of December 10, 1934, applauds Chernikoff's decision to focus on a teaching career, yet points to the need for further graduate study, and the paucity of positions in the Depression Era. He also comments that

> Praiseworthy and sincere as your interests in Russian affairs may be, I have been unable to see how or where they would lead you into a realistic and substantial working purpose… (William R. Gray to Ivan I. Chernikoff. December 10, 1934. Dartmouth College Library. Rauner Special Collections. DA5 Box 2425 Chernikoff File).

committee or Goodrich, remains to be investigated.

Another correspondent with Dartmouth at this time—again, prompted by Chernikoff's efforts—was Jacques Markovich Lissovoy (Iakov Markovich Lissovoi, 1882–1965), a former Imperial, and later White Army officer, who left Russia in 1920 via Constantinople, then Yugoslavia, before landing in Chicago in 1923, and becoming a U.S. citizen in 1928. Lissovoy wrote directly to Dartmouth's then-president, Ernest M. Hopkins (1877–1964):

> I am writing you in the hope that I may be given the opportunity to place my extensive collection of historical material at your disposal. This collection is known as the "Museum of Contemporary Events in Russia" and ranking third in the World, is perhaps the finest collection of historical data, of its kind, in the United States.[60]

The brief inventory he provides with the letter, arranged into twenty-one categories of material (Books, "Very rare newspapers", Handbills, Cartoons, etc.) gives a ballpark figure in excess of 20,000 items. Lissovoy concludes by stating that:

> In summary, my idea is to make Dartmouth's Russian Collection the first in the United States and the best known throughout the World., to create a Russian "Mekka"[sic] for all historical pilgrims…[61]

As Hopkins was then abroad, on February 18, 1935 his Executive Assistant Albert I. Dickerson (1908–72) responded to Lissovoy, explaining that under the circumstances (presumably of the Depression) that there was no present prospect of adding staff, nor did Dartmouth at that moment have library and archival staff competent to process his collection. Dickerson suggests that, upon administrative reflection, the announcement regarding the creation of the White Russian Archives at Dartmouth may have been a bit premature:

> The question was raised at the time… the proposal was made whether there would be any possibility of putting anyone to work upon the archives, since there is no one in the College organization with the background or knowledge of the Russian language which would be necessary, It was very promptly

[60] Jacques M. Lissovoy to Ernest Martin Hopkins, February 10, 1935. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives. According to Lissovoy, the archive was

> …collected for the most part in Russia during the World War, the Revolution, and the Anti-Bolshevistic Movements, but much data has been added since that time as the result of careful research and advantageous contact in various other nations.

[61] Jacques M. Lissovoy to Albert I. Dickerson, February 27, 1935. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives.

> found, however, that there was no possibility of doing this and the archives were established definitely on the basis of their being for the present time no more than a safe and systematic depository for valuable papers which should be preserved for the use of future historians.[62]

Dickerson, in a follow-up letter responding to Lissovoy's correspondence of February 27, 1935, in which the latter spelled out what he could do for Dartmouth as, essentially, an employee, was more blunt:

> …circumstances are such that… it would be a mere waste of effort to continue discussion of the possibilities of developing our White Russian archives in the full and active way which would be possible could we provide for your affiliation with the work. At a time when it is necessary to restrict as far as possible the costs of its direct instructional program, the Trustees feel it is unwise to consider any expenses for research projects that have direct connection with instruction.[63]

Dickerson closes with a statement that appears to have been the final nail in the coffin of the Chernikoff-Lissovoy White Russian archives at Dartmouth:

> As a matter of fact, we [i.e., the Dartmouth Trustees and academic administration] have felt in connection with the White Russian archives that this was not properly a project for such a college as Dartmouth, primarily devoted to undergraduate instruction, but rather for a university in a metropolitan city where a great deal of research is being done.[64]

On July 20-21, 1940, in his adopted home town, Lissovoy offered up a substantial exhibit of over 12,000 (!) items on the theme of "Wars of the World" at the Army and Navy Club on South Michigan Avenue. The exhibit covered from the Crimean War to the present, and by all evidence filled every public space of the clubhouse, and was characterized as representing "…only one chapter of Col. Lissovoy's collections."[65]

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[62] Albert I. Dickerson to Professor Jacques M. Lissovoy, February 18, 1935. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives. Lissovoy's title acknowledges that he taught at Emerson Junior College in Chicago.

[63] Albert I. Dickerson to Professor Jacques M. Lissovoy, March 1, 1935. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives.

[64] *Ibid*., Dickerson to Lissovoy, March 1, 1935.

[65] A copy of a multipage pamphlet, including a brief biography of Lissovoy, entitled *The National Home Defense Guard of Illinois presents The "Wars of the World"* has been digitized by the FDR Library in Hyde Park, New York, and may be downloaded as a PDF. While in emigration in Paris, Lissovoy published the first (of eventually three) volumes of

Ultimately (and surprisingly, given his White Russian background), in 1942 Lissovoy approached the State Public Historical Library of Russia (GPIB) in Moscow, offering the donation of his archives, which was promptly accepted, and the collection transferred to the GPIB in the late 1940s. After receipt, official Soviet correspondence with Lissovoy ended, and, as reported by the chief librarian of GPIB's Russian Abroad collections: "…promises concerning "processing" and "storage as a special collection" remained only promises."[66] Regretfully, his collection was soon divided among other archival collections, and the volumes, films, art work, etc. collected by Lissovoy were integrated into either *spekts khrany* or general stack collections.

The discovery of the Chernikoff and Lissovoy correspondence revealing that Dartmouth was once considering—however briefly—becoming a major repository for the archival legacy of the White Russian emigration is quite remarkable. For decades, it was assumed that, aside from the establishment of the Hoover archives following World War I, the formation of the Bakhmeteff Archive[67] at Columbia in April 1951 represented the second major attempt at an in-gathering of the accumulated legacy of the Russian "first wave" emigration.[68] In fact, in an undated letter from Chernikoff to Goodrich located in the Hoover, he reports that Paul Chavchavadze "is at present negotiating with the Honorable Boris Bakhmeteff with the hope of getting his official files…"[69] Chavchavadze was unsuccessful, as

Belyi arkhiv. The 1926 volume has been digitized and is available at the Internet Archive. See: https://archive.org/details/bielyiarkhivseri008800/page/344/mode/2up

[66] Andrei Sergeevich Kruchin. "Kollektsiia IA.M. Lisovogo: put; chastnogo sobraniia." (article from *Biblioteka lichnaia—biblioteka obshchestvennaia: traditsii otechestvennogo knigosobirateľstva: materialy nauchnoi konferentsii, 7-8 oktiabria 1998 goda* (M.:GPIB, 2001). See: https://www.shpl.ru/about_library/history_library/collections/kollekciya_yamlisovogo_put_chastnogo_sobraniya/

[67] On the history of the Bakhmeteff Archive, see the following contributions to the 2003 compilation edited by Tanya Chebotarev and Jared S. Ingersoll: "Russian and East European Books and Manuscripts in the United States: Proceedings of a Conference in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European Culture," a special issue of *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, 4(4) 2003: Marc Raeff, "Introduction," pp. 1-3; Oleg Budnitskii, "Boris Bakhmeteff's Intellectual Legacy in American and Russian Collections," pp. 5-13; and Jared Ingersoll, "Columbia University Libraries' Slavic and East European Collections: A Preliminary History at 100 Years," pp. 77-88.

[68] Writing in his 1940 *Annual Report of the Slavonic Division of the NYPL*, shortly after the fall of Paris, Chief Avrahm Yarmolinsky reported on a systematic effort on the part of the Library "To systematize and enlarge the work of collecting fugitive literature and unpublished records of the Russian Dispersion, as well as to secure any manuscripts relating to recent Russian history which may be in private hands."(Typescript, NYPL Archives). While Yarmolinsky was successful in securing the donations of Michael Riabouchinsky archives, and the Miriam Shoner Zunser papers, further efforts on behalf of the "Russian Historical Archives" were largely eclipsed by the establishment of the Bakhmeteff. On this effort, see: Robert H. Davis, Jr. "The New York Public Library's Émigré Readership and Collections: Past, Present, and Future," in Chebotarev and Ingersoll, eds., *Ibid*., p. 67.

[69] Chernikoff to Goodrich. Undated, but presumably late February or March of 1935,

Bakhmeteff's papers became one of the foundation collections of the Archive of Russian History at Columbia, which was later renamed the Bakhmeteff Archive.

After the short-lived flurry connected with the White Russian Archives, it would be another sixteen years before the disposition of Ralph's collection would resurface. Ultimately, the trigger for making Dartmouth the sole beneficiary of his Russian collection appears to have been the publicity surrounding the establishment of an inter-disciplinary major and Department of Russian Civilization in the spring of 1951, supported by a $50,000 grant (almost $500,000 in 2020 dollars) from the Carnegie Corporation.[70] Dartmouth's President John Sloan Dickey (1907–91) wrote that:

> Knowledge of the Soviet Union is an essential part of the educational experience of American college graduates. As citizens, they must be prepared to make judgments and provide leadership on crucial issues involving the Russian people, with whose culture and political behavior they are relatively unfamiliar.[71]

Bartlett himself had expressed such a sentiment as early as 1934, when he wrote

> During my annual visits to the Soviet Union, since 1927, intensely interesting and important changes have taken place, and I know of no country where there have been and still are so many opportunities for observing and studying at first hand economic, social and other problems of government.[72]

In April of 1951, Bartlett wrote to Harold Goddard Rugg (1883–1957) of the College Library, regarding a proposed donation of Russian textiles. He reported that

> …when it was possible to acquire from the Soviet government interesting objects that were in the palaces, museums and monasteries in tsarist times, I gathered for my Russian collection among other things an imperial cloth of gold—reputed to have been a tsar's robe, some old and beautiful priest's robes, the wedding dress intended for Grand Duchess Olga, beautiful old altar-cloths, embroidered pieces from ancient mon-

as he mentions (and includes a copy of) his reply to Bartlett. Dimitri Von Mohrenschildt Papers, Box 1, Hoover Institution Archives, [p. 1]. He goes on to note that "The Grand Duchess Marie is actively corresponding with Europe" in their efforts to secure archival collections [p. 2].

Bakhmeteff (1880-1951) was the Russian Provisional Government's only Ambassador to the United States, and later became professor of civil engineering at Columbia.

[70] See, for example Fred M. Hechinger, "New Russian Studies: Dartmouth to Offer Broad Program As Vital Need in World of Today," *New York Herald Tribune*, April 15, 1951, p. A6.

[71] "Dartmouth Sets Up Program on Russia," *New York Times*, April 15, 1951, p. 69.

[72] *The Nineteen Thirty-Four Letters of Dartmouth '89.* Thirteenth Report. January 1935, p. 30.

> asteries, etc. etc. [73]

Later, in August, he wrote to Richard Morin (1902–88), Librarian of the Dartmouth College Library, of his willingness to donate an oil painting of Ivan IV, acquired in Moscow in 1928, and all issues of the journal *Russia* (1944–51), and closes by saying that "A little later, when my Russian collection is reassembled in better order, I will give further consideration to a possible loan from it to Dartmouth."[74]

***

So, the seed was planted, and in October 1960, less than a month after Ralph's death, Alfred F. Whiting (1912–78) of the college museum wrote the first description of the Ralph Bartlett Collection, which he aptly described as

> one of the ranking Russian collections in the country exceeding in quality and quantity that of Harvard and many other institutions in this country…. The value of the collection to Dartmouth, particularly in view of the expanding interest in Russian language and history, is very great.[75]

Indeed it was, and is, and those of us in the field of Russian studies owe a great debt to Ralph for assembling it, and to Dartmouth College and its museum curators and librarians for preserving it, and making it accessible. Perhaps even more that its *objets*, the significance of the materials given by Bartlett is as a reflection of the monumental upheavals of the last century: the collapse of three centuries of Romanov rule and of the elite culture that it engendered; the desperate and rapacious efforts of the Soviet regime to both extirpate the remnants of the ancient regime, while handsomely profiting from it; the devastating impact of the Great Depression on American society and institutions, including deferment of noble academic aspirations that would impact America's ability to understand hostile regimes; and finally of the ultimate success of post-war commitment to remedy the "knowledge gap" via a combination of private foundation and government support to higher education. As was amply demonstrated by the diversity of topics of the 2008 Dartmouth symposium,[76] these events fostered a decades-long

[73] Ralph Bartlett to Harold G. Rugg, April 3, 1951. Hood Museum.

[74] Ralph Bartlett to Richard W. Morin, August 27, 1951. Hood Museum. In a reply, Morin wrote that the painting "will be hung in the new quarters of the Department of Russian Civilization of which Professor Von Morenschildt is the Chairman." Morin to Bartlett, September 5, 1951.

[75] Internal memorandum, "Ralph Bartlett Collection," dated October 5, 1960, from Whiting to Paul Young in the Dartmouth College Alumni Records Office. Whiting publicly announced the acquisition as "The Ralph Bartlett Collection of Russian Treasure," *Dartmouth College Library Bulletin*, IV(1/2): 29 (June 1961).

[76] Speakers at the Dartmouth Symposium included (arranged by affiliation): Mark Schaffer (A La Vielle Russie); Stanley Rabinowitz (Amherst); Wendy Salmond (Chapman);

political, economic, and culture dialogue between Soviet Russia and the United States. Finally, we have in the person of Ralph Sylvester Bartlett a not-unfamiliar American "type": an individual who, though not a profound specialist, had the opportunity, the interest, and the steady goodwill to further the education of future generations, at an institution he loved.

About the Author

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He holds undergraduate and graduate degrees from Columbia, a certificate in Russian Studies from the Harriman Institute, and the MLIS degree from the City University of New York, where he was elected to Beta Phi Mu. He has authored five books, and many articles, reviews, and communications. He has also authored, coauthored, and/or managed ten preservation and access grants funded by various federal and private entities, including the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Department of Education.

Tanya Chebotarev (Columbia); Eric Esau, Lev Loseff, Barry Scherr, T. Barton Thurber, and Christianne Wohlforth (all Dartmouth); Nicholas Lupinin (Franklin Pierce); Brad Schaffner (Harvard); Anne Odom, Kristen Regina, and Scott Ruby (all of the Hillwood Museum); Vladimir von Tsurikov (Holy Trinity); Anatol Shmelev (Hoover); independent scholars Marilyn Swezey and Geza Von Habsburg; Norman Saul (Kansas); Harold Leich (Library of Congress, and Dartmouth alumnus); Viktoria Paranuk (Metropolitan Museum, New York); Emmie Donadio and Thomas Beyer (both Middlebury); Marilyn Solvay (Norwich); Vera Shevzov (Smith); Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm (Tillander Jewelers); Cathy Frierson (UNH); and Denise Youngblood (Vermont).

The Triumph and Anguish of the Russian Revolution: Bessie Beatty's Forgotten Chronicle

Lyubov Ginzburg

> *… only time will be able to attribute both the political and the social revolution their true values.*
>
> Bessie Beatty, *the Bulletin,* 25 September 1917

The centennial of the Russian Revolution celebrated two and a half years ago has been marked by a pronounced revival of interest in its origins and impact upon modern history all over the globe. The occasion presented an opportunity to revisit the unprecedented social and political upheaval that convulsed the country in 1917, defined the world order for much of the twentieth century, and continues to reverberate in Russian national and international politics to this day. Along with countless newly revealed primary sources which have gradually found their way into the public domain, this event has been encrusted with novel meanings spawned within a growing number of discourses previously excluded from historical scrutiny. An example of such a disparity would be an unfortunate slight to gendered narratives in the understanding and interpretation of one of the most controversial social experiments in human history. In spite of the fact that, as with their male counterparts, foreign female correspondents became chroniclers, witnesses, and, in some instances, participants in the thrilling social drama, there have been few references to their representation of the Revolution(s) in its historiography.[1] Meanwhile, compelled to understanding Russia, while informing com-

[1] Although disproportionally less than their men-authored counterparts, women's narratives have previously sparked some occasional interest among historians and scholars of journalism and women studies. See for example Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: the Story of Women in Journalism* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), or Zena Beth McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution: Analyzing Ways of Seeing," *Journalism History* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 54–61. The major problem that researchers faced, according to Zena Beth McGlashan, was accessibility. She writes that when journalism historians attempted "to cast about for visions of women's past, the scarcity of materials [became] obvious. ... Women generally did not become either 'superstars' or editors and tended to move between communication-related jobs." That is why, in her view, "the picture of their professional involvement most often lies only with the newspaper and magazine stories they wrote." McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution," 59. Recently, in the first decades of the twenty-first century, scholars have rediscovered these unique sources and have increasingly taken more of them into consideration. See for example, Choi

patriots about its culture, politics and the conflicting social milieu, women were equally willing to undergo extraordinary hardships, experiencing the boisterous human joy and direful bitterness that culminated in a revolutionary saturnalia and a civil war. Some recorded their observations for posterity, and it would be a grave mistake to downplay the totality of such narratives, to which no episode or detail is foreign, as women often focus not only on political and strategic developments, but also on everyday life, contributing to a better understanding of what revolutions actually mean, both in terms of changing the socio-economic foundations of a society, and "the physical and emotional experiences of the participants and witnesses."[2]

Such an assumption is undoubtedly true in regard to an account left by American correspondent Bessie Beatty, one of over a dozen foreign journalists—only a handful of them women—who arrived in the capital of the crumbling empire to report on the history in the making unfolding in Russia "on a much grander scale than anyone in America could ever imagine."[3] Beatty's book and her subsequent publications about Soviet life may be recommended "to all who wish to have an insight into what transpired during the eventful first year of the Russian revolution"[4] and its aftermath. As a body of work, they reveal previously underestimated experiences of and reflections upon the fulminant eruption of bitter rivalries, gnawing strife and pervasive suffering, providing a unique personal chronicle of the establishment of a visionary yet impracticable political and economic regime that nevertheless survived for almost three quarters of a century. Her opinion resonated apart from both ardent sympathizers of and believers in the new Soviet regime and its fierce vituperators. Beatty was cautious to suggest that "they were too close [to the events] to see the truth," and that only time would be able to attribute both the political and social revolution their true values.[5] Unlike many of her countrymen, who shared the same destiny as first-hand witnesses of the historic transformation of Russian society, she was careful not to either laud the Bolsheviks or demonize them. Rather, she firmly believed that the rest of the

Chatterjee, "Odds and Ends of the Russian Revolution," 1917–1920: Gender and American Travel Narratives," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 4 (Winter 2008):10-33, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_womens_history/v020/20.4.chatterjee.html#front; Julia L. Mickenberg, "Suffragettes and Soviets: American Feminists and the Specter of Revolutionary Russia," *Journal of American History* 100, no. 4 (March 2014): 1021-1051; Helen Rappaport's recent volume *Caught in the Revolution, Petrograd 1917* (Hutchinson, London: Penguin Random House, 2016) also features a number of female-authored accounts, including by a Canadian Florence Harper, French Amélie Néry, American Rheta Childe Dorr, and Bessie Beatty, among others.

[2] Chatterjee, "Odds and Ends of the Russian Revolution," 26.

[3] Lisa M. Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution" (M.A. Thesis, Villanova University, 1989), 19.

[4] Alexander Trachtenberg, "The Red Heart of Russia," *New York Call*, December 15, 1918, 11.

[5] Bessie Beatty, "Around the World in War Time: Russian Masses Climbing from under. History Will Tell of the Revolution that Goes on Today. Not that of Yesterday," *The Bulletin,* September 25, 1917.

world should let the Russians themselves determine the fate of their nation and curtail the escalation of fear and hysteria evoked by the Red Scare.

Elizabeth Mary Beatty was born on 27 January 1886, in the Pico Heights district of Los Angeles, the oldest of four children of Irish immigrants, Thomas Edward and Jane Mary (Boxwell) Beatty. Earlier in the decade, Beatty's parents had settled in Iowa, but soon continued their westward journey across America to California. Her father became a director of the first electric street railroad in Los Angeles, prospering until his death in 1902. The family lived in a new suburban development, in the proximity of the Highland Park campus of Occidental College (Oxy), where Beatty matriculated in 1906.

Beatty revealed her passion for becoming a writer early. At Occidental, she majored in English, served as Vice-President of the Witenagemot Literary society, and contributed articles to the school newspaper *The Aurora*, which later changed its name to *The Occidental.* In those early experiences with a pen, Beatty espoused the ideals of a youthful feminist. Along with her mother, she was actively involved in the Suffragist movement in California,[6] where women were granted the right to vote in 1911. Beatty's response to that milestone was an "unpretentious little volume," *A Political Primer for the New Voter*, published a year later. She dedicated the book to her mother, whom she called "my comrade in the California woman's struggle for the ballot" and "the best in womanhood."[7] With that volume, Beatty, who had already been recognized for her work as a human rights activist and social reformer "far beyond the boundaries of the Golden State," performed "a distinguished public service."[8] While addressing all three categories of new voters—youth reaching the legal voting age, newly naturalized citizens, and women—Beatty placed special emphasis upon the political and legal status of the latter. John Foster Carr—who himself authored a number of guides to the United States for immigrants—acknowledged a distinct value of Beatty's book that would remain integral to her further writings. He called the spirit of the book "admirable, broadly patriotic with a very persuasive enthusiasm for every good cause," and pronounced the chapters on socialism and the legal status of women as "excellent."[9]

By 1904, while still in college, Beatty secured a position of a drama critic at the *Los Angeles Herald*, simultaneously managing the so-called women's pages. By 1907, however, "the call of adventure had lured Beatty to the Nevada mining country" to cover a story of labor unrest. She became so interested in her subject, and "so taken with the wild and rugged region,"[10] that she quit her job at the news-

[6] Norman Cohen, "Bessie Beatty: From Oxy to Heterodoxy," a Faculty Seminar Talk (20 October 1992), Unpublished, 3.

[7] Bessie Beatty, *A Political Primer for the New Voter* (San Francisco: Whitaker & Ray-Wiggin Co., 1912), frontispiece.

[8] William Kent, "Introduction," in *A Political Primer for the New Voter*, Bessie Beatty (San Francisco: Whitaker & Ray-Wiggin Co., 1912).

[9] John Foster Carr, "A Political Primer for the New Voter. By Bessie Beatty," review of *A Political Primer for the New Voter*, by Bessie Beatty, *National Municipal Review* 2, no. 3 (July 1913): 567.

[10] Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution," 16.

paper and stayed in Nevada. For the next six months, she lived in a shack near the gold mines, researching and writing a book dedicated to the founders of the state. Entitled *Who is Who in Nevada: Brief Sketches of Men Who Are Making History in the Sagebrush State*, the volume was published in 1907. The book consists of biographical sketches of "the men of real achievement" behind the unprecedented rapid growth of the state, whom the author calls "unknown heroes of the pick and pan."[11] That a 21-year-old girl was living alone among miners in a frontier town was quite revealing of Beatty's determination to stand up against "ancient fetishes and cherished ideals,"[12] crossing into a distinctly masculine realm, whenever it was necessary for her personal and professional interests and advancement.

While in Nevada, Beatty became acquainted with other correspondents from influential California newspapers reporting on the infamous Goldfield Labor Wars—a dramatic outright confrontation between mine-owners and the Western Federation of Miners. Fellow journalists encouraged her to move to the Bay City and try her hand with one of its newspapers. In 1908 she went on a three-week visit to San Francisco where, by the end of her trip, she landed a job with the *San Francisco Bulletin*, one of the first and most historic of the city's newspapers. It was founded in 1855 by the pioneer crusader-editor James King of William, who "fought the gamblers and politicians and gangsters that ruled early San Francisco."[13] After he was shot to death in front of the *Bulletin* office by underworld king-pin James Casey, for some time, the valor of the newspaper dissipated. In 1895, however, it was taken over by one of the best reporters in San Francisco, Fremont Older, who became its managing editor, transforming the publication from a "quaking failure to dazzling success. "[14] Older radiated an "unquenchable enthusiasm of the crusader,"[15] being convinced that good journalism consists of good causes and human-interest stories that go along with them.[16] He liked vivid narrative and preferred short sentences, was entranced by the drama behind the news, and projected further story development, enticing readers to anticipate the next issue. He also believed in manufacturing news, but only if it had a social service slant. [17] Circulation was not 'a golden calf' for the new managing editor, rather it was "a chance to say a little of what he thought ought to be said, it was freedom."[18]

Older revolutionized the newspaper, implementing one reform after another. He hired female reporters, believing that women "had more facility of expression than men, were diligent workers, [and] could get anything they wanted." [19]

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[11] Bessie Beatty, *Who's Who in Nevada: Brief Sketches of Men Who Are Making History in the Sagebrush State* (Los Angeles: Home Printing Company, 1907), frontispiece.

[12] Bessie Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia* (New York: The Century Co., 1918), 91.

[13] Evelyn Wells, *Fremont Older* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), 90.

[14] Ibid., 90, 115.

[15] Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 579.

[16] Robert L. Duffus, *The Tower of Jewels: Memoirs of San Francisco* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1960), 118.

[17] Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 580, 576.

[18] Duffus, *The Tower of Jewels*, 118.

[19] Ibid., 117, 169-170; Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 567; Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty," 17.

The editor gave many women an opportunity at his newspaper, allowing them to do unheard-of things, and making true crusaders of his female correspondents.[20] Without a doubt, writing for the *Bulletin* influenced Beatty's journalistic style, social consciousness and political views. She was one of the writers in which Older fostered "a tendency for radical thought and social reform."[21] Rather than confining her to women's pages, he entrusted Beatty to cover gender-related matters, along with many other cross-cutting issues in a feature page of her own, "On the Margin." Beatty wrote about the Progressive movement in Washington, graft in Pittsburgh, and life in Alaska.[22] In 1916, she returned to Los Angeles as a *Bulletin* correspondent in Hollywood to scrutinize the industry in a series entitled "Behind the Screen—a 'Close-Up' of the Movies in the Making." Beatty was Older's chief ally during his campaign for radical labor organizer Tom Mooney, whose conviction for detonating a bomb during the Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in July 1916 and his subsequent death sentence were based on fabricated testimony. When the editor declared war on the grafters at City Hall, Beatty stood by the crusader, fighting with the notoriously corrupt "political boss" of San Francisco, Abraham (Abe) Ruef. She also avidly supported Older in his struggle against capital punishment. Simultaneously, Beatty became affiliated with the College of Equal Suffrage League of Non-Partisan Women and appeared in the news for her support for Woodrow Wilson's reelection for president in 1916.[23]

[20] Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 580, 576. Older took a personal interest in the talented group of girls, never judging their performance, according to Beatty, on the basis of their sex (Wells, *Fremont Older*, 219-20). For example, before Beatty's day, Older appointed "a delicate girl" named Virginia Brastow to the post of city editor. For a newspaper that was "in the thick of every fight" throughout those "by no means peaceful" times in San Francisco, a female city editor was quite an experiment (Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 583). Another outstanding reporter that would cross into the realm of male journalism was Pauline Jacobson, brilliant daughter of a rabbi, who wrote full-page Saturday articles which were quoted everywhere. She exposed the evils of the city, during the graft crusade, and found her way into the back rooms of saloons, jails, brothels, and every other place "a lady did not go in that age of large hats and long skirts." She was also the first woman to cover sports news in the West, including the famous Gans-Nelson boxing match in Nevada (Wells, *Fremont Older*, 220). When the war began, Sophie Treadwell, who Older had previously started off on serials, went to France, but could not get anywhere near the front because of her sex, having to accept a position of a nurse in a hospital. Later she would become one of the best-known writers in the country, and a founder of the Lucy Stone League (Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 584). Caroline Singer drew readers' attention to the poor working conditions of women in shops and factories (Ibid., 586).

[21] Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution," 17; Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 580.

[22] "Bessie Beatty, 61, Commentator, Dies: Ex-Editor Broadcast Women's Program on WOR-Former Foreign Correspondent," *New York Times*, April 7, 1947, 23.

[23] United States Congressional Committee on the Judiciary, *Bolshevik Propaganda. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, Sixty-fifth Congress*, Third Session and Thereafter, Pursuant to S. Res. 439 and 469. February 11, 1919, to March 10, 1919 (Washington, 1919), 699; Cohen, 4-5.

For years, Beatty acted as an 'in house social advocate,' hearing the grievances of thousands and attending to many of Older's charitable responsibilities.[24] She became personally involved in social work, describing her initiatives and their impact on people's lives in a corresponding newspaper series. Beatty launched a successful holiday exchange, dubbed the Red Stocking Campaign, and organized the erection of one of the first outdoor Christmas trees, making four thousand poor children of San Francisco happy. She reported on the state of the city's schools, found homes for unwanted infants, and raised funds for Happyland, a summer camp for underprivileged youth. Over the course of those nine years, that Beatty heralded the "good cause," manifesting compassion and humanism, she won the affection of tens of thousands of readers, becoming the most popular and beloved correspondent on the West Coast."[25]

In early 1917, when local clergy induced city authorities to "introduce purity" and "stop vice" by shutting down the red-light district without offering women proper assistance, the *Bulletin* skirmished on their behalf, castigating the men and the system for profiting from prostitutes' lamentable plight. Beatty was running the campaign in their defense, visiting with the girls, helping them organize the union and find other employment. She interviewed the girls for a series of articles entitled "The Closing of the Line," giving the "young but desperate" women an opportunity to share stories usually muted by stigma, hypocrisy and lust. As in Nevada, and later in Russia, rather than drawing a generalized picture of an impersonal group, Beatty revealed the lives of individuals, thus seeking to stir in her readers a sense of collective responsibility for the girls' predicaments and desolation.

With the news about the revolution in Russia in the winter of 1917, Beatty decided to go overseas to see firsthand an "amazing experiment in democracy close up" and depict it for the *Bulletin*'s readers.[26] Infatuated with the great Russian novelists, and having developed a deep appreciation for the country and its people, she saw in such an assignment a great opportunity to observe the conditions under which people were struggling. Beatty persuaded the *Bulletin*'s editor to let her do a series entitled "Around the World in War Time" that would include excerpts from a diary of an American newspaperwoman travelling through belligerent countries. The ultimate goal was to provide coverage of the unfolding revolution, which the *Bulletin* called "the biggest development of the world war," to endeavor to identify its causes, and "venture a forecast of what the future [had] in store for this newly freed giant among the nations."[27] Beatty's previous experience as a social advocate, including her unrelenting struggle for the downtrodden, the unfortunate, and the oppressed,[28] explains her decision to travel to Russia at

[24] Wells, *Fremont Older*, 271.

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Thousands of Miss Beatty's Friends to Watch Her Tour of War–Scarred Countries," *Bulletin*, April 2, 1917, front page.

[27] "Bessie Beatty Leaves on History Making War Time World Tour," *Bulletin,* April 3, 1917, 20.

[28] Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution," 19.

"the most dramatic moment of its history." She longed to see how the country was "freeing itself from the bondage, which the [rest of the] world … [had] accepted as its inevitable and unchanging fate."[29] In anticipation of her trip, Beatty wholeheartedly supported the "outburst of human freedom and dignity" underway in Russia.[30] On 2 April 1917, the *Bulletin* announced Beatty's next-day departure, stating that "her happy and intimate manner of writing, which makes her readers imagine they, too, are spectators of the human drama with which she deals, makes her especially well fitted for this important commission."[31]

On 3 April 1917, Beatty boarded the Tokyo-bound steamship *Siberia Maru,* which sailed through the Golden Gate, launching the thirty-one-year-old American journalist on a journey that would last ten months. The *Bulletin* published many of Beatty's dispatches from sea, where news of United States entry into WWI reached her, and where she became acquainted with a group of homeward-bound Russian expatriates, mostly radicals and socialist-leaning political exiles, returning from America to contribute to and benefit from the social and political changes in their motherland.

BESSIE BEATTY GOING AROUND WORLD

The Bulletin's Gifted Feature Writer to Make Extended Journey

BESSIE BEATTY

GERMANS EGGING ON MEXICO

TWO THUGS SHOT DURING RUNNING FIGHT; 1 CAUGHT

RIOT ENDS SPEECH OF DR. JORDAN

SPANISH REVOLT BROKEN

Figure 1. A front page from the *Bulletin*, 2 April 1917, announcing Bessie Beatty's departure and her assignment to report on revolutionary events in Russia.

[29] Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Going around the World: Trip Is Planned into War Zones of Europe in Search of Facts and Figures," *Bulletin*, April 2, 1917, front page.=

[30] Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution," 19.

[31] "Thousands of Miss Beatty's Friends to Watch Her Tour of War-Scattered Countries."

After a week at sea, the steamer docked at Honolulu, from where Beatty dispatched comments on local schools and governance, as well as on the tragic state of affairs for native Hawaiians, who were "vanishing from [the] adoption of white man's customs."[32] After a few days, Beatty continued her journey to Japan. Upon her arrival in Yokohama, which was "in the throes of an election," she asked to be taken to the polls, thus becoming the first woman that "had ever been inside the municipal building."[33] In Tokyo Beatty indulged in flower-gazing, and was received by the Minister of Home Affairs, Baron Goto. After an eleven-hour train ride through "Fairyland," Beatty arrived in Kyoto, which she called the "least modern and most picturesque of Japanese cities."[34] Having visited a few Japanese kitchens, she wrote about traditional gender roles, revealing "personal expressions of inequalities in everyday life."[35] At the same time, she acknowledged "the desire of [Japanese] women for a broader education and a more Western life,"[36] best embodied in the establishment of the Women's University in Tokyo. Beatty interviewed poetess and pioneering feminist Akiko Yosano, and the first Japanese newspaperwoman, Haru Isomura, as well as Moto Hani, the chief editor of a women's magazine with a circulation of 100,000. Her last stop in Japan was Shimonoseki, from where Beatty sailed to Seoul. There she toured opulent imperial palaces and observed local customs, in accordance to which Korean women were considered "less than nothing," playing "no part in [their] husbands' life except as servant[s] and bearer[s] of heirs."[37] A river steamer brought the American correspondent from Manchuria to Tianjin (Tien-Tsin), China, that was "in the throes of an attack of revolutionary power."[38] From there, she continued on to Peking—"the great city of walled mysteries," where she was given an audience by the president of the young Chinese Republic, Li Yüan-hung, just a couple of weeks before he was forced to dissolve parliament. After "scratching the surface of political, social, economic and picturesque China," Beatty, with her "reflection on the relativity of things," was ready to penetrate "deeper and deeper into the heart of the unknown."[39]

[32] Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Letters: Around the World in War Time," *Bulletin*, May 21, 1917, 5.

[33] Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Letters. Around the World in war Time," *Bulletin*, June 4, 1917, 4.

[34] Bessie Beatty, "Descriptive Letters of the Happenings in Many Lands Since the Beginning of the Struggle for Democracy. Around the World in War Time," *Bulletin,* June 23, 1917, 5.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Bessie Beatty, "Descriptive Letters of the Happenings in Many Lands since the Beginning of the Struggle for Democracy. Around the World in War Time," *Bulletin*, July 2, 1917, 16.

[37] Bessie Beatty, "Descriptive Letters of the Happenings in Many Lands Since the Beginning of the Struggle for Democracy. Around the World in War Time," *Bulletin*, July 11, 1917, 9.

[38] Bessie Beatty, "Descriptive Letters of the Happenings in Many Lands Since the Beginning of the Struggle for Democracy. Around the World in War Time," *Bulletin*, July 18, 1917, 8.

[39] Bessie Beatty, "Around the World in War Time: From Pekin to Petrograd. Excerpts from the Diary of an American Newspaperwoman," *Bulletin*, July 27, 1917, 5.

While Beatty's travels through Hawaii, Japan, Korea and China were not described in the *The Red Heart of Russia*, they were *Bulletin* page-turners, preparing readers for her final destination—revolutionary Petrograd. On 31 May, Beatty boarded a train bound to Mukden, en route to Harbin, to make connection with the Trans-Siberian Railroad— the world's longest. On 1 June, she wrote from Changchun: "Harbin is only an hour distant. … at 10 o'clock the express is due to pick me up and pack me off through Asia into Europe."[40] During her trip, Beatty was enthralled by "unthinkably vast" Siberia, and concluded that it was anything but a dreary, desolate waste. For five hours, she was contemplating Lake Baikal, surrounded by great mountains, and went through tunnels "no less than forty-one times." She stopped in Irkutsk, a goldmining center developed and built by prisoners and political exiles, and passed through Krasnoyarsk, the resting place of Russian nobleman Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, a betrothed of a daughter of San Francisco Precidio commandante, known and fancied by "lovers of California romance".[41] As the train approached European Russia, Beatty witnessed a growing number of solders travelling in the opposite direction from the front, and encountered workers' and soldiers' deputies of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, sent to the provinces to protect the victories of the Revolution and spread revolutionary propaganda. Overall, the cross-country trip proceeded without major mishap and was "only four hours off schedule!"[42]

On Sunday morning, 10 June 1917, the American correspondent finally arrived at Petrograd, which after ten "long, hot, dusty days" on board the train, appeared "strange, mysterious, inscrutable, [and] compelling."[43] Thanks to "three good Samaritans" and a pinch of luck, Beatty found a room at the famous Astoria Hotel, named in honor of the renowned New York hoteliers, the Astor brothers. Opened in 1912, in preparation for observances of the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty on the Russian throne, during the war the Astoria was in the hands of the military, acquiring the nickname the "War Hotel." It was situated in the heart of the city, in proximity to Nevsky prospekt, its principal thoroughfare, and close to the Mariinsky Palace, the seat of the Provisional Government until July 1917, as well as the Winter Palace, where Kerensky's second coalition government relocated that summer. After members of his cabinet were arrested by the Bolsheviks in October, the hotel became an epicenter of the power struggle between combatting revolutionary forces. As it routinely changed hands, Beatty witnessed the Battalion of Death quartered there one day, replaced by a detachment of Red sailors the next, before being taken over by cadets, then retaken by the Bolsheviks again. Despite the fact that it was "a beacon for foreign visitors," including prominent statesmen and high-ranking military personnel of allied armies, the hotel was not protected in any way from uncertainty, perpetual esca-

[40] Ibid.

[41] Bessie Beatty, "Around the World in War Time: From Peking to Petrograd. Excerpts from the Diary of an American Newspaperwoman," *Bulletin*, August 3, 1917, 18.

[42] Bessie Beatty, "Around the World in War Time: From Peking to Petrograd. Excerpts from the Diary of an American Newspaperwoman," *Bulletin*, August 6, 1917, 4.

[43] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 3.

lation of tensions and occasional eruption of dire confrontation between various groups divided by centuries of conflicting interests and deeply-rooted irreconcilable discord.

Over the eight months that Beatty spent in Petrograd, her own "little blue-and-white room on the sixth floor" of the Astoria would become "a base of operations," an idiosyncratic refuge from an overpowering reality fraught with human frenzy that in those revolutionary days would lay too "close to the surface."[44] It was her escape upon return from the front, where she had sloshed through Russian trenches within a hundred-and-sixty-feet of enemy dugouts, and after a week spent in barracks with women soldiers of the Battalion of Death. It was in Beatty's little blue room where one of the infamous Cheka 'troika,' Jake Peters, brought the *Decree of Peace* to be translated into English. When Beatty was repeatedly urged to leave the hotel and find refuge under the auspices of the American Embassy or elsewhere by "kindly members of the American colony bent on rescuing [her] from the storm-center of Revolution,"[45] she preferred to remain under that very roof in order to witness close-up "the tremendous revolutionary drama, involving the destiny of nearly two hundred million Russians and no one could say how many others of the peoples of the world." By the scale of the immensity of the event, personal security seemed to Beatty "a trivial thing."[46]

Beatty arrived in Petrograd in time to witness major developments that would eventually lead to the Bolshevik uprising. She was there to observe the consequences of the unsuccessful military offensive launched by Kerensky in late June 1917, and the July Crisis that followed, leading to a temporary decline of Bolshevik influence. During the Kornilov Affair in August, Beatty was at the Astoria Hotel, collecting opinions from people "with various degrees of political belief, ranging from princes suspected of monarchistic tendencies to the most radical of the radicals."[47] While many of her interlocutors, such as English suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst, believed that Russia needed "a strong hand," and that "only Kornilov could save the situation," Beatty felt that "the masses would regard any attempt to install a dictator as an attack on their [revolution] and would desert the man responsible for it."[48] Although her prediction proved correct, and "the first attempt to install a man on horseback" ended in fiasco, the Kornilov adventure would have other, more dramatic consequences. It would drive "the radical forces further and further to the left," creating a mass solidarity "fatal to the existing order"[49] and paving the way for the ascendency of the Bolsheviks and their leader, whom Beatty christened the "Dictator of All the Russias."[50]

Beatty's attitude regarding the rapidly growing power of the Bolsheviks was inconclusive, at least as she drafted dispatches for the *Bulletin*. Although she gained a reputation as a Bolshevik sympathizer after testifying before the US Sen-

[44] Ibid., 324.
[45] Ibid., 323.
[46] Ibid., 242.
[47] Ibid., 154.
[48] Ibid., 148.
[49] Ibid., 163.
[50] Bessie Beatty, "Lenin Dictator of All the Russias," *Bulletin,* January 3, 1918, 7.

Figure 2. L. G. Kornilov, his staff and Cossack from the "Wild Division", from Bessie Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia* (New York: Century Co, 1918), 172.

ate Overman Committee in the spring of 1919, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that Beatty was an ardent hard-shell supporter of the Soviet regime. Rather she came to resent the escalation of public anxiety and frenzy, as well as demonization of the liberal ideas of revolutionaries and Russians themselves, evoked by the hearing. She never claimed she was partisan "in her feelings or in sympathies" with the Bolsheviks. Responding to Senator Overman, she stated: "I'm merely an observer of Russian affairs. My feeling is that we ought to understand what produced the Bolsheviks, what they are trying to do, what there is that is good about them, and what there is that is bad."[51] During the July Days, when "Petrograd [lay] terrified and trembling in the hollow of the Bolsheviks hand,"[52] she produced a reprehensible image of the Bolsheviks as "the party of chains," whose roots were "buried deep down in the black past of Russia."[53] She urged that they be distinguished from the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' deputies and the masses, describing the Bolsheviks as "pitiful little fellows, with just enough ignorance, just enough idealism, just enough knowledge of the catchwords of economics" to miraculously defeat "every other power in Russia" in practically no time.[54] As the culmination of the ultimate political and social upheaval of un-

[51] United States Congressional Committee on the Judiciary, *Bolshevik Propaganda*, 702.

[52] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 121.

[53] Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty, Caught in Street Battle, Tells of Petrograd's Bloodiest Sunday," in *Bulletin,* August 25, 1917, 7.

[54] Ibid.

precedented scale approached, Beatty was overwhelmed by developments, anticipating detrimental consequences following any attempt to abruptly usurp power, fearing more inevitable yet unnecessary losses of human life. Fleeing importunate rumors about impending terror and shrugging off the sensation of death that "was in the air," she took refuge in her blue-and-white room, where she "drew the curtains, turned on all the lights, and curled up on the couch to bury [herself] in a book of verse and shut [the Revolution] out".[55] Yet even when "urged to quit the capital,"[56] Beatty remained at her journalistic post, fulfilling the promise "to find something to send home to interest [her readers]."[57]

"Trying honestly and sympathetically to understand all of the forces at work in the Revolution,"[58] Beatty became acquainted with a wide range of people, from the noblest holdovers from the tsarist regime to Bolshevik leaders, including Alexandra Kollontai, Leon Trotsky, and Lenin himself, whom she briefly met in January 1918, before interviewing him during a visit to Russia in 1921. She developed the habit of dropping in on the seventy-three-year-old "babushka" of the Russian Revolution, Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaia, visited imprisoned members of the Provisional Government in the Peter and Paul Fortress, and attended the trial of Countess Sofia Panina, the Deputy of the Minister of Social Welfare and Education in the Provisional Government, who refused to turn over funds to the Bolsheviks. Beatty approached the war and the Revolution in an intimate and humanitarian way. She rendered human affairs in their diversity and naturalness, exploring historic events through the quotidian experiences of participants, using their personal stories as sources of information. For two weeks, she shared a sleeping platform with Maria Bochkareva, the commander of the legendary Battalion of Death, revealing female warriors' unique sorrows, concerns, and fears. Having attended three national peasants' conventions, Beatty described them through the unflagging fervor of the delegates seized by "the force and fire of a spirit"[59] of little peasant General Maria Spiridonova.

On the fateful night of 25 October, along with "poet of the revolution" John Reed, bohemian feminist Louise Bryant, Christian socialist Albert Rhys Williams, and Russian-American expatriate Alexander Gumberg, Beatty was at the epicenter of events. Going first to Smolny, where they attended the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and later to the Winter Palace, they witnessed the arrest of the Provisional Government, becoming chroniclers of events that would change the course of world history. As with many other developments comprising the Russian Revolution, Beatty humanized its denouement, placing in the spotlight the arrested members of Kerensky's cabinet, whose unabashed emotions emerged from under the guise of governmental officials entrusted with the fate of a hundred and seventy million people. They were stunned,

[55] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 179.

[56] Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Faces Danger at Petrograd," *Bulletin*, November 14, 1917, 18.

[57] Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Going around the World: Trip Is Planned into War Zones of Europe in Search of Facts and Figures," *Bulletin*, April 2, 1917, front page.

[58] Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia,* 138.

[59] Ibid., 366.

as was Petrograd, in the realization that with their surrender the dictatorship of the proletariat had become fact.

PART TWO

The Bulletin

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Complete Associated Press Report by Leased Wi
Complete United Press Report by Leased Wire

RED GUARD CAPTURES PETROGRAD
HOW BOLSHEVIKI WON CONTROL

A STORY OF THE ARMED PROLETARIAT IN THE RUSSIAN CAPITAL

By Bessie Beatty

rilling Description of the Scenes That Were Enacted When Kerensky Lost His Power and Lenine Became a Dictator

FIRST GATHERING OF THE RUSSIAN RADICALS

Photograph of the great meeting in front of the Winter Palace, w ich was addressed by Nikolai Lenine, the new dictator of Russia.

First Accurate Account of the Events Tha Put Radicals in Control of Russian Affairs and Which Have Made World History

"Spiker" Poet Jeers At U-Boat

Local Engineers In France Edit Magazine

Figure 3. A section cover of the *Bulletin*, 19 January 1918, with Beatty's report and analysis of the Bolsheviks' seizure of power in October 1917.

Meanwhile, at the other end of the spectrum, Beatty depicted another array of feelings. "Exhausted by lack of sleep, depressed by the rejection of *intelligentsia,*" the Bolsheviks remained in disbelief of the degree of their success, which was greater than they expected.[60]

The climax of Beatty's eight months in revolutionary Russia was the convocation—and almost immediate dissolution—of the Constituent Assembly. When it met on 5 January 1918 at the Tauride Palace "under the Bolshevik guns," Beatty was there to experience its entire twelve-hour lifespan. A failed attempt to implement the Enlightenment notions of "popular sovereignty" and unify all sectors of Russian society shattered Beatty's initial enthusiasm for the "amazing experiment in democracy." She lamented the lost hope for Russia's constitutional development, with the Bolsheviks unilaterally overthrowing a legitimate representative organ of elected people's deputies and reversing the impulses of the February Revolution. "Born and vanished in bloodshed," the Constituent Assembly contained, according to Beatty, "the seeds of the greatest government possibility ever

[60] Ibid., 220-21.

placed in the hands of a body of dreamers, but they scattered them upon the rocks of stubbornness and misunderstanding, and there could be no harvest."[61]

As Beatty was leaving Russia on 26 January 1918, she saw the apprehension in people's eyes and felt that "tragedy was in the air."[62] She anticipated devastating consequences of one-party monopoly on power, predicting the imminent terror. As Petrograd, "wrapped in the gray morning mist," gradually slipped from view, it seemed that "Russia, which had touched the heights and the depths, had at that moment found the bottom of her cup of misery." That day, she knew that Russia "had only begun to suffer."[63]

Figure 4. New Russia votes for the Constituent Assembly, from Bessie Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia* (New York: Century Co, 1918), 401.

Back in the United States at the end of February 1918, Beatty conveyed her adventure in a volume entitled *The Red Heart of Russia*, published that year and largely well-received.[64] Her book appeared in print prior to John Reed's *Ten Days*

[61] Beatty, "Bessie Beatty's Story of Russian Catastrophe," Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 428.

[62] Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia,* 478; Bessie Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Tells of Russian Tragedy," *Bulletin*, March 2, 1918, front page.

[63] Beatty, "Bessie Beatty Tells of Russian Tragedy."

[64] See for example "Beatty, Bessie, Red Heart of Russia," *The Book Review Digest*, fourteen annual cumulation, reviews of 1918 books, ed. Mary Katharine Reely (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1919), 35; "Beatty, Bessie, Red Heart of Russia," *The Booklist: A Guide to the Best New Books*, vol. 15, October, 1918–July, 1919 (Chicago: American

that Shook the World, and according to scholars who are intimately familiar with her literary and historic legacy, it was as valuable as and "in some way [even] better" than the more sensational account by her fellow correspondent.[65] Yet, while Reed's work has remained a must-read for anyone interested in the era of the Russian Revolution, Beatty's writing until very recently has been "shunned" into obscurity, largely due to the established credibility of male-dominant mainstream media constructs and gender-biased trends in historiography. Additionally, Beatty's reportage turned out to be less provocative, as, unlike Reed, Williams or Bryant, she was neither committed to the promotion of a political cause nor to presenting herself as a radical outsider.[66]

As in the gold mines of Nevada and the underworld of San Francisco, Beatty remained resolute in pursuing "stories of human interest," whether in the streets of revolutionary Petrograd, in No Man's Land on the Eastern Front, or in the barracks of the Women's Battalion of Death. Her socially- and culturally-enhanced narratives presented the Russian Revolution in a light that sharply contrasted with the unchallenged political discourse that dominated front-page newsprint. While the nation's newspapers ran blaring headlines of breaking news, rarely would they provide insight into driving forces behind historic developments or situate primary actors in their respective settings. Beatty, on the other hand, would breathe life into her dispatches, unravelling the gradual escalation of events and depicting underlying circumstances that she would often experience firsthand. Her columns would appear more dynamic and resonant than the daily "straight news" with their "tedious lists of official sources, rumors, innuendoes and occasional facts."[67] In many instances, she would postulate prophetic suppositions, which, as with many other gendered analyses of the revolution, would remain unnoticed and uncredited. Thus, when the front pages of the *Bulletin* reported Russia's official affirmation of its fidelity to the Entente allies and subsequent rioting by "armed mobs" demanding the resignation of the Provisional Government Foreign Minister Pavel Nikolayevich Miliukov,[68] nothing was mentioned about the centuries-long deep-rooted causes of the unrest, so vividly depicted in Betty's dispatches, and later in her book. As a Wilsonian supporter, she understood the necessity of combatting "the arch-enemy of liberty and peace,"[69] but as a humanist, she could never accept the heavy toll of war paid by millions. Breaking from the "gentleman's agreement" that ruled in couloirs of the ministry or the Winter Palace headquarters of the Root Mission,

Library Association Publishing Board, 1918–19), 99; "Russia as Seen by Americans," *The Nation* (16 November 1918): 591.

[65] Cohen, "Bessie Beatty: From Oxy to Heterodoxy," 7; McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution," 57.

[66] Cohen, "Bessie Beatty: From Oxy to Heterodoxy", 10-11; Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution," 8.

[67] McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution," 59.

[68] "Russia Affirms Fidelity," *Bulletin*, May 3, 1917, front page; "Armed Mobs Rise Against the Ministry," *Bulletin*, May 4, 1917, front page; "Demand Made that Miliukov Resign Office," May 4, 1917, front page.

[69] Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia,* 65.

where she found herself among half a dozen foreign correspondents as "an occasional" reluctantly admitted lady,[70] Beatty reported from "the street corners," "the crowded trams," "the wide paths of the parks," and from trenches filled with the sloshing red mud.[71] She would populate her dispatches with "armless, legless, blind and broken men,"[72] punctuate her stories with "shuttered bones and tortured flesh," entangling the pages with zigzags of barbed-wire and making them reek with "the terrible stench of gangrene."[73] And while the front pages allocated space for Miliukov's statement that "never shall Russia consent to a separate peace,"[74] Beatty would explain why the Root Mission's attempt to persuade Russians to stay in the war failed, and why "the diplomates from Hester Street" succeeded in preaching to thousands of men confined to trenches, who were beyond tired of fighting.[75] Beatty lamented the total deprivation of human dignity, rendering in her gripping narrative "the dirt, the flies, the vermin, the monotonous round, the endless soup and *kasha*, the waiting," all those things "that took the last ounce of a man's courage and faith."[76] She would be outspoken about ranks of Russian soldiers who "chose to be shot as cowards and traitors" rather than continue fighting.[77] Beatty concluded that although tragic, mass desertion was inevitable.[78]

Trying to decipher the convoluted social strife unfolding against a backdrop of the Great War, Beatty brought individuals to the fore of her accounts, which transcended public domain and explored domestic sanctuaries, intertwining personal acts with social consequences. Thus, after visiting the front and sharing bed and bread with the female warriors, the humanist prevailed, and Beatty denounced the continuous human suffering by describing the anguish of a sobbing wounded German,[79] the lust for blood pervading a young woman soldier murdering another human being who, by will of fate, happened to be in the camp of the enemy,[80] or

[70] Ibid., 37.

[71] Ibid., 34, 81.

[72] Ibid., 20; Bessie Beatty, "Around the World in War Time: A Friend in a Strange Land. Excerpts from the Diary of an American Newspaperwoman," *Bulletin*, August 16, 1917, 8.

[73] Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia,* 73, 62; Bessie Beatty, "Two Weeks on the Russian Front. Dodging Shrapnel as an Enemy Air-Fighter Flies over Camp," *Bulletin*, October 4, 1917, 4; Bessie Beatty, "Two Weeks on the Russian Front. Watching the Big Guns Crumple the Trenches of the Foe," *Bulletin*, October 5, 1917,10; Bessie Beatty, "Two Weeks on the Russian Front. Baba-Yagas Shriek as San Francisco Girl Stands within 150 Feet of German Lines. A Description of the Slavs Grim Determination to Win," *Bulletin*, October 6, 1917, 13.

[74] "Miliukov Bravely Tells Mob Russia Will Keep Faith," *Bulletin*, May 4, 1917, front page.

[75] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 42.

[76] Ibid., 83; Beatty, "Two Weeks on the Russian Front. Baba-Yagas Shriek as San Francisco Girl Stands within 150 Feet of German Lines."

[77] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 45.

[78] Ibid., 83.

[79] Bessie Beatty, "Two Weeks on the Russian Front: An Interview with a Boy Prisoner Taken from a German Scouting Party," *Bulletin*, October 8, 1917, 9.

[80] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 111; Bessie Beatty, "The Woman Soldier. Battalion of Death Formed by a Soldier" *Bulletin*, November 28, 1917, 18.

the senseless agony and death of a twenty-year-old Russian boy, who embodied "all the boys in the world" dying "in the years of [their] strength and youth, alone and far from home."[81] Human lives, conditioned by perpetual economic, political and social vicissitudes, would remain at the core of Beatty's writings, public speaking and broadcasts throughout her career as a journalist, a defender of human rights and social justice, and an advocate for unity among sovereign nations.

While expressing hope for Russia, Beatty had no illusions with regard to the social and political changes she witnessed. The rise of the Bolsheviks altered the course of the Revolution and the story of the "great experiment in democracy" that she intended to report on. She would consider every new development as a trial, doubting that the forces behind them were aware of outcomes. There was "no other place," wrote Beatty, that would be so "full of hope and heartache, of human possibility and impossibility, of blundering, groping children, struggling to climb toward the light and losing their way hopelessly in the dark."[82] Having no political affiliation of any kind, either in the United Sates or Russia, Beatty refused to impose premature conclusions, and instead 'streamed live' the revolution in the making and its aftermath. Her account is neither anti-Bolshevist "bourgeois invectives," nor "panegyrics to the new order."[83] She relayed events pronouncing no judgments, a task that she left for the next generation of historians, political observers and social advocates.

Figure 5. Bessie Beatty in the trenches with two officers and a soldier of the Russian Army. 1917. Courtesy of Occidental College and the Beatty Family.

[81] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 78; Bessie Beatty, "Two Weeks on the Russian Front: In the Trenches with the Fighting Men of the New Republic," *Bulletin*, October 9, 1917, 9.

[82] Bessie Beatty, "Around the World in War Time. Russian Masses Climbing from Under. History Will Tell of the Revolution That Goes on Today, Not That of Yesterday," *Bulletin*, September 25, 1917, 4.

[83] Jankoski, "Bessie Beatty: One Woman's View of the Russian Revolution," 11.

Beatty never returned to the *San Francisco Bulletin*. She settled in New York, where she became an editor of *McCall's Magazine,* a women's monthly, and delivered lectures on Russia, calling for an immediate end to American intervention there. Along with Louise Bryant, Beatty made an appearance before the radical feminist New York Heterodoxy Club, of which she was a member, giving a shared talk on her experiences in Petrograd.

Beatty saw her fears realized, upon returning to Russia in 1921, and spending nine more months as a correspondent for *Good Housekeeping* and *Hearst's International*. She interviewed Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Georgi Vasil'evich Chicherin.[84] She also joined Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and "First Lady of the Land" Ekaterina Ivanovna Kalinina for a month-long journey through the famine-ridden regions along the Volga on board a train and a boat specifically equipped for propaganda purposes.[85] Beatty claimed that while travelling to the "fringes of Russia," she saw more of the country—primitive, suffering, despairing—than she had hoped to see in a year.[86] She learned something about it, "that Moscow could never teach." [87] As during her first Russian sojourn, Beatty explored the country though individual accounts of ordinary Russians whom she encountered on her way down the Volga River to its mouth at the Caspian Sea. She observed the life of the young Socialist state from a *chaynaya*—a Russian version of an old English inn—considering it the best spot for learning about people and the revolution. Struck by radical changes to social organization and human experiences, she wrote that "every life has been jolted out of its accustomed rut." No one, according to Beatty, was "what he was four years ago." Some were more so, and some were less, but all "were different."[88] Riding a springless "back-breaking *telega* (dray cart)" through "a still, gray, sad world," she contemplated an "endless procession of lonely men and women … trekking across plains and through forests—learning to endure." Four years into the revolution, "that is all that Russia has learned." Depicting pervasive "misery and want," Beatty blamed both drought and Bolshevism.[89]

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[84] See, for example, Bessie Beatty, "Message to Americans from the Man Who Rocked the World," *Hearst's International* 41 (April 1922): 22-23, 90; Bessie Beatty, "They Lie about Me in America," *Hearst's International* 42 (July 1922): 32-35; Bessie Beatty, "Chicherin," *The New Republic* (17 May 1922): 335-38.

[85] See, for example, Bessie Beatty, "A Peasant on a Painted Train. Here is Russia—I," *Hearst's International* 40 (December 1921): 12, 88-89; "Beatty, Bessie," in *Great Soviet Encyclopedia,* a translation of the third edition, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, INC., 1973), 87.

[86] Beatty, "A Peasant on a Painted Train," 12.

[87] Bessie Beatty, "Russia at Home," Good Housekeeping 74, no. 2 (February 1922):123.

[88] Bessie Beatty, "Marusha of the Market Place," *Good Housekeeping* 74, No. 3 (March 1922): 22.

[89] See, for example, Bessie Beatty, "Marusha of the Market Place," *Good Housekeeping* 74, no. 3 (March 1922): 22-23, 145-47, or Bessie Beatty, "The Milkwoman of Moscow," *Good Housekeeping* 74, no. 4 (April 1922), 60-61, 201-06.

Yet she continued advocating for normalizing American relations with the Soviet regime. When in 1922, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) created a Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia, she served as one of its executives, along with such formidable women as American suffragists Lucy Gwynne Branham, suffrage, peace and civil rights activist, Belle Case La Follette, and writer Abby Osborne Rust Russell, the wife of socialist politician Charles Edward Russell, among others. Although the Committee did not succeed in persuading the Harding Administration to change America's Russia policy, it generated enough political pressure to bring the issue to public attention, arguing that establishing diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union would be, above all, "a humanitarian measure" essential for sustaining world peace.[90]

From a Russia "grimly struggling to sustain life," Beatty travelled to a "hectically pursuing pleasure" Constantinople. Sharing her impressions in magazine articles, she renounced "definite preconceived ideas" about the country spawned by propaganda, and contemplated the role of a new Turkey in the post-war "economic readjustment of the world."[91]

In 1924, Beatty was in England covering the new Labour government of Ramsay MacDonald, then motored across continental Europe, joined by British novelist I.A.R. Wylie, suffragette and scientist Rachel Barret, and one of their friends. The four women visited the "oldest and quaintest living republic of Andorra," where they were greeted by its "ruler."[92] Upon her return to the States, Beatty went to Hollywood to work with screen writer and producer David O. Selznik. In 1926, she married British actor William Sauter, and the couple spent time in Los Angeles, where Beatty continued to write for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios. In 1927, she co-authored a play with a reformed criminal, a "graduate of five penitentiaries" and Fremont Older's protégé, Jack Black. Originally entitled *Salt Chunk Mary*, the play was a dramatization of Black's best-selling *You Can't Win* (1926)—an autobiography of a turn-of-the-century vagabond and burglar, therein contemplating the outlaw life and the futility of the criminal justice system.[93] In 1932, it was staged on Broadway under the title *Jamboree.* Beatty was also involved in philanthropic work on behalf of unemployed actors, running the Actors' Dinner Club, a place where they "could get a meal and be entertained without the feeling of being charity cases."[94]

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[90] For more information about the Committee, see Katherine A.S. Siegel, "The Women's Committee for the Recognition of Russia: Progressives in the Age of Normalcy," *Peace and Change* 21, no. 2 (July 1996): 289-317.

[91] Bessie Beatty, "Bogy-man of the Bosporus," *Century* 104 (September 1922): 705-706.

[92] See Bessie Beatty, "Onaway to Andorra," *Good Housekeeping* 81, no. 2 (August 1925): 34-35, 96, 98.

[93] Bestseller in its own right, the book, that was first released in 1926 by MacMillan, found popularity again when it was republished more than 60 years later with a foreword by William S. Burroughs, who claimed that it was a major influence on him and his creative work.

[94] Current Biography, Biography Reference Bank, "Beatty, Bessie" (The H. W. Wilson Company, 1944), https://tinyurl.com/y8e9jhy3.

Figure 6. Four women on a European trip. "Miss Wylie at the wheel, Miss Barrett beside her in the rear Miss Wittler. Bessie Beatty is standing." 1924. Courtesy of Occidental College and The Beatty Family.

Beatty never missed an opportunity to be actively involved in social life and participate in various organizations. With the establishment of the National Recovery Administration in 1933, she was invited by the clothing industry to raise consumers' awareness of union-made goods, and handled public relations as a director of the National Label Council.[95] Later Beatty engaged in publicity work for welfare and cultural groups, such as the Museum of Costume Art, the Greenwich House, the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre, New York State Commission for the Blind, and the Spanish Child Welfare Association. During the 1932 and 1936 presidential elections, she ran public affairs for the women's division of the New York State Democratic Committee.[96] Whenever she could, Beatty contributed to community organizing and worked with immigrants who came to New York with the hope of finding a better life for themselves and their children. She wrote press releases for the Greenwich House, which became an integral part of the surrounding largely Italian neighborhood, drawing attention to such issues as employment, better living accommodations, and problems with government agencies.[97]

In 1939, as an American Secretary of the International P.E.N. Club, Beatty organized and directed the World's Congress of Writers at the World's Fair in New York.[98] Later that year, when she was on her way to Stockholm to attend the

[95] "Bessie Beatty, 61, Commentator, Dies."

[96] Current Biography, Biography Reference Bank, "Beatty, Bessie."

[97] See Bessie Beatty's Press Releases and Related Materials, Greenwich House Records, Series III, Programs, Subseries A: Departments and Activities, Sub-subseries 46: Publicity, 1939-1940. TAM.139, Box: 25, Folder: 70. Tamiment Library and Wagner Labor Archives, New York University.

[98] "Bessie Beatty, 61, Commentator, Dies."

P.E.N. congress, she received the news about the German invasion of Poland. Her ship was rerouted to Newcastle, where Beatty spent a month covering life in Great Britain at the outbreak of war. A few months after her return to the United States, she went to Mexico as a reporter for the *New York Post.*[99]

In 1940, Beatty realized a long-time dream, becoming host of a daily women's radio show on the Voice of New York (WOR), that ran until her death seven years later. Among Beatty's guests were actors, writers, prominent politicians, and such public figures as Eleanor Roosevelt. The show was enormously successful, and Beatty became a "household voice," delivering daily topics of interest for listeners of every economic strata, from all walks of life, many of whom were men. During the Second World War, she drew her audience's attention to ways in which they could contribute to the collective effort, appealing to blood donors, and calling for victory gardens, rationing and war-bond sales.[100]

While Beatty used the air waves to make her own contribution to victory, she never ceased her opposition to war, the heavy toll of which she first witnessed a quarter -century before, when she reported from the Russian front, repeatedly exposing the ubiquitous despondence and loss that transcended borders and adversarial front lines. Raging warfare spares no one from its horrors, from physical suffering, and traumatic internal strife. The humanist has always prevailed in Beatty, as she has denounced the anguish and blood lust, striving for "the muddled old world" to be remade "upon a basis of human freedom and safety."[101] An advocate for sustaining peace, in 1943, Beatty was awarded the Women's International Exposition medal for her efforts to promote understanding among the nations.[102] In 1945, when world leaders gathered in San Francisco for the United Nations Conference on International Organization, Beatty dedicated a number of articles to the historic meeting and covered it in her daily broadcasts.[103]

Bessie Beatty died on 6 April 1947, following a heart attack, at the height of her popularity.[104] Following her death, however, Beatty and her work passed into oblivion. Hopefully, the recent centennial of the Russian Revolution, the growing curiosity stemming from the unfolding hysteria around the current alleged Russian interference in US internal affairs, and the enhanced body of scholarship in the history of the feminist movement, will help revive an interest in her eventful life, pioneering work as an early female journalist, and unbroken faith in humanity. The forthcoming first republication of *The Red Heart of Russia,* after a century of obscurity, may be a first step in that direction.

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[99] Current Biography, Biography Reference Bank, "Beatty, Bessie."

[100] "Bessie Beatty, 61, Commentator, Dies."

[101] Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia*, 114.

[102] Latrobe Carroll, "A Voice in Your Home," in *Topflight: Famous American Women*, ed. Anne Stoddard (Edinburgh, New York, Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946), 209.

[103] See, for example, her article entitled "Women of One World," *Independent Woman* 24 (24 July 1945), 178-180.

[104] "Bessie Beatty, 61, Commentator, Dies." In 1946, a biographical sketch of Beatty's life by Latrobe Carroll was included in a book entitled *Topflight: Famous American Women*, edited by Anne Stoddard. See, Carroll, "A Voice in Your Home," 199-211.

Every wave of revolution in Petrograd broke over the cobbles of the great Winter Palace Square—The Dvortsovaya

THE
RED HEART OF RUSSIA

BY
BESSIE BEATTY
War Correspondent of San Francisco Bulletin

ILLUSTRATED BY
PHOTOGRAPHS

NEW YORK
THE CENTURY CO.
1918

About the Author

A native of St. Petersburg, Russia, Lyubov Ginzburg received her M.A. from St. Petersburg State University and a Ph.D. from the University of Kansas. With research interests in the history of Russian-American relations, Dr. Ginzburg has dedicated her academic career to exploring and analyzing the broad venues of public diplomacy, cultural influences, and social interactions between these two nations. Presently she is revising for publication her dissertation, entitled: *Confronting the Cold War Legacy: The Forgotten History of the American Colony in St. Petersburg (A Case Study of Reconciliation)*. She is also an editor for a Slavica Publishing project dedicated to the Russian Revolution centennial, annotating a first-hand witness account of revolutionary events in Russia, authored by Bessie Beatty, an American journalist, women's rights advocate, writer, radio host, and activist.

For two decades, Dr. Ginzburg has taught graduate and undergraduate-level courses and seminars at universities in Russia, the United States and Europe, in Sociology, Communication Studies, American Studies, Slavic Languages and Literatures, and Western Civilization. She has also taught advanced Russian to UN language professionals.

Book Reviews

Rósa Magnúsdóttir, *Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945-1959*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. 159 pp., plus notes, index and illustrations. Hardcover, $74.00

Though the United States and the Soviet Union were allies during the Second World War, their collaboration was destined to be a brief one. The joyous meeting of American and Soviet troops on the banks of the Elbe River in April 1945 and the goodwill it engendered could not withstand the pressures of the post-war period as disagreements about ideology, spheres of influence, and national security emerged to the fore. Rósa Magnúsdóttir's study, *Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945–1959*, examines the first decade and a half of the Cold War through a cultural lens, examining the ideological campaigns of Soviet leaders and organizations in their attempts to shape perceptions of America and respond to American propaganda. Beginning with her introduction that discusses the pre-war period, Magnúsdóttir demonstrates that the Soviet opinion of the United States has always been one of begrudging respect combined with harsh criticism, particularly with regard to racial, social, and economic inequality.

Approaching her topic in a chronological manner, Magnúsdóttir begins with an examination of the last years of Stalin's rule, 1945–53, a period noted not only for its campaign against America, but against Soviet intellectuals. The period of *Zhdanovshchina*, named for Stalin's head of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda and the Foreign Policy Department, Andrei Aleksandrovich Zhdanov, focused on reining in members of the Soviet intelligentsia and rooting out Western influences in the Soviet Union. Contact with foreigners became dangerous

as the anti-Western movement gained momentum and came to include a toxic strain of nationalism and anti-cosmopolitanism. The anti-American narrative can be found in theater, film, and literature. Magnúsdóttir cites numerous examples that distort the positive narrative of the wartime alliance and instead emphasize the differences between the two nations and the possibility of a war between the former allies. Texts by Maxim Gorky and Vladimir Mayakovsky, both critical of the United States and published much earlier, were now republished because they fit perfectly in the emerging Cold War ideological battle with the West. At the same time, certain American authors considered sufficiently progressive were promoted as suitable reading material as well. Langston Hughes, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Mark Twain, for example, were acceptable due to their criticisms of American social, economic, and racial issues.

The American government attempted to combat Soviet portrayals of the United States through two major avenues, the radio broadcasts of the Voice of America and a magazine called *Amerika*, published by the American Embassy by permission of the Soviet government in a bi-lateral agreement. Soviet officials, of course, did their best to battle the influence of this propaganda by restricting access (jamming radio frequency and limiting distribution) and persecuting those who displayed signs of enchantment with the West. Despite the government's official stance, however, the Soviet people were keenly interested in and curious about the United States. Local party organizations and other surveillance groups gathered information about the mood of the people toward America and compiled reports that were then shared with the Central Committee in Moscow. Magnúsdóttir argues that this information on popular opinion is interesting but likely had no influence on Soviet ideology and strategy which was a top-down process. The reports do, however, show that the United States was the country that intrigued Soviet citizens the most. Magnúsdóttir also examines over two hundred files of citizens who had fallen prey to persecution by the government. These reveal the same themes, concern about the post-war Soviet-American relationship and curiosity about the American way of life.

With the death of Stalin in 1953, the Soviet agenda shifted from direct anti-Westernism to peaceful coexistence. Patriotic themes remained important in Soviet literature and the arts, but the strong anti-American tone of the Stalin years began to fade. Nikita Khrushchev sought to raise the Soviet Union's profile as a global superpower and promote cultural exchange with the United States and others. Not all of these portrayed American life in a positive light. The "Negro Question" remained a problem for the United States in combatting anti-American propaganda, and when the cast of *Porgy and Bess* engaged in a four-year global tour, the State Department refused to contribute to the Soviet part of the tour. Soviet authorities, however, did come up with the money and show was an enormous success in 1955 with audiences in both Leningrad and Moscow. That same year, a Soviet agricultural delegation traveled across the United States, visiting farms, factories, and universities, as did a delegation of journalists. The Soviets learned from these exchanges, however, that their information about the enemy was incomplete and outdated. They also realized that their propaganda did not speak to

American citizens. As the Soviet Union permitted and encouraged these exchanges, one of its greatest challenges was how to allow its citizens access to the West yet still control the narrative about the United States. Magnúsdóttir dedicates a chapter to this fascinating subject of "the paradoxes of peaceful coexistence." Positive interactions were acceptable so long as those involved remained faithful to Soviet ideology. It is often forgotten that even under Khrushchev there was intense scrutiny of and persecution of Soviet citizens accused of anti-Soviet activity.

The year 1959, with the Soviet National Exhibition in New York and the American National Exhibition in Moscow (the site of the famous Nixon-Khrushchev kitchen debate), marks a turning point in Soviet-American relations. Even here, however, we see the Soviet struggle to control its citizens perceptions of its main enemy. In the area of material comfort and consumer good, the Soviet Union could simply not compete and its successes in education and technology could not supersede that fact. Khrushchev's own trip to America made this abundantly clear to him and when he returned, the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers made it a priority to increase the production of household and consumer goods.

Magnúsdóttir's study is based on extensive archival research, though her use of sources is sometimes uneven. Certain sections of her manuscript rely almost exclusively on letters written to Soviet authorities which, though interesting in themselves, do not always fit neatly into her narrative. Her desire to include these unique sources is understandable, though one wishes that they had been incorporated more smoothly into her book as a whole. Perhaps such sources do not exist for the entirely of the period she is covering, but her heavy use of these letters in only certain parts of her text gives her book an unbalanced feel.

Lee A. Farrow
Auburn University at Montgomery

Michael Cassella-Blackburn, *Radical Anti-Communism in American Politics after World War II, 1945-1950: William C. Bullitt and the Campaign to Save Nationalist China*, Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2018. x + 166pp.

In this short book, historian Michael Cassella-Blackburn seeks to extend the project of his first monograph, *The Donkey, the Carrot, and the Club: William C. Bullitt and Soviet-American Relations, 1917–1948*, to consider William C. Bullitt's impact on anti-communism and U.S.-China relations in the late 1940s.[1] Bullitt was one of the most influential U.S. diplomats in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations. Bullitt was sympathetic to the Soviet Union from the late 1910s to the early 1930s and helped Washington achieve official recognition of the USSR. During Bullitt's time as the first U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, however, as Cassella-Blackburn points out in his first book, Bullitt turned into a hard-core anti-communist because he was irritated by his failed negotiations with Soviet officials over issues like trade, repayment for loans to the Russian Provisional Government from 1917, anti-American propaganda, and the construction of a new

U.S. embassy. In his second book, Cassella-Blackburn argues that Bullitt and the China Lobby used fear and conspiracy theories to shape American public opinion and policy toward China in the late 1940s.

According to Cassella-Blackburn, Bullitt and the China Lobby repeatedly promoted a conspiracy theory that Soviet imperialism was using communism to enslave the world and the rise of Chinese communism was part of Joseph Stalin's evil plan (8, 11). Bullitt's solution to the problem in China was to continue U.S. economic and military aid while exercising American direction and control (76). By publicizing the conspiracy theory, Bullitt intended not only to educate U.S. policymakers and the public but also to expose the Soviet agents inside the U.S. government. As Cassella-Blackburn notes, to circulate the conspiracy theory, Bullitt published his book *The Great Globe Itself* (1946), wrote for popular magazines, testified before Congress, and offered advice to politicians. Cassella-Blackburn labels Bullitt's book "popular" and "influential," but he also acknowledges that the book focused on European issues and seemingly received more criticism from reviewers (viii, 8, 46-49). Among Bullitt's sixteen articles listed in the book's bibliography, Cassella-Blackburn cites only five and treats Bullitt's two-part article in *Life* in 1948, titled "How We Won the War and Lost the Peace," as a key piece of evidence at multiple places. Readers would welcome more discussion about how Bullitt's other published articles influenced American public opinion.

Cassella-Blackburn himself seems undecided about Bullitt's immediate and lasting significance in shaping American public opinion. On one hand, Cassella-Blackburn ambitiously seeks to demonstrate that Bullitt inflamed anti-communism in the U.S. He asserts that "Bullitt set the stage for Joseph McCarthy and his accusations about internal Soviet support" (70). Yet he provides little evidence showing that McCarthy was influenced by Bullitt other than some similarities in their narratives. On the other hand, Cassella-Blackburn tempers his assertion about Bullitt's significance. He admits that it is difficult to measure how much influence Bullitt had on the public (30). He notes that Bullitt failed to make a huge impact on American public opinion because the public cared more about domestic and European issues than China (35, 87). He also believes that Bullitt and the China Lobby failed to convince Truman, who preferred advice from the State Department (67). Cassella-Blackburn's conclusion that "The Korean War changed everything" because the war materialized the Soviet conspiracy theory for the public, makes his readers further question the historical significance of Bullitt (120, 17).

There are several other places in the book that Cassella-Blackburn could have improved. First, scholars of U.S.-China relations would want to learn more about the interaction between Bullitt and other members of the China Lobby. Cassella-Blackburn gives some attention to the correspondence between Bullitt and Alfred Kohlberg and Henry Luce in the late 1940s. But most of the time he uses the phrase "Bullitt and the China Lobby" without differentiating the actions and impact by individuals. Second, readers would like to know what Cassella-Blackburn means by "radical anti-Communism" in the book's title. Cassella-Blackburn should have explained what qualified as "radical" anti-communism and how this concept was different from conservative or liberal anti-communism that scholars have catego-

rized.[2] Moreover, readers would want Cassella-Blackburn to address how Bullitt's anti-communism campaign fit into a longer history of anti-communism in the U.S., especially the question of how Bullitt's story about a Soviet conspiracy to control China was connected to or different from similar views in the 1920s. Finally, Cassella-Blackburn should have clearly stated this book's historiographical interventions in the introduction. Contributing to the developing scholarship on the history of emotions, especially the history of fear, Cassella-Blackburn's work encourages future scholarly discussion on how fear and the use of fear have influenced domestic politics and international relations.[3]

Rong (Aries) Li
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V.V. Noskov, *Amerikanskie Diplomaty v Sankt-Peterburge v Epokhu Velikikh Reform,* Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrii Bulganin, 2018. 832 pp. Index. Illustrated. Hardcover.

In recent decades, the field of diplomatic history has significantly broadened the scope of its investigation. Researchers are increasingly recognizing that the daily routines, living conditions, and cultural environment in which diplomats immersed themselves abroad are not matters of tangential interest. Examination of these details is invaluable for a better understanding of diplomats' actions and for reconstructing a fuller picture of diplomacy in past eras. V.V. Noskov of the Russian Academy of Sciences has used this approach successfully in his new book about American diplomats in St. Petersburg.

Mr. Noskov's study is focused on the 1860s, a time of trials both for America and Russia. While the US was torn by the Civil War, the Russian Empire struggled through the Great Reforms, the surge of terrorist groups, and the Polish rebellion. Noskov demonstrates that these difficult times brought to St. Petersburg the kind of American diplomats that were rarely seen there in the 19th century: those who specifically wished to serve in the land of the Tsars. Due to the bad climate and high cost of living, US representatives usually considered Russia an undesirable assignment. However, in the 1860s, Cassius M. Clay, Bayard Taylor, and Jeremiah Curtin actively sought appointments to St. Petersburg and competed with others to obtain them. When analyzing the factors that caused these men to do so, Noskov relies on a variety of American and Russian sources including rare memoirs and unpublished documents from Russian State Historical Archive and Russian State Navy Archive. The author argues that business interests were a strong motivation for Cassius Clay. In the era of reforms Russia was undergoing major economic transformations and was eager to acquire new technologies. Clay, whose initial ambition was to serve in London or Paris, quickly recognized business opportunities in St. Petersburg. Noskov provides a detailed description of engineering projects that he lobbied. Among them was Laslo Chandor's kerosene lighting for the streets of the Russian capital, and oil drilling in Kuban that

Clay hoped to turn into family business.

During the Civil War, US government valued Russia's support. More than ever, in St. Petersburg it needed representatives who would establish good rapport with the Russians, and promote positive image of the American mission. This created great opportunities for Taylor and Curtin who wanted to come to Russia to study language and culture. With the help of voluminous Russian sources Noskov threads a fascinating narrative of the daily lives and activities of these diplomats, showing that the Russians appreciated sincere interest in their homeland. Taylor and Curtin became popular in St. Petersburg, creating good publicity for the US. Curtin, whom Russians affectionately called Eremei Davydovich, enjoyed enormous respect both in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Noskov argues that his efforts were instrumental to the success of the 1866 Gustavus Fox mission. The chapter dedicated to the Fox mission regales the readers with amusing stories about hospitality that the Russians showered upon the American navy men. By contrast, Admiral David Farragut's naval squadron a year later did not get a lavish reception. Noskov explains such changes by the fact that by 1867 the critical days of the Civil War and the Polish crisis were well in the past. Relations between the US and Russia returned to routine. Charismatic unlikely diplomats of the 1860s faded from St. Petersburg's horizon.

V.V. Noskov's monograph is written in an elegant narrative style. While the chapters discussing the Clay, Taylor, Curtin, and the Fox mission are the highlights of the book, on the 832 pages of this monumental work one will also find information about Simon Cameron, Henry Bergh, J.D. Arnold, and George Pomutz. The setting where the US diplomats lived and worked, the city of St. Petersburg itself, turns into the object of Noskov's study. In the introductory chapter and numerous vignettes the author provides captivating descriptions of the city's streets, squares, and palaces, immersing the reader in the atmosphere of the 19th century. Fascinating Russian sources and engaging prose make Noskov's work an appealing read both for professional historians and the general audience.

Svetlana Paulson
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Douglas Smith, *The Russian Job: The Forgotten Story of How America Saved the Soviet Union from Ruin*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2019. 303pp., illustrations and index. Hardcover, $28.00.

The story of the American Relief Administration (ARA) in Russia from 1921 to 1923 is a lesser-known interlude in the long history of Russian-American relations. Douglas Smith's new book, *The Russian Job: The Forgotten Story of How America Saved the Soviet Union from Ruin*, tells the story of how the United States helped slow the famine devastating Soviet Russia in the early Soviet period.

Smith tells the story of the ARA in Russia through the lives of several Americans who took part. J. Rives Childs, William Haskell, Frank Golder, Walter Bell,

William Kelly and several other Americans played key roles in how the ARA was brought into Soviet Russia, how it functioned, and how successful it was. These Americans sacrificed personal and professional lives in order to create one of the largest (perhaps the largest) humanitarian efforts in history. Smith illuminates the range of challenges these Americans encountered. The first difficulty was simply negotiating the terms that would allow the ARA to enter Soviet Russia. This agreement was agreed to in Riga, Latvia in August, 1921 followed by an appropriation of $20m under the Russian Famine Relief Act. This was followed by two years of service by several hundred Americans and thousands of Russians who fed as many as 10 million people. These Americans traveled tens of thousands of miles across Russia trying mitigate the famine and its impact. In addition to food relief, the ARA also brought in medical supplies to help the Russians overcome a typhus epidemic that was also ravaging the country. The program was terminated in Soviet Russia on June 15, 1923 after the United States government learned that Lenin's government had been exporting grain during the famine.

Smith organized the book by years starting in 1921. His work is based on archival material from the United States and Russia, newspapers, memoirs, and secondary material. His work tells the story of American humanitarianism in a critical moment of Russian-American relations. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 disrupted the course of World War I and Russia's relations with Western nations. Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War further strained the new Soviet state leaving offers of humanitarian relief suspect in the minds of Soviet officials. Russia's turmoil from 1914-1921 left Lenin with few options to remedy the ills plaguing the fragile new nation. Smith's book is engaging and well-written. It reveals the personal side of the relief efforts for many of the key Americans who were involved.

For the general public, this event in Russian-American relations is lesser known, but to scholars of Russian-American relations Bertrand Patenaude's definitive account of the ARA in Russia in 2002 entitled *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921* published by Stanford University Press still stands as the definitive study.

William B. Whisenhunt
College of DuPage

Jennifer M. Hudson, *Iron Curtain Twitchers: Russo-American Cold-War Relations.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Publishers, 2019. 368pp. Notes, index. Hardcover, $115.00.

Is there a need for another book on the cold war? The answer is a definite "yes" the way Jennifer Hudson, who teaches at the University in Dallas, does it by concentration on direct contacts between the two countries from 1870 to 1991, from individual visits such as that of Theodore Dreiser and Vladimir Mayakovsky to the mass presence of the American Relief Administration in the early 1920s and in regard especially to films. I had forgotten there were so many. Hudson not only meticulously describes the contents of both Russian and American, but also takes

to into account that predecessors, such as that of predecessors such as *Ninotchka* for several American films. Few reached the level of *Ninotchka,* however.

Hudson was fortunate to have excellent reviewers such as Bosley Crowther and Vincent Canby on the American side, writing in major newspapers, and the direct exchange of films between the two countries, beginning in 1959, nations packed with movie fans, and an adept industry focused on propaganda, that is on showing the best of each other's society. If one needed a topic of conversation to share with railroad workers from Sverdlovsk, one could find it with mentioning a movie, as my wife and I discovered in sharing a compartment on a train from Moscow to Kiev in January 1991. Marred by a fog of tobacco smoke and far too much alcohol, we developed a game: they would describe a foreign film and I would guess the title. They had the advantage since they had seen many more films than I had that year.

The film exchange, part of the cultural exchange was more widely effective, for example many showings in Sverdlovsk. There were still some anomalies. The American musical *Oklahoma* was shown in two parts, one one week and a second the next week (few saw both because of its popularity), and also the speaking parts were dubbed in Russian while the singing was left in the original sound track. It was weird to hear Gordon MacRay speaking along in fluent Russian and then bursts out in an English solo, but the audiences seemed to like it. A Mongolian student in the dormitory came back with tears in his eyes saying how much it reminded him of home.

The book probably tries to do too much, including political events as well as cultural and neglecting economic. The substantial contribution to the First Five Year Plan is certainly neglected. The major construction of Autostroi outside Nizhni Novgorod is ignored, yet there is ample information, including movie film available from the Austin Company Records in Cleveland on it. The factory built a likeness of the Model A Ford and is still making rolling stock today.

Another area of neglect is failure to provide an overall assessment of the cumulative of the impact of the widening and expanding of the cultural exchange on the Soviet Union that some would say eventually brought an end to the Soviet Union and Communism. Professor Hudson ties everything up with a balanced conclusion.

Norman Saul, Emeritus
University of Kansas

Field Notes

IN MEMORIAM

We learned recently of the death in December of Gennady (Gennadii Petrovich) Kuropiatnik (1924–2019) one of the Russian Academy's pre-eminent scholars in American history and the history of Russian-American relations of the 19th century. He was a close friend and supporter of his younger colleague, Nikolai Bolkhovitinov (1930-2008) in leading the Center of North American Studies of the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences through *glasnost* and *perestroika* of the Gorbachev years. Both had Ukrainian connections, Bolkhovitinov's with Simferopol in Crimea, and Kuropiatnik was born and raised in the Poltava region. And both became distinguished scholars of American history and Russian-American relations in Moscow, despite obstacles. Unfortunately, Gennady suffered from diabetes in later life, lost both legs to the ailment, and had become understandably something of a recluse in recent years. Still, he managed to publish in 2009 a major book on the American Civil War.

He and his wife Vera (from St. Petersburg) had a very nice commodious apartment overlooking Sokolniki Park in Moscow: nothing but silver birches to be seen from it, and an invitation to dinner would usually be preceded by a "stroll in the park." This was followed by a multi-course meal. I know others who would echo the sentiment that "I have never eaten better in Russia than at the Kuropiatniks." Gennady and Vera were superb hosts and cooks.

A student of the English language, Kuropiatnik received a bump start as an Americanist by an assignment to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations, in the immediate post-World War II years, where he perfected his spoken English. More than most Soviet specialists, he was comfortable in speaking before university audiences on the American Civil War as the "Second American Revolution," the topic of an early book (1961). Actually his first book was the somewhat Cold Warish *The Seizure of the Hawaiian Islands by the USA* (1958), but it was still interesting reading. One of his most important efforts, however, was in weaving together American foreign and domestic policies for the Reconstruction years, 1867–81 (1981); this was later expanded to 1918 to cover the war and revolution (1997). He was also the contributor of many articles to *Amerikanskii Ezhegodnik* and other periodicals. At least one of themwas published in English translation: "Russians in the United States: Social, Cultural, and Scientific Contacts in the 1870s" in *Russian-American Dialogue on Cultural Relations, 1776–1814* (University of Missouri Press, 1997).

Norman Saul