

Historia Nova

The Duke Historical Review

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Duke University

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Preface

James Chappel, PhD (Director of Undergraduate Studies)

Welcome to another issue of *Historia Nova*, the undergraduate historical journal published by students at Duke University. The world is changing—indeed, this is the subject of History—and it is specifically changing when it comes to the status and location of historical scholarship. As many readers likely know, History as traditionally pursued is in trouble. University budgets are being cut, and so are tenure lines. It is becoming harder, every year, to sustain the traditional mission of the field as it has existed for about two centuries: to allow university-financed professionals to produce new scholarship at a regular pace.

This is, in many ways, a tragedy. But it is also, in others, an opportunity. The old system was, in its way, elitist and hierarchical, and the kinds of security it offered never extended to everyone. The task for historians, now, is not to rebuild the old system exactly as it was, but to create new ones that offer a more diverse and democratic approach to the researching and writing of history.

This is what makes a journal like this one so exciting. By publishing undergraduate research, the editors at *Historia Nova* are showing one way that historical scholarship can continue to thrive: because whatever happens to the academy, there will always be undergraduates. And it shows a way, too, that the old system was biased against certain kinds of voices. As the articles in this issue show, undergraduates can be highly capable researchers. These articles are at the cutting edge of historical research, exploring a diverse array of themes like race, memory, and environmental history.

Unlike traditional historical journals, too, this one is highly diverse in its methodological, temporal, and geographical interests. It's not a journal for people interested in one narrow kind of history, but for people interested in history as a discipline: as a way of thinking, and a way of knowing. As the Director of Undergraduate Studies in Duke's Department of History, I congratulate all of the authors and editors of this issue of *Historia Nova*.

Letter from the Editors

Dear Reader,

We are excited to present the seventh volume of *Historia Nova*.

In our first publication of the year, we're fortunate to share the work of thinkers from across the world. Continuing the effort of our sixth volume's expansion to global submissions, we're eager to discover new perspectives, historical topics, and periods of inquiry, in order to produce a journal which encapsulates a myriad of analytical, informative, and timely pieces of historical scholarship from undergraduate students.

In this issue, we hope that you'll revel in the works of students from Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The first paper featured comes from our very own Duke University, where Jiewei Li examines the ways in which gender impacted slave flight in the United States. While there are few surviving first-hand accounts of the experiences of runaway women, Li analyzes the advertisements which slave masters posted in local newspapers in order to develop a set of factors which may have contributed to the decision to run away. Her piece both supports the work of existing secondary scholarship and fills in the gaps in some crucial areas. The next work you'll encounter comes from Sophie Sacilotto of the University of Victoria in Canada. Sacilotto's work analyzes the manner by which the Soviet Union recognized Jewish massacres, specifically looking at how the Babi Yar massacre in Kyiv was memorialized. In reading this paper, you shall discover how Sacilotto carefully discerns the international, media, and social pressures on Soviet authorities that led to the creation of the memorial.

The third piece included in our latest installment of *Historia Nova* is Stefano Buckley's analysis of historical perspectives on the Langley landscape. Also hailing from the University of Victoria, Buckley analyzes the changes brought about by the arrival of settlers in the Langley area of the Fraser Valley between 1820 and 1920. The work encapsulates how Indigenous groups interacted with the area, how colonization changed this, and how such settler societies fit into their geographic surroundings in the years after their arrival. The fourth and final piece included in the seventh volume of our publication comes from Austin Steele at the University of Cambridge. Steele's work takes a philosophically focused historiographical approach in order to analyze how both philosophical and psychological ideologies influenced the ways in which Richard Wright, Frantz Fanon, and W.E.B. Du Bois challenged racial domination through their works.

Covering vastly different subjects and periods of time, the research comprising this issue of *Historia Nova* collectively helps to reshape misconceptions, discover well-evidenced interpretations of historical events, and shed light on former gaps in knowledge which are extremely pertinent to the world we now find ourselves in. It's been a privilege to work with these authors and we thank them for sharing their important contributions to historical scholarship with us.

Sincerely,
The *Historia Nova* Editorial Board

Our Mission



Historia Nova features exceptional historical analysis from undergraduate students at institutions across the English-speaking world. Our publication reveals the field's dynamism and challenges the ways in which history is interpreted and continually re-interpreted by scholars. We hope you enjoy this issue. For more information about our organization at Duke University please refer to our website at (<https://history.duke.edu/new-events/undergraduate>) or email us at (dukehistorianova@gmail.com).

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Austin Steele, University of Cambridge



Enslaved Women in Flight

Analyzing Female Slave Flight through Fugitive Slave Advertisements

By Jiewei Li, Duke University

The Atlantic Slave Trade took not only men but also women away from their homes, separating them from their homelands, kinship networks, families, and cultures. Slave traders transported captive African women along the Middle Passage into slavery. Once forcibly brought to the New World, many enslaved men and women refused to accept enslavement and resisted by fleeing the plantations. Thus, many slave colonies experienced slave flight, which became a form of resistance after experiencing the horrors of slavery. However, within both the slave experience and slave flight, each slave had a different experience. It is incredibly important to study the personal effects on enslaved women to fully understand the repercussions, impacts, and harms of the slave trade and the institution of slavery. Gender dynamics inevitably played a role in the treatment of enslaved women, but beyond simply acknowledging the existence of gender dynamics, roles, and norms, it is important to study how they shaped the treatment and behavior of enslaved women. Specifically, as slave flight was a powerful form of slave resistance, it is important to study how slave flight

looked different for enslaved women. There were different motivating factors for enslaved women to flee their masters, but there were also different obstacles that challenged their flight. A number of these motivating factors and obstacles are inextricably linked to gender, making it impossible to divorce gender from the experience of being a fugitive slave.

Slave flight is a well-studied phenomenon, but much of the scholarship focuses on fugitive men. The typical depiction of a runaway slave is an enslaved man running from his master. However, both male and female slaves engaged in slave flight, and there were even instances when male and female slaves would escape together in groups.¹ While the stereotypical gendered assumption would presume women to be more docile and less violent, enslaved women did not always conform to gender expectations. In fact, during the Revolutionary War, “more than a third of Revolutionary War runaways were women and children.”² The Revolutionary War was an admittedly unique set of conditions as masters were embroiled in conflict and thus had less oversight over their slaves, but the statis-

1 Johnson, Michael P. “Runaway Slaves and the Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799 to 1830.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1981): 418–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1921955>. 319.

2 Lockley, Tim. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina a Documentary Record*. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2018. 40.

tic still proves that women actively participated in the phenomenon of slave flight. While it is certainly true that more men than women engaged in slave flight, a sizeable portion of runaways were female slaves, for a variety of unique reasons and motivations.

Importantly, enslaved women faced different challenges and conditions than enslaved men. For example, they were more likely to work as domestic servants in the master's house.³ Gender dynamics were clearly at play in this trend: men were thought to be more physically capable of fieldwork, while women were thought to be more suited to domestic and affective labor. Initially, the slave trade had a general demand preference for male slaves due to the assumption that they would be more capable of withstanding physical labor.⁴ It was only after the enslavers recognized the need for women to carry out domestic tasks and to reproduce slave children (for a self-sustaining slave population) that the slave trade saw an increased demand for women. With the increase of enslaved women, many became domestic servants who took care of masters' housework or children. Working inside or near the master's house meant more oversight for these enslaved women, making it more difficult and dangerous for them to find opportunities to run.⁵ Enslaved women had fewer opportunities to coordinate with other slaves who wanted to flee. Moreover, they had fewer windows of opportunity to run without the master immediately catching on. The absence of an

enslaved woman who worked directly in the master's house would certainly be more immediately noticeable than the absence of a field hand who rarely directly interacted with the master. In fact, due to working less in the fields and often having more responsibility in raising children (their own or that of the masters), many enslaved women did not have the same survival skills as enslaved men and were thus less likely to run.⁶ Survival skills in nature were incredibly important for fugitives because they often hid in the landscape. Moreover, enslaved men had fewer responsibilities toward family structures. Thus, men had more favorable circumstances to run. Women faced more barriers to slave flight as a result of their position and socialization.

Not only was it more difficult for women to run, but also enslaved women suffered different abuses than enslaved men. Enslaved women faced sexual violence at the hands of men, and many enslaved women fell pregnant after experiencing molestation by white men, particularly white masters.⁷ While enslaved men were more subject to physical labor and physical punishment, enslaved women were more subject to sexual violence. In fact, women of any age not only experienced sexual violence at the hands of white men but also black men.⁸ Not only did enslaved women lose their agency through the condition of forced servitude, but they also lost their bodily autonomy and control over their fertility, sexuality, and children. Enslaved women could not control if they had children, and if

3 Johnson, Michael P. "Runaway Slaves." 425.

4 Hall, N. A. T. "Maritime Maroons: 'Grand Marronage' from the Danish West Indies." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1985): 476–98. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1919030>. 479.

5 Johnson, Michael P. "Runaway Slaves." 425.

6 Hall, N. A. T. "Maritime Maroons." 480.

7 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*. Bloomington etc.: Indiana University Press, 1998. 148.

8 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 158.

they did, they could not control their children's fates. The complete loss of agency over themselves and their children was commonplace for enslaved women. Sexual abuse could have been a motivation for enslaved women to run, despite the challenges they faced that would make fleeing more difficult. Access to their children (separated on other plantations) could have been a motivation for enslaved women to run, even despite the additional oversight they experienced. Enslaved women encountered a different set of conditions than enslaved men, due to the gender difference. Gender norms informed the disparity in experiences.

To determine exactly how gender influenced flight, it is important to examine the records of the women who chose to run away from their masters. Unfortunately, there are few first-hand accounts from the runaway women themselves, but it is possible to rely on advertisements slave masters placed in newspapers. Often, after slaves fled their plantations or masters, the enslaver placed advertisements in their local newspapers with the slave's physical description in hopes a slavecatcher or other white person would return the slave for a monetary reward. The advertisements were essentially bounties placed on runaways, but they have the historical value of providing demographic information for the slaves who chose to flee from their masters. Advertisements often included the slave's age, name, physical description, and hypothesized location and movement. Many of these advertisements exist in archives and databases for study, and one particular database, *Freedom on the Move*, hosts 32,254 advertisements.⁹ While the database is far from inclusive of all

fugitive slave advertisements from the American colonies, the sample size is large enough for considerable data collection and analysis.

The 32,254 advertisements included more entries than just slave women, but it was possible to filter for only advertisements of fugitive women, and it was possible to filter for only completed advertisements. A number of the records were incomplete, so rather than rely on partial information, it was important to only examine records in their entirety for consistency. After filtering for completed advertisements for fugitive women, there were 111 advertisements to examine.¹⁰ Of those 111, several were reprints describing the same fugitive woman. The 111 advertisements included descriptions of 99 individual women, meaning 11% were republished with the same information because the masters could not track down the women after the first advertisement and made the effort to publish another. Data analysis of the demographic information of those 99 women was incredibly revealing and aligns with historical patterns. There are certainly far more than 99 women who chose to run from their condition of enslavement, but this sample is large enough to analyze certain trends and patterns that are indicative of gendered factors in the treatment and behavior of enslaved women.

An incredibly revealing statistic is how many enslaved women ran away with family members, and that data reveals that fewer runaway women had relatives because most women who did have relatives would not leave them behind. Examining the 99 individual women of the advertisements, about 20% of

9 "Freedom on the Move." Freedom on the Move. Accessed December 1st, 2022. <https://app.freedomonthemove.org/>.

10 "Freedom on the Move."

those fugitive women were joined by family members, either husbands, children, siblings, or parents. The breakdown of that 20% is also revealing: 3% of women traveled with only their husbands, 3% traveled with both their husbands and their children, 8% traveled with only their children, 2% traveled with their siblings, and 4% traveled with their parents. While only a fifth of the women were traveling with family, most who chose to do so were traveling with either their husband, or their children, or both. In fact, a total of 6% of the women traveled with their husbands, and 11% traveled with their children, with some overlap in those two figures. There were only two instances in which the enslaved woman had a child whom she was not traveling with, 50-year-old Celia¹¹ and 22-year-old Rebecca.¹² In both cases, the women had children who were not with them at the time of running away, and in both cases, the women had children who lived on other plantations. Both advertisements hypothesized that the women would be heading towards the plantations where their children lived. Enslaved women could not easily abandon their children. In fact, reuniting with children was often a motivating factor for enslaved women to run. Maternal responsibility was one aspect where enslaved women often conformed to gender expectations.

The importance of maternity to enslaved women predates slavery as maternal responsibility was important in African cultures as well. African families were often matrilineal and defaulted parental respon-

sibility to the mothers. However, the reason the responsibility fell to women in Africa differed from the reason the responsibility fell to women in American slavocracy; enslaved women had nearly sole responsibility for children because they could not control their own reproduction, there was an imbalance of the sex ratio on plantations, and fathers were often sold to other plantations, splitting the families apart.¹³ While women had more responsibility towards children in both African and slave societies, the level of agency certainly varied. African women accepted and arguably embraced their maternal roles; they chose them. Enslaved women defaulted to their maternal roles, and that is not to argue that enslaved women did not want to care for their children, but rather that they had less agency and control over the matter. Specifically, West African societies were built so that women had significant economic and political roles, and women had freedom of movement with their children.¹⁴ Enslaved women in the American colonies certainly did not have economic or political control nor freedom of movement. Enslaved women in the Americas had their choices forcibly removed.

However, despite their lack of agency, enslaved women had a strong sense of kinship and maternal responsibility. They prioritized the care of their children even when the institution of slavery made it difficult. It is logical that 80% of the women studied in the 111 advertisements were not traveling with family, and 89% traveled without children. This data point is consis-

11 Obed Perry. "FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD." *Milledgeville Federal Union*, April 24, 1838.

12 Drake, Eugene B. "RUNAWAY—\$150 REWARD." *Daily Progress*. Raleigh, NC, US, November 20, 1863.

13 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 147.

14 Behrendt, Stephen D., David Eltis, and David Richardson. "The Costs of Coercion: African Agency in the Pre-Modern Atlantic World." *The Economic History Review* 54, no. 3 (2001): 454–76. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3091760>. 460, 461.

tent with the established pattern that enslaved mothers were far less likely to run from plantations than enslaved women without children.¹⁵ Slave mothers would be unwilling to leave their children. No advertisements mentioned slave mothers who left their children behind; instead, the advertisements mentioned if the slave mothers fled their plantations with the likely aim of reuniting with their children. In fact, when faced with the possibility of forced separation, enslaved women would often make efforts to keep their family together. If the master wanted to sell the slaves, some enslaved women would either try to negotiate with the buyers to keep their children with them or would beg the slaveholders to keep their family together.¹⁶ Enslaved women had so little control over their own bodies that they could not possibly hope to have control over their children's. However, they would make an effort to prevent the forced separation of their families. After all, many enslaved women who were once captives experienced the same pain of forced separation via the Middle Passage and forced migration. The women who were captives and became enslaved women and who faced the prospect of family separation yet again were familiar with the pain that follows the severance of kinship networks. That trauma was likely passed down and became generational.

For 11% of women in the advertisements, they chose to run with their children. While fleeing was already difficult and dangerous for any slave, especially enslaved women, the challenges only multiplied with

children. Traveling in larger groups made it easier to be found, it was incredibly difficult to carry enough to feed one mouth, let alone multiple, and younger children had to be carried.¹⁷ Taking care of a child already presented difficulties, and those difficulties were exacerbated while on the run. Without the safety net and resources of the plantation, running with children was an incredibly dangerous and risky undertaking. The risks of being caught, of facing starvation or dangerous terrain, and of lacking shelter made fleeing already immensely dangerous, but children were more physically vulnerable than the rest of the runaways. Infant mortality was already an issue for slave children on plantations, but infant mortality rates would increase for those on the run. Of the 11% of women who traveled with children, most were traveling with young children, and only one traveled with an adult child. The young children were often either toddlers or infants, young enough to be dependent on their mothers.

The reason those 11% of women might have chosen to take that risk was the reluctance to subject their children to a lifetime of enslavement. Instead of having their children grow up as slaves, many enslaved mothers would rather have their children run. In fact, some enslaved women would encourage their children to run away without them because it was easier to successfully escape slavery alone.¹⁸ While keeping the family together was important, nothing was more important than their children's freedom. In fact, the youngest three women mentioned in the advertise-

15 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 160.

16 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 157.

17 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 161.

18 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 161.

ments were all under the age of nine, and eight-year-old Betsey traveled alone and without family.¹⁹ Even so young, Betsey chose to flee the plantation, either of her own volition or at the encouragement of a parent, the advertisement does not specify. Betsey is an example of a young, enslaved child running from her plantation to escape slavery. While enslaved mothers would not run away without their children, they would encourage their children to run away without their mothers.

Some mothers so strongly opposed subjecting their children to enslavement that they took more extreme measures. Occasionally, a slave mother would choose to kill their child, preferring death for their child to slavery.²⁰ While the choice may appear violent, those mothers likely thought slavery to be a more violent fate than death. In cases when infants died overnight, there would be speculation that the mother suffocated the child to save them from a lifetime of servitude.²¹ With many health factors contributing to infant mortality, it is difficult to confirm whether all of these cases were mothers deliberately killing their children. However, there are confirmed accounts of mothers on the run attempting to drown their children when slavecatchers caught up to them.²² Resistance came in different forms for enslaved women, and one method of resistance was saving their children from slavery through death. The choice feels almost akin to the African captives who committed suicide by jumping from the slave ships transporting them to the New World in order to escape slavery. The moral con-

cerns of infanticide aside, the core spirit of the act was preventing their child from suffering through slavery because some enslaved mothers prioritized their children's freedom above all else, even in some cases, their lives. Consistently, enslaved mothers demonstrated care for their children and their children's liberation, explaining both why so many enslaved women would choose not to run, but also why some enslaved women (including 11% of those mentioned in the 111 advertisements) would take the risk in hopes of attaining liberation for their families.

Along with the familial data, analysis of the cities where the newspapers that published the advertisements were situated reveals several general patterns regarding the institution of slavery. Most of the advertisements about enslaved women were published in the newspapers of port cities. For the 99 individual women, 43% of the advertisements were published in New Orleans, Louisiana; 28% published in Charleston, South Carolina; 8% in Raleigh, North Carolina; 5% in Milledgeville, Georgia; 4% in Mobile, Alabama; 3% in Wilmington, North Carolina; 2% in Fayetteville, North Carolina; 2% in New Bern, North Carolina; 1% in Nashville, Tennessee; and 1% in Washington D.C. Rather than focus on every city, it is important to look at macro-level patterns. The bulk of the advertisements, or 71% of the advertisements, were published in Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans, Louisiana. Both of the cities were port cities with more travel access, and both cities not only had larger slave popu-

19 "\$5 REWARD." *The Daily Picayune*. New Orleans, LA, US, May 27, 1845.

20 Bauer, Raymond A., and Alice H. Bauer. "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery." *The Journal of Negro History* 27, no. 4 (1942): 388–419. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2715184>. 418.

21 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 151.

22 Bauer, Raymond A., and Alice H. Bauer. "Day to Day Resistance." 418.

lations but also had more opportunities for slaves to run if they so desired. All of the cities were in southern states.

Charleston, South Carolina is an interesting study. Arguably the most prominent slave society in North America, South Carolina established itself as a cash crop economy based on rice plantations (particularly in Goose Creek, South Carolina), and the earliest white settlers formed a strict slavocracy with power concentrated in the families that first settled the colony. The first settlements of the Goose Creek men went on to become the planter aristocracy that built the foundations for a slave society with a majority-slave population and a large emphasis on cash crop production. Not only was South Carolina a rigid slavocracy, but also the state housed Charleston, the largest port city for the North American slave trade in 1850.²³ More slaves were being imported, bought, and sold in Charleston than any other port city in North America. It is understandable that so many of the runaway slave women in the advertisements ran from South Carolinian plantations. With such a large slave population, it follows that South Carolina would experience more slave flight. South Carolina was composed of two slave communities: the urban and the rural, or Charleston and the countryside.²⁴ Even with these two slave populations inhabiting incredibly different parts of the colony, there were similarities in how the slaves chose to conduct themselves and resist slavery. Across both

rural and urban centers, slaves found collective resistance through these communities, across genders and occupations.²⁵ The spirit of survival did not change based on location, nor did the spirit of kinship and community.

In Charleston, as was the pattern with many slave societies, slaves experienced division of labor based on gender. In the city itself, the enslaved women often engaged in domestic household tasks, but certain “duties of marketing, washing, and running errands occasionally brought them outside the white household and into contact with other slaves[, and] daily activities brought them into contact with whites and blacks outside their masters’ household.”²⁶ Often, these enslaved women engaging in domestic labor had the opportunity to engage with other slaves and discuss resistance strategies, but they also were also subject to more oversight as slaves who worked more closely with the master. However, some of these enslaved women tasked with domestic tasks still found the opportunities to run. In fact, their interactions with other city folk explained why, in some of the advertisements, “women were described as well known in the city.”²⁷ As more recognizable women, these enslaved women who came into contact with city folk faced an additional barrier to flight, but some chose the risk anyway. The possibility of being caught and punished seemed more favorable than living out the rest of their lives as enslaved domestic servants in the city. Even with over-

23 Schafer, Judith Kelleher. “New Orleans Slavery in 1850 as Seen in Advertisements.” *The Journal of Southern History* 47, no. 1 (1981): 33–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2207055>. 34.

24 Johnson, Michael P. “Runaway Slaves.” 319.

25 Johnson, Michael P. “Runaway Slaves.” 319.

26 Johnson, Michael P. “Runaway Slaves.” 425.

27 Johnson, Michael P. “Runaway Slaves.” 425.

sight, in Charleston, they had access to one of the most popular ports in North America.

On the other hand, the enslaved women in the countryside faced fewer barriers to flight. In fact, more than 90% of the slaves in South Carolina worked on rice plantations along the coast or in the upcountry.²⁸ Thus, more enslaved women lived on countryside plantations than in Charleston itself. As with the city of Charleston, most house servants were enslaved women, but the majority of the enslaved women in the country joined the enslaved men as field hands working on the plantation to produce rice.²⁹ These women faced less of the surveillance that enslaved women in the city faced, and they thus had more opportunities to run even if they were farther from the port itself. With less surveillance, the rural enslaved women more often joined the enslaved men when they chose to flee the plantations in groups.³⁰ There were different opportunities for these women to run in the country, so both gender factors and location conditions impacted the enslaved women's ability to flee plantations. The dichotomy of opportunity in South Carolina based on urban or rural locations indicates that these women faced different conditions and obstacles.

The plurality (45%) of the 111 advertisements were published in New Orleans, Louisiana. As the second largest port city in North America in 1850, New Orleans featured a significant slave population.³¹ Just as Charleston logically experienced significant slave

flight, the same is true of New Orleans. The large number of advertisements published in the city followed the trend of increased slave flight in port cities with more opportunities and avenues for flight. Importantly, the city was "a mecca for fugitives [because] conditions of slavery in the city both encouraged urban slaves to run away and attracted rural fugitives attempting to lose themselves in the congestion and confusion of the city."³² The city provided opportunities to run and to hide, making it a destination for many runaways. The access that the city could provide to other cities and other hideouts was attractive for the slaves who were unsatisfied with their plantations and conditions. While Louisiana was also a slave society focused on producing the cash crop of cotton, the enslaved population faced harsh and demanding work conditions. Like rice plantation workers in South Carolina, the cotton plantation workers in Louisiana needed a reprieve.

The mass buying and selling of slaves made the Louisiana market one of the largest in North America, with the masters always clamoring for more profit. However, Louisiana did have a unique law when it came to selling enslaved mothers: "Most of these children were sold in a lot with their mothers, as it was against the Louisiana law to sell either the mother of a child under ten away from that child or the child away from its mother."³³ Even the slave masters understood the importance of keeping enslaved children with

28 Johnson, Michael P. "Runaway Slaves." 429.

29 Johnson, Michael P. "Runaway Slaves." 430, 431.

30 Johnson, Michael P. "Runaway Slaves." 430.

31 Schafer, Judith Kelleher. "New Orleans Slavery." 34.

32 Schafer, Judith Kelleher. "New Orleans Slavery." 41.

33 Schafer, Judith Kelleher. "New Orleans Slavery." 36.

their mothers, likely because they knew how strong of an incentive enslaved children could be for enslaved mothers. Some masters possibly feared that if they broke up slave families, the enslaved mothers would run from their plantations to the plantations where their enslaved children lived. The pattern of familial separation motivating slave flight was enough to disincentivize the masters from splitting children from their mothers. It is also possible that there was a gendered expectation that children needed their mothers to survive and reach adulthood. The masters needed the enslaved children to reach adulthood when they could be useful to the master in terms of labor. Possibly for the selfish reasons of preventing slave flight and building a larger slave population, Louisiana masters would not separate slave children from their mothers.

Another point of interest from the data analysis is the age of the female runaways. Of the 99 individual women, 72 of them had their approximate ages mentioned in the advertisements. In the sample, the youngest is a seven-year-old girl named Henney traveling with her parents.³⁴ The oldest are two 50-year-old women named Hannah³⁵ and Celia,³⁶ and Celia was traveling with her husband to reunite with their child. The two extremes indicate that there is a diversity of enslaved women who chose slave flight. However, the average age of those 72 women was 24.75 years old, and the median was 26 years old—with such a large range, the average falls somewhere in the middle. However,

the median of 26 years old also indicates that most of the runaways were rather young. The trend is logical in the context that “Women were sold and also became fugitives at an earlier age than men,”³⁷ so as female slaves were sold and ran away younger than their male counterparts, it follows that the female runaways as a group were on the younger end of the spectrum. And with how physically arduous being a fugitive was, it is logical that younger women would be more capable of flight. For the older Celia, her motivation to run was strong, wanting to reunite with her child. As well, for the more physical aspect of running, she could potentially rely on her husband, as he could act as a defender or as a scavenger. In the case of the young Henney, she could rely on her parents for any of the more physically arduous challenges she may have faced on her journey. For the 80% of women traveling without family members, most were on their own and could only rely on their skills, explaining the youth of the runaways.

Alongside with the average age, the average reward price is a point of interest. Across the 99 individual women, 75 of them had specified financial rewards for their capture. The average reward price for those 75 women was \$43.40, with the rewards ranging from \$5 to \$500, another large range. On the lower end, three women were worth \$5 rewards: eight-year-old Betsey,³⁸ “elderly” Tenah,³⁹ and a mother without a listed age, Sabina.⁴⁰ Betsey was likely too young to be of use to the master, and Tenah likely too old. Sabina might

34 Estate of Nelson. “TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.” *Charleston Courier*. December 16, 1824.

35 Obed Perry. “FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.” *Milledgeville Federal Union*, April 24, 1838.

36 “\$10 REWARD.” *The Daily Picayune*. New Orleans, LA, US, June 10, 1845.

37 Schafer, Judith Kelleher. “New Orleans Slavery.” 33.

38 “\$5 REWARD.” *The Daily Picayune*. New Orleans, LA, US, May 27, 1845.

39 “Five Dollars Reward.” *Charleston Mercury*, July 27, 1829.

40 Mr. Randolph. “FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.” *The Daily Picayune*. New Orleans, LA, US, September 29, 1847.

have been of less use to the master because she had only been the master's slave for four months and had a three-year-old child. On the higher end, one woman was worth a \$500 reward: approximately 28-year-old Mariah.⁴¹ Distinctively, Mariah often dressed herself as a boy, and she had the ability to speak some French, but neither of those qualities warrant a \$500 reward. There could be other reasons she was worth so much to her master, ranging from her relationship with them to her usefulness to them, but without more specificity in the advertisement, the reasoning is all speculative.

Mariah is certainly an outlier considering that the most common reward amount was \$20 for the return of the runaway slave. Only six women were listed with reward prices of \$100, and other than those six women and Mariah, the other 68 women were listed with reward prices less than \$100. The lower reward prices align with the assessment that "females of all ages were worth less than males."⁴² While the 111 advertisements analyzed do not include data on enslaved men, the low reward prices for enslaved women follow this assessment. Typically, masters would be more inclined to pay higher rewards for slaves who provide more labor, and inevitably the enslaved men provided more labor and thus more profit for the masters. On the other hand, the enslaved women were valuable to the masters because they could reproduce children for a self-sustaining slave population. After all, "slaveholders viewed motherhood as an asset and encouraged reproduction of pecuniary reasons."⁴³ Masters referred to enslaved women's reproductive value more so than any other factor in assessing their worth unless the in-

dividual enslaved woman served a specific purpose for their needs, such as their mistress or nanny for their children. That monetary value assessment is reflected in the pricing of advertisement rewards for runaway women. The interpersonal relationships reflect women's value in sexuality and caregiving, two more gendered roles.

Examining the 111 advertisements for runaway slave women revealed several factors at play for the condition of slave women and the motivations for and against female slave flight. While the sample is not comprehensive of all enslaved women who chose to run from their plantations in North America, the sample is sizeable enough to draw out analysis consistent with secondary research. Understandably, the most important factors in female slave flight appear to be their personal conditions and experiences. Some female slaves might have chosen to run specifically due to the harsh treatment they faced at the hands of the men on the plantation. Some female slaves might have aired on the side of caution and chose not to run because they had children to take care of. Some female slaves might have taken the risk to run because they had children they did not want to grow up as slaves. The decision-making process for female runaway slaves was incredibly nuanced and involved several determining factors: violence, family and children, domestic role, location, age, and value to the master. Each woman faced a different set of conditions and had different opportunities. The enslaved women were not a predictable monolith, and gendered dynamics inevitably shaped their experiences, albeit differently. Of the 99 women examined in

41 H. F. Wade. "\$500 REWARD." *The Daily Picayune*. New Orleans, LA, US, July 25, 1837.

42 Schafer, Judith Kelleher. "New Orleans Slavery." 36.

43 Gaspar, David Barry. *More than Chattel*. 147.

these advertisements, the trends are not entirely consistent because every woman had a different set of conditions to consider, but all of them lived under the same institutional structures of slavery and patriarchy. The enslaved women in the advertisements were incredibly diverse, but what is consistent across all 99 women was their reclamation of agency and their active resistance against the institution of slavery.

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The Soviet Memorialization of Babi Yar 1941-1976

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Introduction

On 19 September 1941 the German army entered Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the largest Soviet city to fall under the Nazi occupation during World War II. Just ten days later, on September 29th and 30th, the Nazis began executing Jews at the Babi Yar (Babyn Yar in Ukrainian), a winding ravine stretching for 150 meters and fifteen meters deep. These executions would continue for the next two years, targeting predominantly Jews but also Roma, Communists, Partisans and other's deemed "undesirable" by the Nazis.¹ Concrete statistics on the death toll of each ethnic, social and political group have never been established due to a lack of concrete data. Today the park around the Babi Yar ravine is filled with over 88 monuments to those killed there, however the first of those monuments would not appear until 1976.

This paper will discuss the mass murder and analyze the memorialization of Babi Yar up until the establishment of the first monument in 1976. It will go over what took place at Babi Yar in 1941; what role the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee played in the memorialization of Babi Yar; how the Soviet Union represented Babi Yar after World War Two; the initial attempts

1 Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine Under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 68.

at memorializing Babi Yar; and the monument that was constructed/unveiled at Babi Yar in 1976. The paper will address the struggle for the memorialization of the murdered Jews within the Soviet Union, focusing on the case of Babi Yar as a case study for the changing Soviet memorialization policies. This paper will demonstrate the disinterest and hesitance of the Soviet Union to memorialize Jewish civilians who had died and Soviet leaders' slow progress towards eventually acknowledging and memorializing the deaths. The Soviet state was unwilling to memorialize Babi Yar after World War Two due to their undervaluing of Jewish civilians' deaths during the war, but under the influence of international pressure brought about by increased media attention stemming from publications on Babi Yar and subsequent protests, the state eventually erected a monument in 1976.

Of particular relevance to the discussion of Holocaust monuments is the work of Arkady Zeltser and his book *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*. A Belarussian Jew himself, Zeltser analyzes Holocaust monuments in the Soviet Union and the effort it took to get them approved and constructed. Through a mix of Soviet history and memory analysis, both from a Soviet and a Jewish perspective, Zeltser paints a picture of what it was like to memorialize a Holocaust site after World War Two in the Soviet Union. Of special interest is his description of Babi Yar as a *lieu de mémoire*, a term coined by Pierre Nora to describe a memorial that is a phenomenon on a national scale.² He describes Babi Yar's special meaning as resulting from the immense num-

ber of victims, the number of people whose loved ones perished there, and the negative reaction from the Soviet authorities regarding the demand that the Jewish victims be memorialized. The book is especially relevant having come out in 2018 long after the fall of the Soviet Union, allowing the author to reflect in an open manner on the Soviet Union and its impacts with the use of formerly classified documents.

In this study, I examine the manners in which the Soviet Union recognized Jewish massacres and the measures through which the Babi Yar massacre in Kyiv was memorialized. Babi Yar has been central to the debate over Soviet memorialization of the Holocaust since the end of World War Two. It has been ignored, built over, destroyed, memorialized in a way obscuring Jewish memory, and subsequently filled with monuments recognizing each social, religious and ethnic group killed there. As a result, even prior to 1976 there is an extensive history of memorialization to examine in order to determine what led to the erection of the first Soviet monument 1976 and that monument's shortcomings. In addition to examining the history of Babi Yar, this paper will also analyze the history of the Jewish Anti Fascist Committee in the Soviet Union and the role it played in getting events such as Holocaust massacres memorialized.

Since February 24, 2022 and the full scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia, the memorialization that took place in what is now Ukraine, during the Soviet period, such as the Babi Yar massacre, has received renewed attention.³ This attention came from a rocket strike on March 4 intended for the nearby TV tower,

2 Zeltser, Arkady and International Institute for Holocaust Research. *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2018) 246

3 Tiffany Wertheimer, Babi Yar: Anger as Kyiv's Holocaust memorial is damaged (BBC News, March 3, 2022).

but hitting the memorial grounds instead. The 140-acre memorial site, now located in central Kyiv, still (as of January 2024) hosts a variety of memorials to the many social, ethnic, cultural and political groups killed at the ravine.⁴ The park is very special to Ukraine and its people, a well-known landmark in Kyiv that was visited by thousands of people each year to pay their respects to the dead prior to the invasion.⁵ The Babi Yar park served as a location for quiet contemplation as well as one for families to enjoy the fresh air and green space – integrating the memorialization of the monuments with the ongoing lives of those descended from the victims.

The Babi Yar memorials and the park that surrounds it has survived the invasion thus far, but its continued survival is by no means a given and should not be taken for granted. Memorials and their maintenance are one way through which we maintain a country's history and its right to exist through historical rationale.⁶ It is because of this that accurate memorials are so important – they remind us of where we came from, what we have survived and who we are as we move forward together.

In Chapter One I will examine the history of Babi Yar, specifically what took place there from 1941–1943 during the Nazi occupation of Kyiv. It is important to examine the history of Babi Yar in order to understand the struggles over its memorialization. The history of the ravine also provides important context as to whom is being memorialized. Had the victims at Babi Yar been regular Soviet citizens or ethnic

Russians and Ukrainians, the response and memorialization would likely have been very different. As will be explained further later, the Soviet authorities devised a social hierarchy of those who had died during World War Two, with Jews at the bottom, if they were even mentioned at all.

My main source for the events that took place at Babi Yar is the memoir of Anatoli A. Kuznetsov, a native to Kyiv who lived in the city throughout the entirety of World War Two and later interviewed Dina Pronicheva, a Ukrainian Jewish woman who was one of the few survivors of the Babi Yar massacre.⁷ I conclude this chapter with an explanation of what took place after the massacre at Babi Yar before the Red Army retook Kyiv. This involved the burning of all the corpses of those murdered at Babi Yar and the spreading of their ashes throughout the gardens surrounding the ravine to dispose of the evidence. Kuznetsov recounts, thanks to the testimony of a Ukrainian POW, that the destruction of the bodies was so foul that the guards overseeing the prisoners doing the work were often drunk in order to stand the smell and sight.

Chapter Two describes the events occurring concurrently to Chapter One but discusses the actions of the Soviet Union's Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, or JAFC. The JAFC was originally created by the Sovinformburo at the end of 1941 in order to exploit the wealth of western Jews to fund the Soviet effort in World War Two. However, the committee worked far beyond their mandate, advocating for the creation of a Jewish independent republic in Crimea,

4 Tiffany Wertheimer, *Baby Yar: Anger as Kyiv's Holocaust memorial is damaged* (BBC News, March 3, 2022).

5 Ibid.

6 Masha Gessen, *Letter from Kyiv: The Holocaust Memorial Undone by Another War* (New Yorker Magazine, April 11, 2022).

7 Anatolii, A., 1929-1979. *Babi Yar: A Documentary Novel*. (New York: Dial Press, 1967) 2147

and assembling the first book documenting the horrors that took place during the Holocaust, *The Black Book of Russian Jewry*, which was not published until decades later. It was this work that would ultimately contribute to the committee's disbandment, the murder of its chairman, and the trial of the key executive members. In this chapter I will explore the history of the JAFK and its contribution to the memorialization of Soviet Jews murdered in the Holocaust, because these developments explain the official Soviet stance on the Holocaust.

Chapter Three discusses the initial attempts at memorialization at Babi Yar and in the Soviet Union more widely. It largely looks at the policies within the Soviet Union from 1948 until 1960 regarding memorialization and overall discussion of the Second World War. There was a general lack of enthusiasm in the years after the war to discuss what took place, especially amongst the Soviet state itself as exploration of the Holocaust could produce evidence of widespread collaboration. This chapter also details the small ways in which many of those who had lost relatives at Babi Yar memorialized the deaths of their relatives privately, including attending Yom Kippur services (the Babi Yar massacre began around Yom Kippur and took place for 2 years).

The fourth and final chapter discusses the period from 1960 until 1969 and the memorialization of Babi Yar that took place during this period. Babi Yar was first memorialized officially in a poem by famous Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko's in *Babi Yar* published in 1961. Shortly thereafter, Anatoli A.

Kuznetsov published his book *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel* in 1966 which, although heavily redacted, publicized for the first time the testimony of Dina Pronicheva, documenting what took place at Babi Yar in 1941. Although these publications generated little change in the official position, they did generate a social movement which culminated in a large memorial event at Babi Yar on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the mass murder and the subsequent placement there of a stone promising the construction of a state funded monument to Babi Yar in 1976.

In conclusion, by using the documentation of the massacre at Babi Yar and the subsequent struggle to memorialize Babi Yar this thesis demonstrates the importance of international pressure, media pressure, and social pressure on the Soviet authorities to bring about the memorialization of such a vital site such as Babi Yar – the center of such a horrific massacre.

Methodology

The subject matter of a topic such as this is not easy to discuss without first establishing a definition of what memorialization is. The term memorialization stems from its root word, memorial, which is defined by the Cambridge dictionary as “an object, often large and made of stone, that has been built in honor of a famous person or event.”⁸ To memorialize is defined by the dictionary as “to create a memorial (an object such as a statue) to honor a famous person or event” or “to make people remember a person or event, or to show that you remember them.”⁹

To memorialize has since been turned into an

8 “Memorialize,” Cambridge dictionary Online. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/memorialize> (accessed March 13, 2022).

9 Ibid.

academic term – memorialization – which is defined by Holloway as:

The way in which a set of memories is laid down and recalled, including their form and content, by an individual, family, community or wider society following the death of a person or number of persons in a single event or historical episode. This formation of memory may take place over a period of time after the death(s) but achieves a stable presentation which can be revisited at significant times and events, but which, however, may be critically re-evaluated in the light of personal, social or political change.¹⁰

This can take many forms, including a form of address, petition, or ceremony of remembrance. Soviet memorialization of the Holocaust is an important topic, which, according to Arkady Zeltser, was “relegated to the fringes of research for many years.”¹¹ He singles out Babi Yar, where there was no monument until 1976, as an example that has long shaped the Soviet discourse regarding Jewish memorialization. Zeltser cites an article by Rebecca L. Golbert who “saw the work of the commemoration of the victims undertaken by Soviet Jews in the 1950–70s as the activism of a few intrepid loners rather than a mass phenomenon.”¹² It is also argued in Zeltser’s book that the “public space of Holocaust victim memorialization was largely defined by the state of Jewry in the Soviet

Union and by the Jews’ perceptions of their own situation.”¹³ My thesis builds on and develops Zeltser’s argument that the study of the early Soviet Holocaust memorialization in the Soviet Union indicates a need to revise our conceptions about the behavior of Soviet Jews in the post-war period. This argument goes two ways. The Soviet authorities would not have constructed the monument had it not been for the social pressure of Soviet Jews and their supporters among the Russian and Ukrainian cultural figures. At the same time, the monument’s design demonstrated the authorities’ intention to deny the specificity of the Holocaust by universalizing the Jewish victims as “peaceful Soviet citizens.” It was the state’s memorialization rather than the Jewish one.

Literature Review

This study relies on the previous work of many scholars whose close analysis of the memorialization of Babi Yar and the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee has been integral to my research. This study owes much to the authors mentioned above and below who have traveled to Kyiv to study and analyze the Soviet monument erected in the Babi Yar Park as well as those who have translated Soviet documents into English. Work on the history of Soviet memorialization, especially in the case of the Holocaust and Ukraine that was central to this work includes *Babi Yar: The Absence of the Babi Yar Massacre from Popular Memory* by Jacqueline Cherepinsky, *Holocaust Remembrance*

10 Holloway, Margaret. “Death Studies and Memorialisation.” (*Mortality* (Abingdon, England) 25, no. 1 2020). 6

11 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, 19

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., 27

in Ukraine: Memorialization of the Jewish tragedy at Babi Yar by Aleksandr Burakovskiy, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* by Vasily Grossman, and *Constructing the Memory of the Holocaust: The Ambiguous Treatment of Babii Yar in Soviet Literature* by E. W. Clowes. Additionally, the memoir of Anatoli A. Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar: A Document in the form of a Novel* was integral to my understanding of what took place at Babi Yar and in providing primary source material, especially in the case of Dina Pronicheva's testimony.

In researching the literature on memorialization of Babi Yar, two opposite reactions to the Holocaust came to my attention. Arkady Zeltser illustrates them well in his description of his family and a neighboring family's commemoration of their family

members who died in the Holocaust. Zeltser's father, originating from Belorussia, upon being informed that his family had been murdered in the Holocaust never returned to the region of his birth.¹⁴ Their neighbors, the Genins family, however, visited the sites of their relatives' deaths on an annual basis, even bringing their children once they came of age.¹⁵ These differing reactions illustrate one of the factors that contributed to the memorialization of Babi Yar taking as long as it did – many family members found it just too painful to return to the site or even discuss the events that took place. However, my thesis focuses on the state and Jewish activists who actively campaigned for the memorialization of the Holocaust.



Figure 1: The Babi Yar ravine as photographed by the Red Army at the end of World War Two.¹⁶

14 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, p. 13

15 Ibid.

16 Shneer, David. "Ghostly Landscapes: Soviet Liberators Photograph the Holocaust." (*Humanity* (Philadelphia, Pa.) 5 (2) 2014)

Chapter One:

History of Babi Yar

The history of Babi Yar as a site of mass murder starts in Kyiv in 1941. Kyiv at the time was the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, or UkSSR, and in 1941 over 1.5 million Jews lived in the Ukrainian republic with over 85% concentrated in urban areas.¹⁷ Jewish assimilation was low in rural Ukraine, where the Jewish population preserved the traditional lifestyle including the Yiddish language and Judaism, but considerable in the large cities like Kyiv, where most Jews were secular and assimilated into Russian culture.¹⁸ The Wehrmacht entered Kyiv on September 19, 1941.¹⁹ By September 19 over half of the Jewish population of Kyiv had been evacuated by the Soviet authorities because of their role in the economy or government, or they fled on their own, with a total of one third of Ukrainian Jews managing to flee.²⁰ Between Soviet Ukraine in its pre-1939 borders and the recently annexed regions of Poland (Eastern Galicia), in total 1.4 to 1.5 million Jews fell under Nazi rule. This region had been incorporated into Soviet Ukraine in 1939.²¹ Despite many Jews fleeing, the advancing Wehrmacht were met with a “happy reception”²² from Kyivans. The most accurate description

of the welcome the Germans received was as a soldier noted in his diary:

The surprised population is in the streets. They still don't know how to behave. Here and there are a few timid greetings. Whenever German soldiers halt, they are immediately surrounded by a large crowd prepared to give friendly assistance and help.²³

Many civilians came out to watch the new arrivals and some to help, however many were too busy looting to pay any attention to them. Overall, however, the reception of the Germans in Kiev was ambiguous to say the least.

As Karel Berkhoff points out in his book *Harvest of Despair*, the main reason the arriving German soldiers were so content upon entering the city was because there had been no battle in the city itself, and they had entered a city relatively intact.²⁴ Kyiv would not remain intact for long, however, for starting on the day of their arrival, there were several fires in houses, stores, and storage sites.²⁵ On September 20,

17 Brandon, Ray and Wendy Lower. *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*. (2008), 25

18 Ibid.

19 Aristov, Stanislav. “Next to Babi Yar: The Syrets Concentration Camp and the Evolution of Nazi Terror in Kiev.” (*Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 29 2015),433

20 Brandon and Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine*, 25

21 Ibid.

22 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 28

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 29.

25 Ibid.

the first of many mines would explode in the former arsenal next to the Monastery of the Caves.²⁶ After this, roundups of Jewish pedestrians were initiated as rumors (potentially started by the Germans) blamed the Jews for the Red Army's defeat – sparking anger amongst the local Ukrainians.²⁷ On September 24 and 25 more mines started exploding in the city center— at the former Detskii Mir toy store, then at the Grand Hotel, the Arcade, and the Hotel Continental.²⁸ The explosions would continue to go off every few minutes over the course of the two days and the resulting fires would burn for four days in total.²⁹ In all, about 200 Germans lost their lives in the explosions and the aftermath and up to 25,000 people were made homeless.³⁰ Both Kyivites and Germans were outraged by the mine explosions; the latter exploited this opportunity to blame the sabotage on the city's Jews.³¹ On the first day of explosions an angry mob started searching the city looking for potential culprits.³² House searches also began and many Jews were arrested by the Germans and local auxiliary police.³³ Rumors spreading around town tended to blame only Jews. By September 27 the Nazis began moving the 1,600 Jews arrested on September 26 to Babi Yar to be shot – the begin-

ning of the mass murders.³⁴ Sunday, September 28 saw the tensions come to a head when the Ukrainian auxiliary police posted announcements throughout Kyiv in Russian, Ukrainian and German declaring that on September 29 before 8 a.m. all the Jews of Kyiv and its vicinity had to appear at the corner of Melnykov and Dokterivska streets.³⁵ Jews were to bring with them their documents, money, valuables, warm clothing, and anything else of value. The order ended with the threat that any “yids” who disobeyed would be shot.³⁶ The next day on September 29, thousands of Kyivan Jews showed up to the intersection expecting deportation. There was a train station located nearby and many of those who arrived that day expected to be loaded on the trains and sent out of Kyiv or maybe even out of Ukraine, possibly to concentration camps.³⁷ Kyivans, including the Jews, agreed on one thing – this new order had been triggered by the fires and mines. As Mr. Raizman said:

This is the work of those tramps (referring to the Bolsheviks) [bosiaki] (a pun on Bolsheviks). They decided to play on us Jews one last trick. Without these terrible explosions the Germans would have left us alone.³⁸

26 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 30

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 31

31 Ibid., 32

32 Ibid.

33 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 32

34 Aristov, *Next to Babi Yar: The Syrets Concentration Camp and the Evolution of Nazi Terror In Kiev*, 435 32 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 33

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid, 32

38 Ibid, 33

Although many Jews thought they were being sent to concentration camps in the Reich, some committed suicide the night before they were to assemble.³⁹

There remain only a couple testimonies of what took place at Babi Yar from the victims' perspectives. Dina Pronicheva, a Kyivan Jew married to a Russian is one of the few survivors of Babi Yar, and her testimony is widespread in writing on the Ukrainian Holocaust. Although the announcement had called for Jews to line up at 8 a.m. on September 29, people started lining up hours before, in the early morning. As he reports in his book, *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*, Anatoli A. Kuznetsov [notes that] Pronicheva, a Kyiv local, decided she would take her parents down to Melnykov and Dokterivska street despite not planning on leaving Kyiv herself.⁴⁰ She collected her parents early in the morning and took them down to the intersection. Artem Street was completely jammed, and it was not until midday that they reached the Jewish cemetery.⁴¹ By the cemetery there were anti-tank obstacles and barbed wire lining the street with a gap in the center through which people passed, although no one returned.⁴² With such large a crowd as

this it was difficult for Dina to tell what was happening, but some shooting could be heard in the distance.⁴³ At the barricade they were putting everyone's belongings to one side; it was nothing like a train station.⁴⁴ As Dina approached the barricade, she began to understand what was going on. She entered a long corridor formed by rows of soldiers with dogs.⁴⁵ Blows rained down on people as they passed through, eventually stumbling out into a field.⁴⁶ In the field people were told to strip.⁴⁷ It was at this point that Dina tried to escape, as her mother told her to run, because she did not look Jewish and might have a chance at making it out.⁴⁸ She claimed to be non-Jewish and was told by a soldier to sit to the side and wait; she would be let out later.⁴⁹ Dina watched as the nightmarish scene played out. Naked men, women and children were forced to line up and walk through a gap dug in a pile of sand.⁵⁰ Only Germans came back through that gap.⁵¹ It started to get dark when a car drove up with an officer inside.⁵²

He told soldiers that those who had been waiting with Dina to be let out had seen too much and had to be shot.⁵³ Otherwise, he explained, they would tell others and no more Jews would show up in the follow-

39 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 33

40 Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*, 99

41 Ibid., 101

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 102

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., 105

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 107

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., 108

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

ing days. Dina was stripped and sent through the gap in the second group.⁵⁴ She walked through and came to a small sand quarry.⁵⁵ Here she was hurried along a narrow ledge beneath which was a sea of bodies, covered in blood.⁵⁶ Germans started shooting at them from across the quarry.⁵⁷ Dina jumped before she was shot.⁵⁸

Dina was one of the very few people to survive the initial days of the Babi Yar massacre. From September 29th to 30th 34,000 Jewish people were killed and buried in a mass grave.⁵⁹ Some historians believe that this figure does not include the non-Jewish spouses and relatives of Jews who were also killed at Babi Yar. It was one of the first and the largest massacres of Jews in the Nazi campaign of genocide. This was not the end of the Nazi terror, but merely its zenith.⁶⁰ In the following months the killing of Jews continued sporadically.⁶¹ Kyivan Romas were killed at Babi Yar in October as well, although historians are unsure how many died there.⁶² By the end of November 1941, some estimates predict 42,000 people had been killed at Babi Yar, 40,000 Jews among them.⁶³ The total number of

people killed at Babi Yar continues to be debated to this day with some listing it as 40 000 and others as 100,000.⁶⁴ The discrepancy can largely be attributed to the fact that the bodies of those killed at Babi Yar were burned by the Nazis, making it impossible for subsequent Soviet investigators to count them.

Babi Yar would continue to serve as a killing site until 1943 when the final phase of the ravine's dark history began. During this phase, the Nazis used prisoners of war from the Syrets or Babi Yar POW camp nearby to dig the earth out of the pits and expose the bodies.⁶⁵ The prisoners were then made to haul the bodies out of the pits with hooks and drag the bodies to the makeshift outdoor stoves.⁶⁶ At first, "prospectors" had pliers to pull out gold fillings and crowns from the dead.⁶⁷ Then "cloak room attendants", as they were called, removed anything from the bodies that was still intact, such as boots.⁶⁸ The "Builders" then constructed the fires using the headstones from the Jewish cemetery as a base.⁶⁹ Each pile would consist of around 2,000 bodies which were then sprayed down

54 Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*, 109

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., 110

59 Naimark, Norman M. "The Many Lives of Babi Yar: One of the Blackest Chapters of World War II: The German Massacre of Kyiv's Jews. the Horror of Babi Yar, Suppressed in the Soviet Era, may be Finding its Proper Place in European Memory at Last." (*Hoover Digest*: 2017) 177

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Aritsov, *Next to Babi Yar: The Syrets Concentration Camp and the Evolution of Nazi Terror in Kiev*, 437 61 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 306

64 Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 306

65 Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*, 370

66 Ibid., 374

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid. 375

with oil and lit on fire by the hair.⁷⁰ Once the bodies were burned, “crushers” dealt with the ashes crushing any bones that were not burnt and passing the ashes through a sieve looking for gold.⁷¹ “Gardeners” then scattered the ashes around Babi Yar and on vegetable gardens.⁷² In his book *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*, Kuznetsov recounts that this process was brutal and gave off quite a pungent smell.⁷³ As a result of the awful stench, many of the German guards turned to alcohol in order to get through supervising the prisoners of war, meaning many of the guards were drunk throughout the process.⁷⁴ Due to the inebriation of the guards as well as their poor management of the POWs, fourteen men managed to escape in a night-time rebellion, during which many POWs were killed.⁷⁵ The fourteen men eventually made it back to the Red Army where they recounted their stories and provided testimony against the Germans for their efforts to cover up the crimes they had committed at Babi Yar. The testimony delivered by the escaped POWs was integral in uncovering the events that took place at Babi Yar despite the extensive covering up of the crimes the POWs were forced to commit under German command. It is because of the bravery of these fourteen POWs that we know the story of Babi Yar today.

70 Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*, 375.

71 Ibid., 376

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., 375

74 Ibid., 374

75 Ibid., 388

Chapter Two: The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee

Following the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAFC) was formed in Moscow by the Sovinformburo – the leading Soviet news agency - under the orders of its head Aleksandr Shcherbakov with the aim of mobilizing the opinion and resources of the Jews worldwide in support of the Soviet war effort.⁷⁶ The committee was led by the leading cultural figures of Soviet Jewry.⁷⁷ Their contacts with Jewish organizations outside the Soviet Union were closely monitored, yet the JAFC played a central role in the articulation of the Jewish identity within the Soviet Union during the war and its members developed increasing responsibility towards Jews—a development the Soviet authorities disliked. By mid-December Solomon Mikhoels—the director of the Moscow Jewish Theater—was appointed the committee’s chairman.⁷⁸

The proposed activities of the JAFC consisted of the collection of information concerning the fate of Jews under Nazi rule, including resistance and the publication and dissemination of materials on Jewish topics connected to the war. They had an additional secondary purpose as well: to use their contacts amongst western Jews to fundraise and support the efforts of the Red Army.⁷⁹



Members of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee – Micholes third from left & Fefer fourth from left⁸⁰

The first public event held by the JAFC was the Second Jewish Radio Rally in Moscow in May 1942.⁸¹ This event served as an appeal for resistance and financial contributions to the defeat of the German army.

Discussion of the JAFC’s goals and functions was a prominent topic during its first plenary session in late May 1942. There was conflict between the visions of the JAFC as a foreign propaganda organization and that of a meaningful Soviet institution representing Soviet Jews. However, by the spring and summer of 1944 the JAFC saw an expansion of membership and the standing committee presidium was established.⁸² Fear-

76 Kostyrchenko, Gennadi. “Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin’s Russia.” Prometheus Books. 31

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 33

80 Rausenbaum, Alan. “*The Holocaust in the Soviet Union in Real Time*.” (The Jerusalem post 2019) unpaginated 20

81 Redlich, Shimon, K. M. Anderson, and I. Al’tman. 1995. *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism: A Documented Study of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR*. (Vol. 1;1.; *United States;Luxembourg;: Harwood Academic 1935) 28

82 Redlich, Shimon, K. M. Anderson, and I. Al’tman. 1995. *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism: A Documented Study of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Com-*

ing the JAFc may ferment Jewish nationalism within the Soviet Union, the authorities pressured the committee not to see itself as a ministry of Jewish affairs. The goal was for the JAFc to influence world opinion in favor of the Soviet Union through propaganda, contacts with international Jewish organizations, and the collection of western financial aid. The JAFc was to be the master key to American wealth.⁸³

To achieve these aims, in 1943 the Soviet authorities dispatched the best-known Jewish cultural figures on the committee, the theater director Solomon Mikhoels and the writer Itsik Fefer (also known in English as Feffer), on an American tour.⁸⁴ Having been invited by Reuben Saltzman, the head of the Jewish section of the American pro-communist trade union International Workers, an, Mikhoels and Fefer traveled to the United States and Canada.⁸⁵ They toured New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Boston and many more cities.⁸⁶ Each of the tour stops were organized by American journalist Ben Zion Goldberg.⁸⁷ It was truly intended to be a glamorous propaganda event.

Back in the Soviet Union the JAFc's Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman started to organize the

first collection of documents on what would eventually be known as the Holocaust in 1943.⁸⁸ Composed by a total of twenty-seven writers, the volume they put together included eyewitness accounts and other testimonies of the Nazi crimes against Soviet Jewish citizens.⁸⁹ The book, now known as *the Black Book of Russian Jewry*, was completed in 1946 but was never published in the Soviet Union.⁹⁰ Fragments of the book appeared in Russian in the journal *Znamia* and in Yiddish in the JAFc's newspaper *Eynikayt* and the collection *Merder Fun Felker* (Murderers of Peoples, 1944).⁹¹

The full volume was finally published in Israel in the 1980s featuring a chapter on Babi Yar.⁹² Immediately after the war, the Soviet government severely restricted the JAFc's international contacts and denied every attempt for the members to meet with foreigners. Before getting down to the business of vanquishing the JAFc, ostensibly for endorsing the idea of a Jewish Soviet Republic in Crimea, the special services launched an operation to expose a mythical American-Zionist plot.⁹³ The main purpose of this plot was to liquidate the leader of Soviet Jewry, Solomon Mikhoels, and then put the rest of the JAFc on trial.

mittee in the USSR. (Vol. 1;1.; *United States;Luxembourg;: Harwood Academic 1935) 29

83 Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 33

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid., 66

89 Clowes, Edith W.. "Constructing the Memory of the Holocaust: The Ambiguous Treatment of Babii Yar in Soviet Literature." (*Partial Answers* 3 (2): 2005) 160

90 Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 69

91 Clowes, *Constructing the Memory of the Holocaust: The Ambiguous Treatment of Babii Yar in Soviet Literature*, 160

92 Ibid.

93 Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows*, 78

In January 1948 Mikhoels was sent to Minsk to judge a play for the Stalin Prize.⁹⁴ While there he was invited to the house of the head of the Soviet Belarusian State Police.⁹⁵ Upon appearing at the home he was murdered, his body left crushed by a truck on a quiet side street near his hotel.⁹⁶ Mikhoels was a central figure of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. His involvement in the mythical American-Zionist plot against Stalin and endorsement of the Jewish Soviet Republic in Crimea made him a substantial threat that needed to be eliminated. Stalin's dislike for him likely had just as much to do with politics as it did with him being Jewish. After Mikhoels' death, that of his fellow JAFC members was soon to follow. On November 20, 1948, Item 81 on the JAFC appeared on the agenda of the Ministry of State Security tasking them with the immediate dismissal of the organization.⁹⁷ The next morning MGB officers arrived at JAFC headquarters to search and confiscate documents.⁹⁸ This search would later be followed by the order to arrest Fefer and Zuskin, the leaders of the JAFC, following Mikhoels death.⁹⁹ Fefer's arrest in particular was unexpected as it was later discovered that he was a spy in the JAFC for the MGB.

Despite its short lifespan, the JAFC's fate demonstrates an important lesson on the treatment and valuing of Jewish people in the Soviet Union. The committee was largely created for its financial benefits in accruing donations from wealthy western Jewish

people to fund the Soviet cause. This funding, however, was not enough to keep the committee and its members alive. Ultimately, the Soviet state's reluctance to accept the specificity of the Holocaust's focus on Jewish people and the existence of a large Jewish culture within its borders led to the destruction of the committee and Mikhoels' death. A lesson such as this would become increasingly poignant over the coming years.

94 Ibid., 90

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid., 112

98 Ibid., 113

99 Ibid.

Chapter Three: 1948-1960

After the liberation of Kyiv in November 1943, the Soviet government was continuing to make impactful statements as it related to Soviet Jews. What the Soviet government said about Babi Yar was especially significant with regard to memorialization. Official discourse determined what form memorialization could take on with Babi Yar serving as a great example.¹⁰⁰ It is a testament to the unwillingness of the Soviet government to appreciate the wartime sacrifice of the living and dead civilians alike, especially towards those who were Jewish. Between 2.5 and 2.6 million Holocaust victims had died within Soviet territory in its June 22, 1941 borders and very few of them were acknowledged in any official capacity during the 1950s.¹⁰¹ Authorities insisted that all those who had died were Soviet civilians—ignoring their ethnicity—and did little to memorialize them.¹⁰² The year 1947 saw the state downplaying the very significance of the war, reorienting propaganda from the military mobilization of the war to festive socioeconomic reconstruction, with Victory Day becoming a workday and combat veterans having their privileges revoked.¹⁰³ Additionally, strict control of literature, movies and theater was imposed to control the narrative about the war that was being disseminated to the people. Anything that extended

past the official ceremonial presentation of the war was subject to harsh criticism.¹⁰⁴

By the early 1950s the number of publications about the war had declined. Political ambiguity of the authorities towards civilians who had perished in the conflict continued, with survivors not faring much better. The authorities promoted open suspicion of anyone who had been under German occupation during the war as well although worker shortages undermined the campaign.¹⁰⁵ This apprehension prompted the intentional neglect of the memory of those who perished, and such behavior continued to grow. Fear of persecution deterred the population from taking part in any informal public memorialization activities, although some continued to take place despite this.

Despite the persecution of those who sought memorialization, there was no clear stance by the Soviet government on those Jewish civilians who had perished during the war. Those who attempted to memorialize their loved ones at events, such as September 29 gatherings, were often arrested. Government policies only applied to those who had been killed while actively resisting the enemy such as the Red Army and partisans. In practice, however, local authorities could not ignore the civilians who had perished.¹⁰⁶

100 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, 20

101 *Ibid.*, 88

102 *Ibid.*, 89

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.*, 90

105 *Ibid.*

106 *Ibid.*, 92

An important deterrent to any memorialization was the unwillingness of persons who had taken part in the mass violence to dredge up the past.¹⁰⁷ This was especially true of any former police personnel who had been involved in punitive actions against civilians.¹⁰⁸ The *Politsai* were an example of this, an ethnically non-defined auxiliary police force that was responsible for many of the atrocities committed at the Babi Yar ravine during the massacre. Many of those Jews who returned from evacuation were similarly disinclined to discuss the destruction of those near and dear to them. It was only later with the distance of time that society began to feel the need to make sense of these traumatic events and form a cohesive memory of the war.¹⁰⁹ Some would never recover from the horror of the Holocaust and would stay silent on the horrors they saw for the remainder of their lives. Soviet society's faint interest in publicly discussing the memory of the victims in the first years after the war were thus not unusual, although specific conditions in the Soviet Union took on a particular meaning in central authorities' disdainful policy towards civilian casualties. It was only in the late 1950s after Stalin's death and the lifting of his oppressive regime that commemorative activity began to grow.

Further reasoning against memorialization for Jewish casualties from the war came from the perceived passivity of the Jews during the Nazi occupation. This was a stereotyped notion of Jewish behavior. As is quoted by Arkady Zeltser in his book *Unwelcome*

Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union:

It was simply said by someone somewhere: a monument? But why a monument? To people who voluntarily went to their deaths? Without resistance, without any protest? We don't put up monuments to cowards in this country??"¹¹⁰

The initial attempts at memorialization for Jewish casualties from the Nazi occupation were accompanied by a heavy risk. Any activity in the ethnic sphere including memorialization would likely lead to accusations of nationalism and disloyalty.¹¹¹ Despite this in many places in the Soviet Union, the date of the Babi Yar massacre became a sort of Memorial Day for Holocaust victims. The mass attendance of Jews in synagogues on Yom Kippur in 1951 may indirectly corroborate the influence of this anniversary on Jewish ethnic behavior – as the Babi Yar massacre fell just days before the holiday. Attending a synagogue service for the high holidays during this period should be considered an ethnic reaction to the Holocaust and anti-Semitism on the part of many Jews, especially those who did not actively practice the religion. Soon, however, memorialization styles would be able to shift into a more public sphere.

Following Stalin's death in 1953, everything changed in the Soviet Union with the introduction of Khrushchev's Thaw. A series of newspaper publi-

107 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, 94

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., 96

110 Ibid., 109

111 Golbert, R. L. "Holocaust Sites in Ukraine: Pechora and the Politics of Memorialization." (*Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18 (2): 2005). 224

Chapter Four: 1960-1976

cations about Babi Yar were central to a significant episode of memorialization in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

However, the first monumental event in the memorialization of Babi Yar was the publication of Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poem "Babi Yar" in September 1961.¹¹² Yevtushenko was a prominent young Russian poet, often supported by the state but at other times criticized for his ideological transgressions. Nevertheless, he never became a political dissident and his popularity among the Soviet youth gave him a license to write on controversial topics. It was for this reason that he was able to write the poem about Babi Yar and publish it. The piece appeared in the *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, the official newspaper of the Writers' Union that also had more leeway in raising controversial subjects and was subject to less censorship. Yevtushenko's poem is particularly famous for its opening line, "No monument stands over Babi Yar. A drop sheer as a crude gravestone. I am afraid." – which served to highlight the lack of memorialization at the site.¹¹³ This poem and the negative reaction to it on the part of conservatives in the party and among the intelligentsia turned Babi Yar into the central symbol of the Holocaust on

Soviet territory.

One's attitude towards Yevtushenko's poem became an indicator of belonging to a definitive camp: the international liberals or nationalist conservatives. Public discussion surrounding Babi Yar clearly showed that a statistically significant segment of the population supported the Soviet universalistic approach to the victims of the war and was convinced that it would be incorrect to differentiate those who had perished by ethnicity.¹¹⁴ Both in Soviet documents not intended for publication and in published texts where the ethnicity was indicated, the victims were listed in order of Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, etc., if Jews were included at all. This attests not only to an attempt to downplay the particular nature of the Jewish victims but also to the drive of the functionaries at various levels of the state to advance their own ethnic narrative of martyrdom.

The year 1961 became a landmark date after the publication of the poem:¹¹⁵ the piece became the first true monument to the Jews at Babi Yar,¹¹⁶ and it cultivated public interest and opened the doors to the world to display the anti-Semitism present in the Soviet Union.¹¹⁷ Additionally, it provoked the beginning of

112 Burakovskiy, Aleksandr. "Holocaust Remembrance in Ukraine: Memorialization of the Jewish Tragedy at Babi Yar." (*Nationalities Papers* 39 (3)2011) 375

113 Naimarr, *The Many Lives of Babi Yar*, 181

114 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, 152

115 Burakovskiy, *Holocaust remembrance in Ukraine: memorialization of the Jewish tragedy at Babi Yar*, 375

116 *Ibid*

117 Burakovskiy, *Holocaust remembrance in Ukraine: memorialization of the Jewish tragedy at Babi Yar*, 375

a debate about the very events that took place at Babi Yar.¹¹⁸ In Ukraine, the poem was met with official silence and its reading in public was forbidden in Kyiv for 23 years.¹¹⁹

The second monumental event in bringing the tragedy of Babi Yar to the attention of the world was the serial publication in the Soviet journal *Yunist* (1966) of Anatoli Kuznetsov's brilliant memoir *Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel*.¹²⁰ Although large sections of the book were excised in this publication, the structure, which included long passages from several survivor's testimonies, created a powerful impression of the event's horror, along with a history of its purposeful forgottenness. On a trip to London in 1969 Kuznetsov asked for political asylum and proceeded to publish his novel in its entirety.¹²¹ The influence of Kuznetsov's work in the twenty-fifth year since the killings is most likely what influenced people to hold ceremonies at Babi Yar in the years to follow.¹²²

The largest ceremonies at Babi Yar took place in September 1966.¹²³ The first occurred on September 24 on Yom Kippur, during which the Jewish activists Immanuel Diamant and Garik Goldovsky hung a ban-

ner on the wall of the Jewish cemetery saying "Babyn Yar, September 1941–September 1946" in Russian and Hebrew.¹²⁴ Five days later, on September 29, there was an unauthorized meeting of over 500 participants (according to the KGB – the organizers gave a much higher figure) at the site of the massacre of the "Soviet people" by the German fascist occupiers at Babi Yar.¹²⁵ This was reported by O. Bovyn, a CPU (Communist Party of Ukraine) agent, to the CPU Central Committee.¹²⁶ It was recorded as being a spontaneous meeting at the site of the massacre on its 25th anniversary.¹²⁷ Those in attendance were mainly young Jews but also included notable names such as the writers Ehrenburg and Viktor Nekrasov, as well as the famous heart surgeon Nikolai Amosov.¹²⁸ This added additional significance to the gathering given that both Nekrasov and Amosov were Russian and thus more closely tied to those oppressing the memorialization than those advocating for it. The event was filmed by a crew from the Ukrainian Documentary Film Studio.¹²⁹ People gave uncensored speeches including such as the one given by Nekrasov.¹³⁰ During Nekrasov's speech the police arrived, dispersed the crowd, and confiscated the

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid.

120 Naimark, *The Many Lives of Babi Yar*, 182

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid.

123 Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan. *The Paradigm-changing Day: The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Babyn Yar and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*. (Harvard: The Journal of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, 2021) unpaginated

124 Ibid.

125 Khanin, *Documents on Ukrainian Jewish Identity and Emigration 1944-1990*, 145

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid.

128 Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Paradigm-changing Day: The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Babyn Yar and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

video footage.¹³¹ The Soviet government would then summon Nekrasov and others for many interrogations about what took place.¹³² A couple of weeks later a granite stone suddenly appeared at Babi Yar with an inscription calling for the plans to establish a memorial at Babi Yar dedicated to the memory of the “victims of fascism.”¹³³ This was an attempt by the Soviet authorities to reclaim the initiative from the public and indicate the only acceptable interpretation of Babi Yar. This granite stone would remain in its place for ten years until it was replaced by a monument in 1976.

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a tightened control over grassroots Jewish commemorative activ-

ity, such as the twenty-fifth anniversary memorialization – something that had already been regarded with suspicion since the 1940s.¹³⁴ This can therefore be interpreted as a departure from the more lenient period during which Yevtushenko and Kuznetsov’s writings came out. During the “stagnation” period, as before, there was no centralized policy with regard to Jewish memory of the war or to the Holocaust – only a loose trend of tolerating local familial memorialization at events such as Yom Kippur. The boundaries of what was permitted were defined at the local level and varied widely between regions.¹³⁵ The situation regarding monuments to Jewish victims became even more



Figure 3: Banner hung in memory of Babi Yar¹³⁶

131 Petrovsky-Shtern, *A Paradigm-changing Day: The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Babyn Yar and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*

132 Ibid.

133 Cherepinsky, Jacqueline. 2014. “Babi Yar: The Absence of the Babi Yar Massacre from Popular Memory.” In *The Holocaust*. 162

134 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, 157

135 Ibid., 173

136 Petrovsky-Shtern, *A Paradigm-changing Day: The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Babyn Yar and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*

ambiguous. Authorities' approach at the local level remained not unequivocally prohibitive but averse or indifferent.¹³⁷ The Jewish interpretation of Babi Yar remained largely suppressed. The state then seized the opportunity as public interest in Babi Yar increased, getting out in front of it to take control of the narrative, and the granite stone was placed.

Even before the 1966 commemorations, the international horror and discussion triggered by Yev-tushenko's poem and Kuznetsov's book forced Soviet officials to confront the issue of a permanent memorial. This led to the decision to conduct an architectural competition to design the memorial that would stand at Babi Yar.¹³⁸ The guidelines for the competition were that:

“Monuments must artistically reflect heroism and the unbending will of our people in the fight for the victory of the great ideas of communism...courage and fearlessness of the Soviet citizens before the face of death....”¹³⁹

This competition was seen as an opportunity for freedom of memorialization, yet the winning submission was rejected by the party leaders based on the “inadequateness of the work.”¹⁴⁰ A second competi-

tion was subsequently held, and the results of that one were rejected as well.¹⁴¹ Finally, in 1972, party officials commissioned a statue.¹⁴² The project was designed by a team headed by architect A. Ignashchenko.¹⁴³ The monument was unveiled on July 2, 1976 with little publicity.¹⁴⁴ It was identified as a monument to the Soviet people honoring citizens, soldiers and prisoners of the war shot by the Nazis at Babi Yar.¹⁴⁵ In 1991 an additional series of plaques with inscriptions in Russian, Ukrainian and Yiddish would be added to the monument. The plaques read:

In this place during 1942-1943 the German-Nazi occupiers shot one hundred thousand of Kyiv residents and POWs.¹⁴⁶

No further action would be taken by a state government to further commemorate Babi Yar by Soviet authorities between 1976 and 1991.

The monument itself has been highly criticized by academics and civilians alike since its installation.¹⁴⁷ The statue depicts Red Army soldiers at the first level with civilians standing behind them. The work displays an extremely inaccurate picture, as there were very few Red Army soldiers killed at Babi Yar.

137 Zeltser, *Unwelcome Memory: Holocaust Monuments in the Soviet Union*, 173

138 Burakovskiy, *Holocaust Remembrance in Ukraine: memorialization of the Jewish tragedy at Babi Yar*, 376

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

142 Ibid., 377

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

146 Ibid.

147 Peterson, Joan. 2011. “Iterations of Babi Yar.” (*Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 46 (4) 2011) 598.



Figure 4: Babi Yar Monument erected by the Soviet Government in 1976¹⁴⁸

Additionally, the monument does not mention the more than 40 thousand Jews murdered at the site, referring to them only as Kyivan residents. It is for this reason that the 1976 Soviet monument to Babi Yar is now just one among 88 other monuments across the site of the ravine itself., eighty-seven of which were

funded either privately or through public fundraisers, but not by a government.

148 Geider, Roland. Babi Yar monument in Kyiv, Ukraine. Encyclopedia Britannica.

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Kyiv/Evolution-of-the-modern-city#/media/1/317542/230676> (Access date, April 1, 2022)

Conclusion

At the end of World War II the Soviet Union did not want to memorialize the Jewish civilians who had died in massacres such as Babi Yar unless they were subsumed under the universalizing category of peaceful Soviet citizens. Moreover, Soviet civilians were not seen as an important category of victims for commemoration purposes. The official discourse signaled that a true Soviet death involved dying in battle or resisting the enemy, and it did not condemn the widespread antisemitic stereotype of Jewish passivity and service evasion during the war. Additionally, the state did not want to emphasize the specificity of Jewish experience under the Nazi occupation as distinct to that of Russians and Ukrainians. Any emphasis on the Holocaust was bound to raise uncomfortable questions about the local collaborators, especially in the case of Babi Yar where many of the policemen involved were Ukrainian. In addition, with the Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel beginning in the 1970s, the authorities saw Jews as less than loyal Soviet citizens.

The families of the dead, their communities, and the JAFC members felt differently than the state and local authorities. The JAFC, created to raise support and money for the Red Army from amongst the global Jewish community, extended past their mandate to create the Black Book of Soviet Jewry and advocate for Jewish causes. The treatment of the committee serves as an example of the treatment of Jews overall within the Soviet Union. Such an instance is especially significant due to the way the committee was destroyed, with its chair, Mikhoels being brutally mur-

dered in 1948 and the 1952 trial of the committee's other prominent members.

Although some Jews would never recover from the trauma of the Holocaust and did not speak of it, many families fought to memorialize their loved ones, even in small ways. Under Stalin's control, families memorialized relatives by attending Yom Kippur ceremonies and making small memorialization gestures on the anniversaries of the massacres, such as laying flowers at the site of the atrocity. Eventually, with Khrushchev's Thaw, the families of the dead were able to expand their memorialization. Under international pressure brought about by increased media attention stemming from publications on Babi Yar, this memorialization continued to expand. Following the September 29 1966 twenty-fifth anniversary commemoration of Babi Yar, the Soviet government was forced to confront the memorialization of Babi Yar head on. In order to get control of the narrative, the Soviet government erected a granite stone pledging to build a monument to those who died. Although this granite stone was not replaced by a more encapsulating monument for ten years, the Soviet government was able to take control of the narrative and lead the memorialization of Babi Yar for a time. Ultimately, full control of the memorialization of Babi Yar was transferred to Ukraine with the fall of the Soviet Union, but the subsequent erection of 87 monuments by different social groups, ethnic groups, and communities showed the devolution of this control to society at large. The Jewish monument in the form of a menorah has become the usual stop for foreign dignitaries to visit on their

trips to Kyiv. Every year on 29 September, Ukrainian presidents bring flowers there as well.

After the end of World War II the Soviet Union was reluctant to memorialize the Jewish civilians who had died in massacres such as Babi Yar unless they were subsumed under the universalizing category of peaceful Soviet citizens. Moreover, Soviet civilians were not seen as an important category of victims for commemoration purposes. The official discourse signaled that a true Soviet death involved dying in battle or resisting the enemy, and it did not condemn the widespread antisemitic stereotype of Jewish passivity and service evasion during the war. Additionally, the state did not want to emphasize the specificity of Jewish experience under the Nazi occupation as distinct to that of Russians and Ukrainians. Any emphasis on the Holocaust was bound to raise uncomfortable questions about the local collaborators, especially in the case of Babi Yar where some Ukrainian policemen were involved. In addition, with the Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel beginning in the 1970s, the authorities saw Jews as less than loyal Soviet citizens.

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The Soviet process of avoidance and reluctant memorialization is not unique to Babi Yar or

Ukraine.¹⁴⁹ Similar memorial strategies were taken under the Soviet Union in Hungary and Poland to name a couple examples. The tradition for locals to build more accurate or culturally (ethnically, or socially) specific monuments remained strong as well – with many local communities taking it upon themselves to memorialize those lost to violence. This practice was not only employed by the Soviet Union and did not end with its fall. Mis-memorialization of victims of mass murder or genocide remains a tool often used by non-democratic states to control those narratives that emerge in the aftermath of a massacre.¹⁵⁰ Two current examples would be the Igdır Genocide Memorial, denying the Armenian Genocide in Turkey and the Eternal Flame commemorating the death of Serbian soldiers killed by NATO Bombings in Belgrade, Serbia.

Memorials, in their true purpose allow us to remember those we have lost, carry on their memory and grieve as a community. Babi Yar unfortunately, only took on this role in more recent years and now must survive bombings by the Russian military, attempting to destroy a TV tower adjacent to the site.

In closing, it is important to remember that despite Babi Yar, despite the Holocaust and the efforts of Nazi Germany, Ukraine today is home to a large Jewish population and a President of Jewish descent, Volodymyr Zelensky. On the day when Babi Yar was initially struck by a Russian missile aiming for the adjacent TV tower, Zelensky reminded the world of what it was allowing to take place, tweeting “What is the point of saying ‘never again’ for 80 years if the world stays silent when a bomb drops on the same site of Babyn Yar?”

The Holocaust and Nazism are strong points of accusation today, with Russia claiming Ukraine is governed by neo-Nazis, in this context it is important to remember the history Babi Yar represents and the truth it holds about Ukraine’s history and suffering.

149 Tiffany Wertheimer, Baby Yar: Anger as Kyiv’s Holocaust memorial is damaged (BBC News, March 3, 2022).

150 Ibid.

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Historical Perspectives on the Langley Landscape, 1824-1920

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Introduction

“Academic or literary writing about the past of any place would do well to bear in mind that landscapes are not just static, given, or objective things. Registered by the senses, they are also subjective and become real in the interpretive context of human experience”, explains Jeff Oliver.¹ Clarifying this sentiment, we can say that a place is composed of two interacting forces. First are those components of the landscape (the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna) which determine the behaviour of the human cultures that live among them. But these objective elements are then interacted with by humans, so that the land becomes “both outcome and medium of social interaction”.² Those features of land which mould human society are in turn moulded by human society—and not only by human hands, but by human desires, prejudices, and the otherwise abstract elements that are present in the minds of people. Therefore ‘place’ in the context of this paper is defined as a synthesis of material geography and the subjectivity of humans.

However, it must be understood that what

follows is not a series of theoretical ponderings which neglect to look at how these transformations transpired in the immediacy of the physical landscape, or in the context of those people who brought them about. Though I would assert that the interweaving of geography and subjectivity creates the fundamental essence of any place, I will be conducting my argument through an exploration of the Langley area of the Fraser Valley in the rough century between 1820 and 1920, during which vast change was brought about by the arrival of settlers. I will be focussing especially on the role agriculture played in the transformation of landscape, as I believe it most clearly exemplifies the differing relationships that Langley’s historical cultures had to their surroundings. The ‘Langley area’ is, for the purpose of this research, defined as the land in between and around the following three points: the site of the 1827 Fort Langley (at present-day Derby Reach), that of the 1839 Fort Langley (in the modern village), and Langley Prairie (Langley city and Milner). Coupled with the interplay of such conceptual elements, I am also mo-

1 Jeff Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast: colonial encounters in the Fraser Valley* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 5.

2 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 6.

tivated by an earnest desire simply to understand the everyday lifeways of those who came to the area before the present—how Indigenous groups interacted with the land, how colonisation changed this, and how settler societies later related to their geographic surroundings. Stories centred on everyday relationship to place are too rarely told in the narratives of nation-making, the significance of which I stress not out of patriotism, but out of necessity: it is fundamental to consider how the people and landscape of Langley have exerted a mutual influence upon each other over the years if one is to understand what Langley is. This paper ultimately aims to argue that an appropriate understanding of Langley’s geographical and cultural history can only be achieved by placing oneself at the crossroads of the conceptual and the quotidian. Such a consideration is just as applicable for any who presume to delve into the history of a region.

Pre-Contact

Analysis of such a phenomenon necessitates starting from the beginning. To divulge a history of the tectonic activity which shaped the landforms of the Langley district is far beyond the scope of this work, though, so it is best to start with a look at the geography and societies that immediately predated European contact: “Colonial change did not occur in a cultural vacuum [...] change is based on local conditions and historical trajectories seated in precolonial cultural forms”.³ So what was the region like prior to settlement in the 1820s?

Overall, the most significant aspect of the Langley landscape both pre-contact and post- is the Fraser River. It was used as a travel corridor by the Coast Salish who lived along its banks and on British Columbia’s coast and was especially important during that time of year in which salmon fishing was conducted and communities travelled between winter villages to fishing spots in the Fraser Canyon, this trip being dubbed the ‘annual round’.⁴ An entry made in the Fort Langley journal reads: “Families from the Sanch Village at Point Roberts have been passing in continual succession during the day all bound for the Salmon fishery”.⁵ Thus we see that this travel would have been done during the late summer. Smaller rivers such as the Salmon and Nicomekl served as routes into the lands south of the Fraser, the land between which (Langley Prairie) was crossed by a trail that became known as the Smuggler’s Trail, and is today Glover Road.⁶

3 Liam Frink and Aubrey Cannon, foreword to *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, ix.

4 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 15.

5 Morag Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals, 1827-30* (Vancouver, Canada.: UBC Press, 1998), 34

6 Warren Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley* (Langley: City of Langley, 199), 123.



*An Indigenous family in a canoe coming up the Fraser River near Chilliwack, 1918.
Langley Centennial Museum Photo #0498*

The Fraser Valley is one of the most fertile regions in British Columbia:⁷ “Only about 5 percent of the province, or 14,248,000 acres, is suitable for agricultural purposes”, and so it is of little wonder that it later became one of British Columbia’s few hubs for farming and was able to support such a dense population.⁸ But even at this time the land was peopled with many Indigenous groups—a reflection of how bountiful the land was.⁹ Between the nations of the Musqueam and the Sq’ewá:lxw, there were around twenty Coast Salish groups, “whose social life centred on winter village sites”.¹⁰ One of these was near Fort Langley, having been noted by Simon Fraser during his 1808 voyage down the river.¹¹ Generally, the territories of these groups were not rigidly set, though of course there were places which held high value due to the resources they possessed or the cultural significance they were infused with by a particular nation.¹² Here, it is important to revisit what I have discussed in the introduction, about the ways perspectives and cultural attitudes relate to the relationship a people cultivates with their local environment. The term ‘resource’ used

7 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 12.

8 Margaret A. Ormsby, “Agricultural Development in British Columbia,” *Agricultural History* 19, no.1 (Jan 1945): 14, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3739693>.

9 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 14.

10 Ibid., 13

11 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 11.

12 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 14.

in this paper carries more than its common definition; “given that colonialism has restructured what we observe”,¹³ we must reconsider what this word might have meant in the context of traditional Coast Salish connection to land.

The colonial process, which has laid a foundation for the current condition of Langley, was that of “inscribing, molding, and harnessing nature for an emerging capitalist marketplace”.¹⁴ As this capitalist marketplace has emerged from Europeans’ first arrival upon the Fraser’s banks, it should be emphasised that this model has not always been the one which dictates how cultures have historically inhabited Langley. The inherently extractivist connotations of the word *resource*, for example, make its use inappropriate when discussing the manner in which, say, a Kwantlen cedar-bark harvester would interact with the physical space. To do so would risk it sounding as if the Stó:lō gathering of cedar-bark was an antecedent to modern resource-extraction methods in the area. They were, and are, very different. Therefore it might instead be more helpful to understand this act as the maintaining of a relationship between two subjects of equal sovereignty, with certain behaviours and protocols expected of each subject.

Without affecting a romanticisation of the way the Indigenous peoples of the Fraser Valley interacted

with their surroundings, it is important to understand that their view of the land was vastly foreign to that of the settlers which followed, and equally so to many of us in such settlers’ wake; “people had a fundamental responsibility to this place, almost as if it were a benevolent and sentient being”, explains Oliver.¹⁵ Coast peoples maintained an animistic relationship with the land. In the case of the cedar, for example, it was seen as a sentient being to be sung to and treated with gifts whenever bark or wood was to be obtained during the *temkw’ó:kw’es* (late spring and summer) time of the annual round.¹⁶ This is not, though, intended to repeat the timeworn misunderstanding that the Stó:lō were merely passive dwellers in their environment, an assumption which Amber Kostuchenko thoroughly refutes in “The unique experience of Sto:lo farmers: An investigation into Native agriculture in British Columbia”. She puts forth that such assumptions ignore the significant extent to which First Peoples in the area were shapers of place.¹⁷ In the *tembilálxw* (autumn) it would have been a time to harvest cranberries, wapato, and mountain berries. The growth of these berries would have been actively encouraged in certain areas by clearing patches of mountainside with fire, and wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*) was extensively cultivated, its tubers dug out of the ground with sticks.¹⁸ Methods as transformative as controlled burning were common,

13 Liam Frink and Aubrey Cannon, foreword to *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, ix.

14 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 3.

15 Ibid., 56

16 Ibid., 46-8.

17 Amber Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” (2000): 2.

18 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 52; and Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 10.

as well as laying down fish entrails and mulches to fertilise the soil.¹⁹ To quote Oliver, who in turn quotes Douglas Deur, we should notice that “the so-called wilderness was often in a state of “low intensity cultivation”.²⁰ It is not only important to recognize this surroundings was later manipulated by the colonial state to justify a paternalistic form of interference, as I will later discuss.

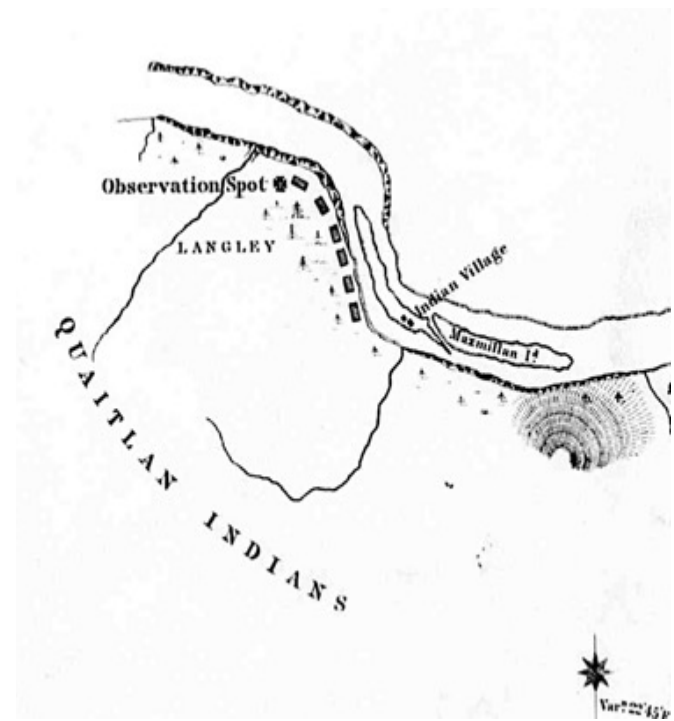
Indigenous societies were not only sustained by what the land provided in the form of food, either. Their cultural life was also nurtured by the connections they had to various landforms—places where, for example, it was thought that one’s ancestors had emerged out of the primordial Myth Age and thus became progenitors to various Stó:lō lineages.²¹ A merging of people and place was intrinsic to their perspective of the landscape, their cultural boundaries structured upon local topography, and personal history. This most certainly must have contributed to the reverence Indigenous peoples held for the land they were a part of. It is also why it is essential to bear in mind throughout this paper that the landscape of the mind is intimately linked to that of the Earth. The story of Langley, like all places, is a product of their reciprocal transformation. When one pauses to think of the fact that the First Nations-landscape interaction has been occurring through centuries uncounted, we become even more aware of the contrast between Indigenous hereditary habitation and the relative brevity of European settlement, as well as what this contrast’s connotations are.

19 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 35.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., 14.

22 Interestingly, neither the 1827 fort nor the 1839 one are labeled, despite the date of production.



*The Fort Langley area, 1859.*²² BC Archives CM/
B184

If the history of a place, imagined or not, plays such a role in determining the lifeways of the people in said place (as Myth Age lore did for the Salish), then how consequential would it be that settlers had absolutely no connection to the Langley area prior to their arrival. There was no time to foster ancestral linkages, no time to develop stories of interrelation with tree or rock or soil. The colonists appear to have observed nothing beyond the layer of a location’s resource or strategic values. It can be reasonably assumed that the utter lack of any interrelation, and the land appreciation it would subsequently engender, played a crucial role in the violent transfigurations performed upon the region.

By 1941, only 114 years after the first settlers had constructed Fort Langley, around 50% of the total land area of the entire Fraser Valley had been converted to farmland.²³ Before that, roughly 90% of the area's Indigenous population had been killed or displaced by the smallpox epidemic of 1782, a European disease which had raged through British Columbia and reached the Valley before Europeans themselves.²⁴ A massive process of alteration was now approaching this region.

Contact and Early Settlers

The earliest non-Indigenous persons to inhabit the Langley area were members of an expedition led by James McMillan, a Scottish Highlander and member of the Hudson's Bay Company, who established the first Fort Langley in 1827.²⁵ McMillan had made the journey some years previous, coming from Fort George, then paddling up the Nicomekl in mid-December 1824.²⁶ Once the party had travelled sufficiently upriver, they portaged across an expanse of open land which one of the expedition's clerks, John Work, noted had particularly fertile-looking soil.²⁷ This region would later become Langley Prairie, "the heart of the post's agriculture", though for now the party did not tarry and soon continued to the southern bank of the Fraser.²⁸ Here, they explored the country with an eye to where a post might be established, and where agricultural operations might be carried out. A letter from Governor George Simpson, who relates McMillan's observations, describes what that region looked like at the time:

"The Banks as far as Mr McMillan ascended were clothed with a great variety of prodigious fine large Timber. The Soil appeared to be rich and fertile; good situations for the site of an Establishment [...] and many beautiful clear spots adapted for Agricultural purposes".²⁹

23 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 157.

24 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 11.

25 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals, 1827-30*, 19; and Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 13.

26 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 99.

27 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 12.

28 James Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 49.

29 *Ibid.*, 49.

McMillan's survey was a hugely significant moment for the Langley area. It was a small piece of the broader European effort to better understand the mysterious British Columbia, one which arguably can be said to have started with George Vancouver's mapping of the province's western shores. This was far from a banal cartographic pursuit: "to enhance Britain's territorial claims, Vancouver branded the coast with a constellation of names that situated it in the cultural and imperial galaxy of the Crown".³⁰ The power that naming is imbued with, in Western culture, stretches back to the Book of Genesis and most likely further. In this context it can be seen as a cultivation of familiarity in an otherwise unknown geography. Vancouver's renaming of lands that already possessed Indigenous toponyms was also an imposition of British confidence and a linguistic harbinger of what was to come to a land rich with previously-established cultural meaning. Simon Fraser had also made observations during his 1808 voyage along the river that would later bear his name; however, due to a supposed over-interest in describing the First Nations he came across, his work was considered inferior to what McMillan now produced: a work that "demystified the region as a breeding ground for hostile savages and ascertained its geography".³¹ So we see that to exploit the physical riches of the Northwest Coast, European explorers first had to

annex it into their intellectual realm by way of maps, new names, and a solid grasp of the landscape's character.

McMillan's 1824 expedition was followed by that of 1827, which built the first Fort Langley at present-day Derby on August 1. The site was settled because it could maintain effective communication with the interior, the river was thought to be navigable, and the local First Nations seemed interested in trade.³² Construction ended in late November of that year.³³ Building the fort was a Herculean task. George Barnston, another clerk in the group, wrote on July 31, 1827 that "the Timber [was] strong [dense] and the ground completely covered with thick underwood, which is closely interwoven with Brambles & Briars".³⁴ Not only was it difficult in itself, but a quarter of Fort Langley's crew were already unable to work because of venereal diseases.³⁵ Clearing was accomplished by axe, saw, and fire.³⁶

But it was not for the fort alone that the land had to be deforested. Hudson's Bay Company posts in the Oregon Country at the time displayed "a heavy dependence on imports and an extravagance that appalled [Governor] Simpson", with their provisions having to be shipped from distant supply hubs because they could not rely upon bison and maize like other forts east of the Rocky Mountains.³⁷ The men of Fort Lang-

30 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 85.

31 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 99.

32 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 18.

33 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 13.

34 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 20 and 128 (Maclachlan's parentheses)

35 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 73.

36 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 153.

37 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 5; and Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 9.



Along the 1824 portage route, on the north end of Langley Prairie, March 2022. Photo by Stefano Buckley.

ley were supplied fish by their trade connections with local Indigenous groups (in the form of dried salmon, called *bardeau*), but this bounty was considered lacking for a few reasons.³⁸ Eating too much salmon, in conjunction with other victuals in the generally poor diet of a New Caledonian trader, caused emaciation and diarrhoea.³⁹ Governor Simpson was also attempting to find a way to feed them without relying upon Indigenous foodstuffs, as these were subject to a goodwill that could fizzle at any moment.⁴⁰ The solution to these problems was that Fort Langley would turn its attention to agriculture as well as fur trading. Not only would this restore health to the men and wean posts off of their reliance on expensive imports and trade with First Nations, but farming would also allow the Company to reduce workers (and the wages needed to pay them) and thus increase fur profits.⁴¹ While some believed that agriculture was incompatible with the fur trade (that it prevented them from conducting their true work, or that it drove away the very animals upon whose fur they made their business).⁴² Simpson remained confident, opining that “it has been said that Farming is no branch of the Fur Trade but I consider that every pursuit tending to lighten [sic] the Expence of the Trade is a branch thereof”.⁴³

38 Ibid., 24.

39 Ibid., 25.

40 Ibid., 23.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., 17

43 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 17.

44 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 33.

45 Ormsby, “Agricultural Development in British Columbia,” 11.

46 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 56.

47 Ibid., 65; and Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 49.

48 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 112.

49 Ibid., 11 and 113.

However, despite the impressions that McMillan had given Simpson with his survey, the soil at Fort Langley was far from ‘rich and fertile’. An entry from the post’s journal, given August 21, 1827, describes it as “a hard Gravel composed of round Stones of Granite mixed with Sand, with a very thin vegetable mould on the surface”.⁴⁴ Work clearing fields around the fort still proceeded the following March, though. While Coast Peoples did practise a form of cultivation, and while the first European farming in British Columbia was probably at Nootka Sound in 1786,⁴⁵ what are likely the first agricultural efforts of settlers in the Langley area were recorded in the fort’s journal on March 10, 1828. McMillan writes, simply, “The men clearing ground for potatoes”.⁴⁶ Planting followed shortly afterward and continued on into late June, with 3 fields around the fort planted with 30 bushels of potatoes each.⁴⁷

Clearing land and planting crops would continue for some time. Well into April 1829, an entry made in the journal reads “our people hewing down large Trees in the way of our gardens and otherwise enlarging them”.⁴⁸ Wheat had been sown some days previous, and peas and barley in mid-May.⁴⁹ It appears that by July, sowing should have been completed,



Cleared land directly east of the 1827 fort, potential site of potato fields, February 2022. Photo by Stefano Buckley.

with Archibald McDonald (now in charge at Fort Langley) writing “Threw a quantity of a Garden Seed in the ground in addition to a few Sewn the other day, but I am not very Sanguine as to our Success—the Season is far too much advanced”.⁵⁰ Harvest commenced in August.⁵¹ Fortunately, the weather was on their side, a phenomenon that, as we shall see, was a rare boon in the rain-soaked Lower Valley—on Aug 23 1829, McDonald writes “Uncommon fine weather for the last Six weeks.”⁵² A clement climate persisted well into September, which allowed more land to be cleared by fire

with ease.⁵³

In the meantime, the lands around the fort had been dramatically reshaped by this small band of settlers. McDonald writes on April 19th: “Of about 15 acres now open, 5 of them is low meadow—5 mellow ground fit for the plough, & the rest full of Strong Stumps & roots fit only for the Hoe for many years to Come”.⁵⁴ However, as has been mentioned previously, this land was of an inferior quality, with the terrestrially-vigilant John Work again commenting that the soil was “very indifferent”.⁵⁵ The potato harvest had

50 Ibid., 121.

51 Ibid., 126

52 Ibid., 127/

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid., 110.

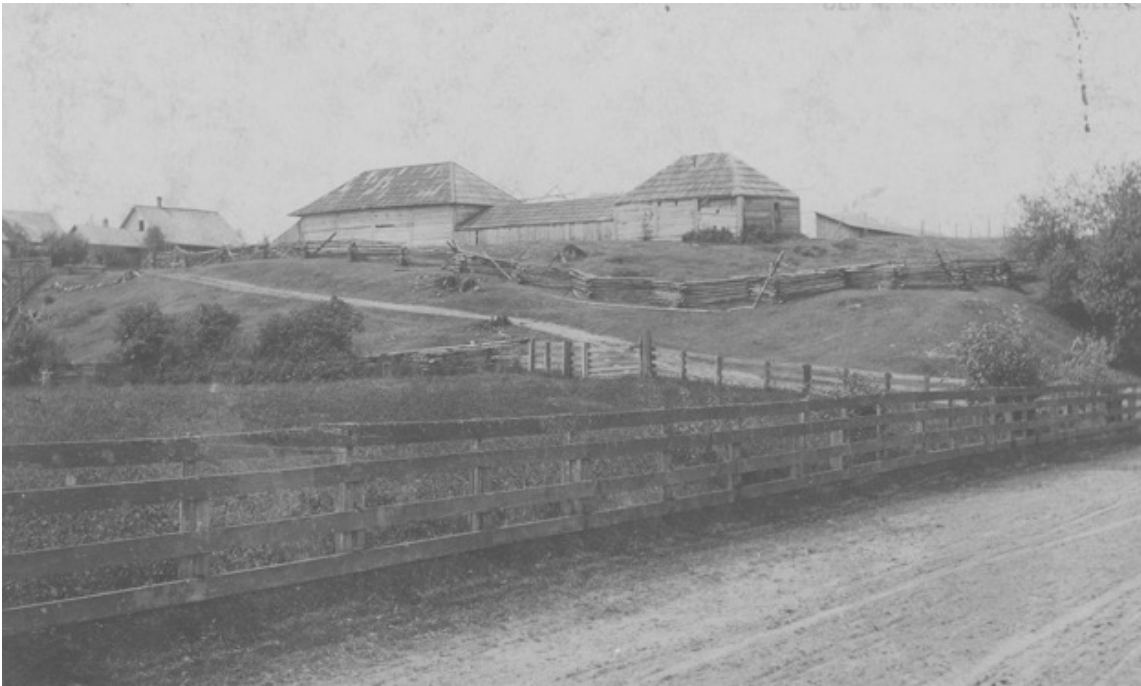
55 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 67.

only been one-third the size of the preceding year.⁵⁶

Despite this, they did not have to wait until the harvest to decide that a better farming location had to be found. Already in April, McDonald had made a foray into the surrounding country to see if there was a site more conducive to their needs.⁵⁷ There was indeed a plain nearby, but it was “always Subject to the overflowing of the river in Summer”⁵⁸—an event which, much like the weather, was to be a recurring grievance to Langley’s farmers. They eventually came to that area over which McMillan’s party had portaged five years ago, the open ground whose soil John Work had commended; “Further on & more in the back Country, there are other very extensive openings, & I believe

good Soil that might give Satisfaction”, McDonald relates. The problem with this location, though, was that it was a good seven miles from the fort, which McDonald worried would necessitate another post having to be established there.⁵⁹

Despite his fears, the prairie was too much of an asset to ignore. It was better than the fort’s surroundings for agriculture (both the 1827 fort and the 1839 establishment that would follow) for a few reasons. The first was that it was open. Compared to the heavily timbered land on the Fraser’s banks, where a single ancient tree could take a man a full day to fell, an already treeless expanse of 2000 acres was simply too good to ignore.⁶⁰ Secondly, it was located on higher land than



The 1839 fort, c. 1900. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #0204

56 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 130.

57 *Ibid.*, 110

58 *Ibid.*

59 Mary K. Cullen, “History of Fort Langley, 1827-96.” *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, no. 20 (1979): 30. <https://go.exlibris.link/BQ444hH3>; and Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 110.

60 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 68; Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the*

the fort, so was far from the Fraser's annual floods.⁶¹ It was sown for the first time in 1834.⁶² Thirty acres were already under cultivation at the fort, and now a further forty-five were tilled on Langley Prairie.⁶³ Its northern boundary was where Trinity Western University now stands, and its southern at what is now Mufford Crescent.⁶⁴ The issue of distance was soon solved when Fort Langley relocated in 1839 to where it is now, a decision made due to the old age of the previous fort and the new location's closeness to Langley Prairie.⁶⁵

The Prairie would allow Fort Langley to become a prime example of Simpson's desired self-sufficiency. K. Jane Watt writes that "At its height, farming operations at the first Fort Langley were modest, limited by the boggy nature of the surrounding land and the seasonal fluctuations of the Fraser".⁶⁶ But this was not to be the case once operations at Langley Prairie got underway. Especially so, because farming at the fort was not only producing for its own traders' tables. In 1839, the Hudson's Bay Company signed an agreement with the Russian-American Company which stipulated that it would supply the Russians with provisions in exchange for trading rights in the Alaskan panhandle.⁶⁷ This act undercut American distributors

and allowed the Hudson's Bay Company a monopoly on the west coast.⁶⁸ The Puget Sound Agricultural Company (P.S.A.C.) was created at Forts Nisqually and Cowlitz to provide for this, a manoeuvre which also had a political purpose (one that James Douglas considered to be its most important)—to bolster British presence in an area which was under threat from the Americans.⁶⁹ Very soon after, though, the aim of the P.S.A.C began to shift toward supplying the British market, and it was Fort Langley and Fort Vancouver that supplemented production for the Russian contract.⁷⁰ By 1845, approximately 240 acres were being cultivated by the H.B.C. in the Fort Langley area.⁷¹

In all, this was beneficial for Fort Langley, as the fur trade there had been in steep decline since 1833.⁷² It is hoped, though, that the success at the H.B.C.'s farms does not suggest that agriculture here was an activity bereft of complications. An inexhaustible series of hardships plagued the fort's farmers. Besides the difficulty of clearing forest at the first site, there was the annual flooding of the Fraser which compromised crops. On June 29 1829 McDonald wrote that there was "a perfect lake which now overflows Potatoes—Barley, Meadow & every thing [sic] else in the low neigh-

City of Langley, 13.

61 K. Jane Watt, "Farming, Fort Langley." *British Columbia History*, no. 46 (2012): 6.

62 Cullen, "History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," 30.

63 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 50.

64 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 14.

65 Cullen, "History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," 30.

66 Watt, "Farming, Fort Langley," 6.

67 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 26.

68 Cullen, "History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," 32.

69 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 86-7, and 106.

70 *Ibid.*, 83.

71 Cullen, "History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," 34.

72 *Ibid.*, 30.



Clearing land on Langley Prairie, c. 1920. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #1306

bourhood”.⁷³ Though this was not so much a problem at Langley Prairie, the freshet wreaked havoc on cultivation at the Company’s forts. This was a liability that would persist long into the future: Kostuchenko writes that the Department of Indian Affairs, created some time later, mentions damaged crops and livestock nearly every year due to flooding.⁷⁴

Water issues came about in the form of Langley’s sodden climate, too. Two-thirds of the 1845 harvest was either damaged or fully ruined, and sowing could be equally challenging due to the heavy rain in spring which postponed the casting of seed.⁷⁵ There was a constant need to observe the elements and respond to them swiftly. Early September of 1829 saw great rainfall, but as soon as the sun was out, the fort’s

men had their reaped wheat brought out to dry.⁷⁶ But wet weather could inflict more than just crop damage: In November 1827, Barnston wrote “One of our Horses got into a quagmire last night and died in consequence during the day. Weather still rainy”. The same happened a week later.⁷⁷

Pests and weeds proved another issue, caterpillars ruining the 1830 harvest and weeds clogging the tilled fields.⁷⁸ In August 1867, Ovid Allard complained to the HBC Board of Management that “the moschetto [sic] are very troublesome here this season”.⁷⁹ All of these difficulties were combined with the fact that farming wasn’t the only objective of farmers—trading, tree-felling, and the salmon trade (by 1848 Fort Langley had become the chief salmon supplier of the entire

73 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 118.

74 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 13.

75 Cullen, “History of Fort Langley, 1827-96,” 35.

76 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 127.

77 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 44.

78 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 72.

79 Watt, “Farming, Fort Langley,” 10.

Pacific Northwest) all occupied their time.⁸⁰

Here lies a convenient place to return to my principal contention: that of the reciprocal influence of land and humankind. Though the coming of settlers to Fort Langley unquestionably catalysed a mutation of landscape that has continued into today, this was not a one-sided relationship. As we have seen, the men of the fort and their agricultural endeavours were determined by the character of the land they had come to, one that gave with one hand and forced compromise with another. The Fraser could be both a convenient thoroughfare and an annual flood. Langley Prairie was a gift of open space but was still subject to the temperate climate and to pests that could mar harvests. Without any roads in the region, those who farmed on the Prairie came and went by boat travel that was dictated by a network of smaller rivers meandering inefficiently through the land.⁸¹ Its distance from the original fort, too, was a leading factor in the decision to move the Company post to its current location upriver. Thus Langley's geography set the stage for the societies that in turn changed it.

But while we have witnessed how the arrival of Europeans altered Langley's landscape, and in turn how said landscape directed the way these newcomers inhabited it, I have not explained the manner in which Indigenous lifeways were influenced by contact. This was, of course, a monumental moment, one

which instigated the Stó:lō to “reshape themselves to fit these experiences into a worldview they could understand and work within”.⁸² This happened in both a literal and figurative sense. The Kwantlen, for example, moved their village across the river from the first-constructed Fort Langley to be more convenient trade partners, and then again in 1839, this time settling on what is now McMillan Island.⁸³ One may see this on the map on page 49. New methods of agriculture expanded the repertoire of previous Indigenous cultivation as they became prevalent throughout the Fraser Valley by the 1870s.⁸⁴ Potato farming, for example, was being undertaken by Indigenous nations in the vicinity of Fort Langley by 1835, most likely because of the potato's similarity with other roots (such as wapato) that comprised their diet.⁸⁵ As “the fur empires of the West were built largely on cooperative networks established with Indigenous groups”,⁸⁶ this was an arena of vibrant intercultural communication. However, despite its vibrancy, it was nonetheless bedimmed by the notions of European supremacy which pervaded Langley's colonial project.

Ideas held by settlers, such as the ‘hierarchy of cultures’ model, reasoned that there existed a racial pecking order which, while unchanging, did allow for those in lower cultural tiers to ascend it by adopting practices that belonged to ‘higher-level civilizations’; ideas that were later enshrined in the “Civilization

80 Cullen, “History of Fort Langley, 1827-96,” 35; and Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 73.

81 Watt, “Farming, Fort Langley,” 6.

82 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 2.

83 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 75.

84 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 10.

85 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 184.

86 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 91.

Act” (1857) and the “Gradual Enfranchisement Act” (1869). Such ideas can be seen to have begun their grasp on the Fraser Valley during these formative years of Fort Langley.⁸⁷ One of the practices of ‘higher-level civilizations’, the theory maintained, was agriculture—which, as alluded to on page 51, colonial officials did not notice the Coast Salish as already performing. Writing in 1898, Department of Indian Affairs Superintendent General, James A. Smart, said:

“The civilization of our Indians should be their adoption of agricultural pursuits, [...] if the red man is to take his place and keep pace with the white in other directions, he will be best fitted to do so after a more or less prolonged experience of such deliberate method or providing for his wants”.⁸⁸

Not only was Indigenous labour harnessed on Fort Langley’s farms as early as 1829,⁸⁹ but, in years to come, agriculture was being taught at residential schools in the Lower Mainland (such as St. Mary’s in Mission) as a vehicle for assimilation.⁹⁰ By necessity or choice, Western farming began to incorporate itself into Sto:lo communities over time.

Fruits and potatoes seem to have been a successful operation among the Salish groups of Langley, with Kostuchenko asserting that “Sto:lo people appeared to be interested in all types of agriculture but seemed to focus on orcharding, dairying, and potatoes”.⁹¹ To describe them as *interested*, though, is perhaps not completely accurate. Though it does appear that certain Indigenous farms were run successfully, such as that of Chief Sepass in Chilliwack,⁹² it does not seem that the one-location nature of farming fit well with what we know of the Coast Salish annual round. Kostuchenko herself describes a situation from 1887 where some First Nations farmers had left their farms for distant fishing sites, though that year ended up having a poor salmon run. They then went to pick hops in Washington State to supplement this unsuccessful angling attempt, but that led them to miss gathering in their harvest that Fall.⁹³ Additionally, she mentions how “competition with wage labour employment was a major factor for the unsuccessful nature of Sto:lo farms”.⁹⁴ Due to the fact that cannery work or construction generally paid better than farming, they were often seen as a more attractive alternative.⁹⁵ Therefore I tend to give more credit to Kostuchenko’s assertion that Sto:lo agriculture was focused ultimately on sub-

87 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 7.

88 Ibid., 8.

89 MacLachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 106.

90 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 11.

91 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 193; and Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 20.

92 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 195.

93 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 25.

94 Ibid., 27.

95 Ibid., 28.

sistence rather than on market production.⁹⁶

James Gibson, in *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, even ascribes a spiritual component to this lack of interest. To some peoples in the Pacific Northwest, methods of European agriculture were simply too exploitative or too destructive to the land which Indigenous peoples held spiritual connections with.⁹⁷ The connection between Indigenous peoples and their ancestral landscape was undergoing great change in this period, brought about by a rapid reshaping of the Langley area by the influx of settlement that followed the fort's creation. As forests fell to make way for cropland, Indigenous peoples became disempowered; their hereditary, folkloric, and resource networks obliterated by the new geography of the farmscape.⁹⁸ In the next section, we shall examine how the Langley area was refashioned from a largely Coast Salish space to one dominated by European beliefs, land-management practices, and persons of non-Indigenous heritage.

Settlement Proper

With Britain having been provoked to assert its power more officially by the arrival of gold-seeking Americans that year, “the establishment of the colony [of British Columbia, in 1858] signalled the beginning of the end of the Fraser Valley as a largely Native place.”⁹⁹ Before that, the post at Fort Langley had continued much in the same way it had been when we left off, with an emphasis on agriculture and salmon export as opposed to the new paltry trade of furs. Since a delivery of 29 cows in 1839, Langley Prairie had grown to become a home to 240 cattle, 18 horses, and 250 pigs just seven years later.¹⁰⁰ When the primary locus of company activities moved from the Columbia's mouth to Fort Victoria due to the boundary treaty made that same year (1846), Fort Langley gained further prominence as the terminus of the H.B.C. brigade which connected furs from Interior to Coast.¹⁰¹

By the 1860s, houses for farm labourers had been erected on the Prairie, along with barns, byres, and two dairies.¹⁰² Judging by the photo below, these almost certainly would have all been wooden structures. Members of the Kwantlen First Nation continued to work as labourers here (though were most likely paid less than their white counterparts).¹⁰³ Pack-mules

96 Kostuchenko, “The Unique Experiences of Sto:lo Farmers: An Investigation into Native Agriculture in British Columbia, 1875-1916,” 24.

97 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 186.

98 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 188.

99 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 117 and 119.

100 Cullen, “History of Fort Langley, 1827-96,” 32; and Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 52.

101 Ormsby, “Agricultural Development in British Columbia,” 11.

102 Cullen, “History of Fort Langley, 1827-96,” 102.

103 Watt, “Farming, Fort Langley,” 6-7; and Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 117. An assumption I make because this was the case at the P.S.A.C. and the same would probably apply at Langley Prairie.

and pack-bulls used at Yale and on the Cariboo Road during this decade were being fed hay from Fort Langley in the summer and were then kept on Langley Prairie for the winter. This fact is a further example of human operations needing to accommodate themselves to the lay of British Columbia's land—land which in the Yale region was too full of cliffs to allow for grazing.¹⁰⁴

Despite this agricultural activity, the salmon business was, in fact, even more important than farming was, taking less effort to accomplish and bringing in more profit.¹⁰⁵ Agriculture itself was on the wane by

1847, although it was only ever truly discontinued in the 1870s.¹⁰⁶ The farm at Langley Prairie was subdivided in 1877 and its lots auctioned off over the following years.¹⁰⁷ Little space to the salmon trade is given in this paper, however, as it is less effective in demonstrating the interaction between humankind and the Langley landscape.

Those who had been prodded by the gold fever to make their way north brought a demand for agricultural produce and products, which in turn influenced some settlers in British Columbia to take up farming to satisfy this need.¹⁰⁸ The first application for



Hudson's Bay Co Barn at Milner.

From Bill Poppy.

The building on the left is a Hudson's Bay Company barn on Langley Prairie, photo taken between 1920 and 1939. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #1132

104 Watt, "Farming, Fort Langley," 9.

105 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 24.

106 Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country, 1786-1846*, 70; and Watt, "Farming, Fort Langley," 10.

107 Watt, "Farming, Fort Langley," 8.

108 Ormsby, "Agricultural Development in British Columbia," 11.

mainland farming was that of W.K. Squires, who received a lease for 100 acres near Hope.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the mining hubs of the Cariboo supported lucrative farming endeavours in the early 1860s.¹¹⁰ The creation of the colony had also prompted the arrival of the Royal Engineers, who began surveyed the province in preparation for incoming settlement, a project to “conquer nature ... so that all nations [would] ... gaze on gardens and cornfields”.¹¹¹ By now it seems a redundancy to compare this attitude of subjugation to the reciprocal, animistic Stó:lō perspective. The first land surveys of the Royal Engineers were along the Lower Fraser, mapping out areas suitable for farms and townsites.¹¹² Ecological destruction followed in their slipstream. Woodlands were wiped away and shops, houses, and offices conjured in their place by the surveyor’s pen, as was the case at the colony’s capital of New Westminster—then nicknamed ‘stump city’.¹¹³ Much like George Vancouver’s renaming of the Pacific Coast, the efforts of the Engineers “created a further level of cartographic truth, one that was perhaps the ultimate vehicle of appropriation and (re)territorialization”.¹¹⁴ Equally dramatic to any physical change performed at this time, the surveying of the Fraser Valley emphasised a new way of relating to land that had hitherto been limited, in Langley’s case, to those areas under sway of

the fort. This relationship was now one characterised by possession rather than cooperation, and the surveys not only represented the ambitions of the colony, but also the means by which these aims would be actualized.¹¹⁵

As the 1860s progressed, such attitudes were not confined to the ruling-over of land alone. Most of the Fraser Valley’s reserve lands were finalised between the years 1864 and 1868, relegating Indigenous populations to small fractions of their original territories.¹¹⁶ The diminishment of Indigenous peoples on these maps, and, on some of them, the total exclusion of any indication of their presence, delegitimised their claim to the land in colonial conceptions of the Valley.¹¹⁷ They were removed from the map so as to be removed from the mind, and, ultimately, from the land. However, it should be understood that while Indigenous people are often seen to have been passive acceptors of British rule, they demonstrated many forms of resistance. For example, groups would sometimes extend the bounds of their reserves by removing the stakes which demarcated them, or would continue living in certain areas whether or not it had already been claimed by settlers.¹¹⁸

The Royal Engineers had focussed on delineating the landscape into orderly boundaries, a work that

109 Ibid., 12.

110 Ibid., 12.

111 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 117.

112 Ibid., 118.

113 Ibid., 19.

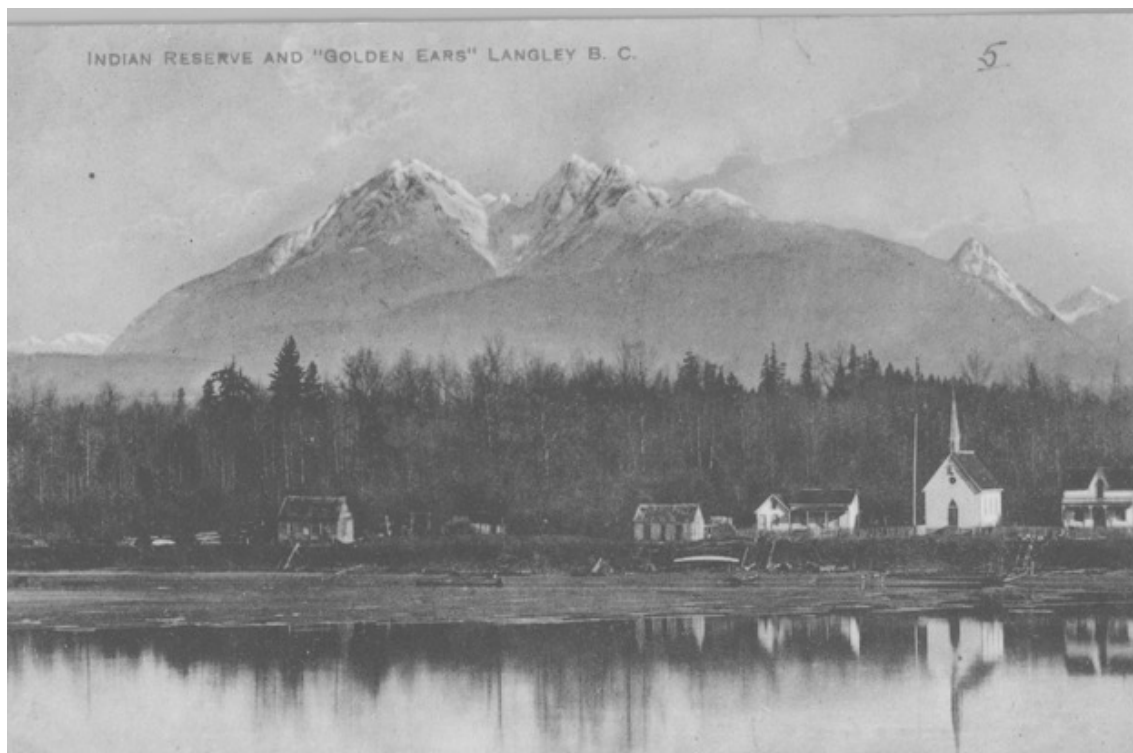
114 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 128.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid., 167.

117 Ibid., 132.

118 Ibid., 146.



Kwantlen Reserve on McMillan Island, n.d. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #0438

heralded the inrush of settlers which lay on the horizon.¹¹⁹ In 1860, the earliest of these purchased land on the Fraser's banks, and inland at Langley Prairie.¹²⁰ Pre-emption was allowed the following year, though in both purchase and pre-emption, settlers could not access any of the Hudson's Bay Company's prime land until the Prairie's eventual subdivision.¹²¹ Most settlers arrived young, "intending to start a farm and raise a family"¹²²—the first part of which could take, as we have seen, a tremendous amount of time and effort. These early settlers were generally rather mysterious characters whose deeds and thoughts were rarely com-

mitted to paper.¹²³ However, there were some whose lives still glimmer through the murk of many years and can help us to measure a patch of Langley land by the history they left behind.

In *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, Warren Sommer recounts how a quarter section of land (160ac) that is now bounded by the current streets of "Glover Road on the east, 200th Street to the West, the Fraser Highway to the South, and the Langley bypass to the North" was pre-empted by a James McFarling in 1867.¹²⁴ This land appears to have never been occupied, though, and was later claimed

119 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 117.

120 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 17.

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid., 43.

123 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 18; and Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 177. One man of note, however, was John 'Gassy Jack' Deighton, though he was merely a speculator (Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 43).

124 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 19.

by Adam Innes.¹²⁵ Adam and his brother William were the first permanent residents of Langley Prairie, arriving in the early 1870s and settling on lots that bordered each other.¹²⁶ By 1876, 40 acres of the Innes' land were under cultivation.¹²⁷ Another notable early family of Langley residents were the Works, descended from that very John Work who had been a clerk of Fort Langley. His nephew Henry Work bought land in

1868, which “lay along the portage route that his uncle had followed some 44 years earlier”.¹²⁸ Though he never settled it, his own nephew (the 16 year old Robert Work) came to the property in 1890 and ran the farm until just after World War I.¹²⁹

Though details about either farm are hard to come by, we can conjecture many matters about their existence based on what is known to be true for most farms in Langley. For example, the tasks of clearing land, planting crops, and the construction of houses and barns were common for early settlers¹³⁰ and the Inneses and the Works undoubtedly took part in them. Root crops and grains were commonly grown in the area, and orchard fruit was a widespread cash crop.¹³¹ Dairy cattle, however, were the most significant components of many farms, with Holsteins appearing to have been the dominant breed of cattle for the district's farmers (Guernseys were also common).¹³²

From the late 19th century to World War I, the Fraser Valley's rural landscape was a place of frame houses, pastures, orchards, grains, gardens, roads, rails, boats, and picket fences.¹³³ This last component, the fence, was a highly important part of any farm. Far from a mere boundary, it was imbued with high social significance and symbolised a farmer's duty to separate the wilderness from ordered society.¹³⁴ It is important



Houston family milkhouse, in Derby Reach. February 2022. Photo by Stefano Buckley.

125 Ibid.
126 Ibid., 25.
127 Ibid., 27.

128 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 33.
129 Ibid., 34.
130 Ibid., 26.
131 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 20.
132 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 45 and 47.
133 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 171.
134 Ibid., 174.



A bounded landscape. House and farm on Langley Prairie, between 1908 and 1914. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #0438

not to underestimate such aspects of homesteading, for, like many topics touched on above, here too existed a relationship between land and culture, between the actual and the abstract, which brought changes to both.

The fantasy of agrarianism, for example, elevated rural lifestyles to an idyllic status. Proponents of this belief which dominated the Fraser Valley put forth that to be self-sustaining was an existence both wholesome and respectable.¹³⁵ Intertwined therein was a strain of racist thought that denied Indigenous cultures the status of true civilizations, and one which the identity of *settler* was founded upon.¹³⁶ The settler's task was to transfigure wilderness into ordered coun-

tryside, and since Indigenous peoples were intimately wedded to this wilderness, the colonial campaign was furthered as much by individual settlers remaking Langley's terrain after the image of European farmland as it was by the imposition of British social paradigms onto an originally non-British space. After all, if the greatest difference between settler and Indigenous was their relationships to the land,¹³⁷ then it is logical that the intercultural contact-place for such relationships would be the medium of land as well.

However, just as the bucolic mirage of homestead living was weaponized as a means to conquest and assimilation, it could conceal an ugly interior about itself too: Sommer explains that, due to the

135 Ibid., 20.

136 Ibid., 164.

137 Ibid., 166.

backbreaking effort of pioneering, many settlers would have been happy to return home after their arrival in Langley.¹³⁸ The region was sparsely populated well into the 1900s, with barely a dozen families calling it home by the turn of the century.¹³⁹ Sid Jude, son of a Langley Prairie settler family, said he had never before seen such a lonely place.¹⁴⁰ Romantic notions of self-sufficiency may have been shattered for the district's early settlers, "forced into exclusion from the rest of society and deprived of access to markets".¹⁴¹ Yet despite the solitude—or perhaps because of it—cooperation was a common and necessary component of rural life. Families shared ox-teams, raised barns together, and helped each other reap the harvest.¹⁴² As early as the 1870s there was a small market at New Westminster where Langley products could be sold, to which cattle were herded via the Yale Road (today's Fraser Highway).¹⁴³

While it was a major road in that day, however, it would be considered quite poor by modern standards.¹⁴⁴ In her article 'Agricultural Development in British Columbia', Margaret Ormsby writes that "From the beginning the farmer in British Columbia was handicapped by the difficulty of conveying goods vast distances over difficult terrain".¹⁴⁵ Not only were

Langley's farmers subjected to all of those hardships I mentioned above, from flooding and heavy rainfall, to having to carve their homes out of tangled forests, but they were furthermore miles away from any half-decent markets. It is important to understand this situation to understand just how monumental a shift it was when the railway finally arrived.

This was not the better-known Canadian Pacific Railway, though. The C.P.R. had not affected Langley in any hugely significant way due to it being on the northern side of the Fraser River.¹⁴⁶ Rather, this was the British Columbia Electric Railway,¹⁴⁷ which proved to be the saviour for Langley's suffering farmers. This railway not only brought boons to British Columbia's settlers with "an inexhaustible market [...] opened on the prairies and the coast cities", but it had created a demand for farmers who lived in in the vicinity of its work camps (much like that of the 1858 Gold Rush).¹⁴⁸ The B.C.E.R. and the C.P.R. both brought many of those who had worked to build them into Langley, diversifying the demography of the settlement by introducing people of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian descent to a predominantly British population.¹⁴⁹ Many had come in the Gold Rush as

138 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 27.

139 Ibid., 53.

140 Ibid., 47.

141 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 161.

142 Ibid., 158.

143 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 24 and 30.

144 Ibid.

145 Ormsby, "Agricultural Development in British Columbia," 12.

146 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 54.

147 Ibid.

148 Ormsby, "Agricultural Development in British Columbia," 13.

149 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 74.

well and found jobs as farmhands, servants, millers, loggers, and cannery workers.¹⁵⁰ The aforementioned Robert Work, for example, kept Sikh labourers to help on his farm.¹⁵¹ In an age before industrial farm machinery (which came to Langley following the First World War),¹⁵² any extra labour was an important asset. Children would have also kept busy on farms, performing simpler chores such as milking cows and chopping firewood.¹⁵³

The railway did more than just allow Langley's farmers better access to selling their produce. It was perhaps the key instrument in turning Langley from "a sparsely inhabited collection of farms in the

bush, [into] a significant regional urban centre".¹⁵⁴ There had been no official businesses in Langley until Alphonse Prefontaine's general store opened in 1909, a sign that the sleepy settlement was soon to become the "commercial centre of the municipality".¹⁵⁵ Prefontaine's store was made possible because, now that the B.C.E.R. had come, Langley stood at the intersection of three significant transportation routes—the railway, the Yale Road, and the road into Fort Langley.¹⁵⁶ Urbanisation followed, as businesses flocked to the area in the 1920s.¹⁵⁷ The increasing number of city dwellers allowed for businesses to offer services which had traditionally been conducted by families for their



Murrayville, on Langley Prairie, n.d. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #0348

150 Ibid.

151 Ibid., 34.

152 Ibid., 39.

153 Ibid.

154 Ibid., 179.

155 Ibid., 53.

156 Ibid..

157 Ibid., 64.

own individual needs.¹⁵⁸ Cars became common in this period as well (though Robert Work had been notorious for having one before then), and electric milking machines eased the load on dairy farmers by appearing in the 1930s.¹⁵⁹

Yet it should be noted that Langley's modernisation was a gradual process and one that cannot be said to have happened in a linear fashion. Even in the 1920s, there were no paved roads, and only about 600 people lived on Langley Prairie.¹⁶⁰ Industry was slow to come to the area, the earliest being small in scope and only catering to the town and its surrounding residents.¹⁶¹ Many more out-of-the-way farms did not enjoy the luxuries of electricity even into the 1940s and '50s.¹⁶² As Jeff Oliver advises, we should caution ourselves against thinking that colonial 'progress' followed a unilinear route from wilderness to civilization. Despite the fact that countless trees were hewn to establish farms, they could return swiftly and often thicker the second time as a mesh of fast-growing shrubbery that must have proved tedious to the weary homesteader.¹⁶³ Taken as a metaphor, this should be noted by anyone who presumes to think that the route to our current day and age has been a direct and teleological path from the wild past to today's orderly state of affairs (a reasoning which is in fact a trademark of colonial history-making, both in the timeframe concerned and nowadays).¹⁶⁴

158 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 83.

159 Sommer, *From Prairie to City: A History of the City of Langley*, 6, 34, and 45.

160 Ibid., 67 and 79.

161 Ibid., 81.

162 Ibid., 101.

163 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 154.

164 Ibid., 4.

165 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 4.

Conclusion

Another common component of colonial historical narratives is that of looking at past human endeavours as a trajectory of purely material achievements—achievements that have “rendered history largely in terms of a self-legitimizing colonial project to subdue nature”.¹⁶⁵ It is for this very reason that this paper has highlighted those crucial elements of Langley's story that played their roles outside of the material matters which concern most histories. As is obvious, of course, I have also delved deeply into these very material matters as well. But, as I put forth in the introduction to this work, it is by looking at the concerns of a culture and its individuals, as well as to how they affected (and were affected by) the geography they were bound to, that I believe we may gain the richest insight into a place. They are each mirrors to the other. It was precisely at the overlapping hems of these two subjects (or at the 'crossroads' I mentioned at the beginning) that Langley's seed was planted, and it is only by following their interrelationship through the years that we can understand the tree that grew there. If one thought back to two hundred years in the past, to when Langley was forest, and bog, and meadow, they might now view the same place and deem it to be a different one. Indeed, in many ways, it is. Places where ancient cedars and Douglas firs once towered are now level pas-

turage. Places where pasturage once was are now parking lots. Who may say what those parking lots shall be two hundred years from now?

It is important to remember the sentiment of Oliver that I began this essay with: that a landscape is in many ways created by the subjectivities of the humans that dwell within it. How could it be possible for Langley to stay the same, when it has been home to countless individuals and cultures over the course of its existence? It is the very essence of *place* that its true nature is never fixed for long. It is for this reason that I decided to tell Langley's story through the alteration of its landscape: the transformations that occurred here are the very essence of the current iteration of the area.

It is almost unimaginable to conceive of how quickly settlement transformed Langley—"in less than a century the landscape was changed from a place of varied ecology [...] to one defined by fields, logging

scars, and property boundaries".¹⁶⁶ Cole Harris puts it even more succinctly: "a transition that in Europe took millennia, here took decades".¹⁶⁷ As early as 1829, workers at Fort Langley were breaking up beaver-dams that flooded an area which McDonald thought would make good grazing land.¹⁶⁸ John McLoughlin, visiting Langley Prairie a decade later, ordered that "every year as much additional ground ... be laid down for meadow, so as ultimately to cover the whole plain with foreign grasses",¹⁶⁹ demonstrating that an ingress of non-native plant species reflected that of its non-native humans. Indeed, "colonial history cannot be divorced from the landscape itself".¹⁷⁰

In much the same way as the Coast Salish inhabited a landscape that was not limited to the material but was rather a fusion of physical space and its intangible cultural superimpositions, so too have I begun to inhabit my homeland differently. What were the banal fields and farmlands of my previous percep-



J.W. Berry (left) and two other men with horses clearing land, early 20th c. Langley Centennial Museum Photo #4784



The land of Adam Innes in the 21st c., March 2022. Photo by Stefano Buckley.

166 Ibid., 6.

167 Ibid., 23.

168 Maclachlan, ed., *The Fort Langley journals*, 1827-30, 107.

169 Cullen, "History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," 34.

170 Oliver, *Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast*, 204.

tion have become augmented by understanding their historical use. The palimpsest of this place can be seen in the alders and river-grasses which hug the hems of farmland, and though the original vegetation is relegated to the outskirts and memories of the past nearly forgotten, those memories do still remain. When I look now at the Milner area on Langley Prairie, where

the H.B.C. farm once stood, the present displays its continuity with the past: the changes of this landscape from partially-wooded meadow, to settler homestead, to contemporary dairy farm, are all layered upon one location, each page describing a chapter in the long text of Langley's narrative, laid open to those who can to read it.



The land of Adam Innes in the 21st c., March 2022. Photo by Stefano Buckley.

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A comparison of how Richard Wright, Frantz Fanon and W.E.B. Du Bois challenged racial domination, in relation to their philosophical and psychological influences, 1945-1963

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Introduction

Academics have produced a broad range of scholarship focused on the diverse political thought of Richard Wright, Frantz Fanon and W.E.B. Du Bois. While these men are often analysed individually, although occasionally considered in pairs, this work seeks to situate all three in conversation with one another by assessing their common philosophical and psychological influences. While Eli Zaretsky produced an account close to this analysis in *Political Freud: A History*, his work represents an incomplete investigation of the nuanced way psychology and philosophy combined to influence Wright, Fanon and Du Bois.¹¹ Expanding upon Zaretsky, this work looks to use more disparate primary and secondary works to further his analysis and provide a deeper understanding of the philosophical and psychological influences on the emancipatory theories which Wright, Fanon and Du Bois utilised to challenge racial domination.

For Wright, Fanon and Du Bois, the central issue of the post-war era was the racial domination of

the non-white global majority by the white, Western minority. However, each thinker conceived of racial domination differently. While personal experiences undoubtedly fed into the progression of their political theory, this work shall argue that Wright, Fanon and Du Bois' characterisations of racial domination were influenced by the philosophical theory of G.W Hegel and various psychological theorists. Wright, Fanon and Du Bois did not conceive of racial domination as the singular denial of services or opportunities to dominated individuals, but understood domination through their individualistic appreciation of its philosophical and psychological facets. By utilising the books, articles, letters, and interviews that reflect each thinker's post-war theory, this work shall display how psychological and philosophical influences affected Wright, Fanon and Du Bois' understanding of racial domination and the emancipatory theories they produced.

In making this assertion, this work shall initially investigate the similarities and differences in each

1 Eli Zaretsky, *Political Freud: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) pp. 47-48, 53-54, 66-68

thinker's philosophical and psychological influences and interpretations. This work's subsequent section shall address how these theoretical differences served to differentiate the path to political emancipation presented by Wright, Fanon and Du Bois. Taking each thinker in turn and assessing their developing political proposals, as much as their rejection of other political theories, will demonstrate how their theoretical observations of the impact of psychological and philosophical domination dictated their political theory. The final section of this work will address the practical methods of emancipation proposed by each thinker. While this work will be unable to address the entirety of the practical methods presented in the corpuses of Wright, Fanon and Du Bois, this work shall utilise a thematic representation of the psychological and philosophical considerations presented in their emancipatory theories of leadership, violence and culture. By comparing these three thinkers, this work seeks to demonstrate how their challenges to racial domination were informed by their individualistic understanding of philosophy and psychology, producing three divergent emancipatory theories.

Influences

Wright, Fanon, and Du Bois each produced an emancipatory theory responding to racial domination. To fully appreciate their emancipatory political thought, this work shall first investigate the philosophical influences, before turning to the psychological influences, which impacted their perception of racial domination. Each thinker was influenced by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's philosophical "struggle for Recognition," Alienation and the Master-Slave dialectic, which curtailed the Self-Consciousness of the dominated native.² Emergent psychological theories of the individual and Collective Unconscious also impacted each thinker, as the work of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung imposed psychological considerations onto their emancipatory theories.³

Philosophy

While Hegel has received significant academic interest, this work focuses not on Hegel's original philosophical conception, but its interpretation by Wright, Fanon and Du Bois.⁴ Abdul R. JanMohamed's *The Death Bound Subject* has effectively displayed Wright's utilisation of the Hegelian struggle for Recognition and Self-Consciousness across his fictional works.⁵ JanMohamed authoritatively argued that Wright's fic-

2 Abdul R. JanMohamed, *The Death-Bound-Subject: Richard Wright's Archaeology of Death* (London: Duke University Press, 2005) pp. 12-14; Peter Hudis, *Frantz Fanon: Philosopher of the Barricades* (London: Pluto Press, 2015) pp. 44-48; Michael Stone-Richards, 'Race, Marxism, and Colonial Experience: Du Bois and Fanon', in *The Cambridge Companion to W.E.B. Du Bois*, ed. Shamoan Zamir (Cambridge: CUP, 2008) pp. 147-149

3 Zaretsky, *Political Freud*, pp. 47-48, 53-54, 66-68

4 For a broad representation of Hegel's historiography, see: *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel*, ed. Frederick C. Beiser (Cambridge: CUP, 1989)

5 For clarity, hegelian concepts such as Recongition and Self-Consciousness shall be capitilaised to distinguish them from their colloquial definitions. For a detailed study of Hegel's concept of Reogniotion and Self-Consciousness, rather than Wirght, Fanon and Du Bois's idiosyncratic interpretation of these concepts, refer to JanMohammed, *Death Bound Subject*

tional violence portrays a dialectic, taken from Alexander Kojève, whereby the Slave's struggle against the white Master produces Self-Consciousness.⁶ While JanMohamed investigated Wright's fiction, Laura Grattan and Jane Anna Gordon noted the same Hegelian dialectic in Wright's non-fiction.⁷ In addition to Grattan and Gordon presentation of Wright's dialectic perception of America, an analysis supported by Wright's writing on William McGee and Paul Gilroy's examination of Wright's later Hegelian fiction, this work asserts that Hegelianism also influenced Wright's non-fiction work and guided his post-colonial political theory.⁸

As Wright reckoned with the dialectic and sought to ensure Recognition of racially dominated groups, he noted that in the Gold Coast and at the Bandung Conference the Western Other's gaze reduced the native to a subordinate position.⁹ The "confrontation of the Africana and his white master" alienated the native, compelling them to look up at the Western Other, as a frog would a human, making equitable Recogni-

tion impossible.¹⁰ JanMohamed argued that Wright used violence in his fictional work to present the forced Recognition of the white Other.¹¹ While Fanon used Wright's Recognition through violence to support his practical argument, Wright eschewed authentic, practical liberation from Alienation through violence.¹² Instead, Wright sought Recognition through Western Values as a superior alternative to native traditionalism.¹³ Rather than resuscitate the native traditionalism imperialism had destroyed, Wright sought the post-colonial proliferation of rationalism and secularism for modernisation to produce parity between post-colonial nations and the West, facilitating equitable Recognition.¹⁴ Concurrently, Wright recognised Westernised colonial elites who were refused Recognition, owing to the West's racial prejudices.¹⁵ Wright thus understood emancipatory Recognition dualistically; emancipation necessitated post-colonial nations rejecting their traditional culture which had left them Alienated, and adopting liberating modernisation, alongside the West fulfilling it's own promise of rationality by offering

6 JanMohamed, *Death-Bound-Subject*, pp. 16-22

7 JanMohamed, *Death-Bound-Subject*, pp. 16-22; Laura Grattan, 'Reading Richard Wright beyond the Carceral State: The Politics of Refusal in Black Radical Imagination', in *The Politics of Richard Wright: Perspectives on Resistance*, ed. Jane Anna Gordon and Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2018) pp. 312-13; Jane Anna Gordon, 'Slavery Continued, Freedom Sought: Wright's Political Intellectual Journey', in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, pp. 330-32.

8 Paul Gilroy, 'Masculinity, Misogyny, and the Limits of Racial Community', in *The Politics of Richard Wright: The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, p. 128; Richard Wright, 'Behind the McGee Case', in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, p. 156

9 Richard Wright, *Black Power: Three Books from Exile: Black Power; The Color Curtain; And White Man, Listen!* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013) pp. 107-110, 456-457

10 *Ibid.* p. 376

11 JanMohamed, *Death-Bound-Subject*. pp. 18-19

12 Richard Wright, *Conversations with Richard Wright*, ed. Keneth Kinnamon and Michel Fabre (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993) pp. 171-172; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 2008) p. 107

13 Wright used 'Western Values' to refer to the promise of secularity, tolerance, and subjective freedom that arose from Western political thought. Wright held individual freedom 'as a supreme right and good for all men' and argued that the Western Values of secularity and political tolerance ensured 'that man, for good or ill, is his own ruler.' Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 708-709

14 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 717-719; Wright, *Conversations*, pp. 181-182

15 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 719-723, 712-716

Recognition devoid of irrational racism.¹⁶ Only fulfilling both of these conditions could reject the dialectic and emancipate racial groups from their philosophical and material domination.

Fanon's understanding of Hegelian Alienation's role in racial domination rejected Wright's top-down view, asserting instead that individual action against the Master was key to emancipation. In *Black Skin, White Masks (BSWM)* Fanon initially demands Recognition as "a Frenchman," rejecting his racial difference.¹⁷ Against the gaze of the white Master, who desires work rather than reciprocal Recognition from the Black person, Fanon is forced to "experience his being through others," as his Being was replaced by a "racial epidermal schema" that the white Other imposed upon him, creating a racialised Slave to engage with rather than Recognising a Self-Conscious Being.¹⁸ Alienated from his constructed Black ontology by the white Master, Fanon felt forced to "assert myself as a BLACK MAN...[as] the other hesitated to recognize" his Self-Consciousness.¹⁹ Fanon's verbal attack upon the white Other shattered his assumed subordination, forcing the Other to Recognise him though his antag-

onistic "inverted Hegelianism" which self-produced Recognition through antagonistic action.²⁰

While opinion remains divided over Kojève's influence compared to Hegel, both of whom Fanon had read, George Ciccariello-Maher's description of "inverted-Hegelianism" best represents Fanon's development of Hegel's dialectic.²¹ Fanon rejected Hegel and Kojève's argument that the struggle for Recognition stopped short of death, asserting the utility of actual death for independently alleviating Alienation.²² Quoting Aimé Césaire's *And The Dogs Were Silent*, Fanon notes the Recognition of the Slave at the moment of the Master's murder.²³ The relationship between the white Master and the Black Slave was "irrevocably one of transcendence" as the Master can never fully emancipate the Slave, as Wright had wanted, and only independent struggle can produce Recognition while rejecting the Alienation and subordination forced upon the Slave.²⁴ Emancipation required the participation of the native, as the Slave could not be freed by the Master's decree but only through independent struggle which demanded the Recognition of the Master, which rejected their dialectical Alienation

16 *Ibid.* pp. 607, 719, 724-725, 735,

17 Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 157

18 *Ibid.* pp. 82, 85, 172n8

19 George Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, Radical Americas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017) pp. 58-60; Fanon, *Black Skin*, p. 87

20 Reiland Rabaka, *Forms of Fanonism: Frantz Fanon's Critical Theory and the Dialectics of Decolonization* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010) pp. 56-60; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 83-88; Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 53, 58-62

21 Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, p. 53; George Ciccariello-Maher has written about the racism and Eurocentrism of Hegel's original work, presenting Fanon's crucial introduction of a racialised Slave into the Hegelian dialectic (Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 52-55)

22 Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 58-63; Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the 'Phenomenology of Spirit'*, ed. Raymond Queneau and Allan Bloom, trans. Jr James H. Nichols (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980) pp. 14-15; Frantz Fanon, *Alienation and Freedom*, ed. Jean Khalfa and Robert J. C. Young, trans. Steven Corcoran (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018) pp. 582, 598, 658,

23 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (London: Penguin Books, 2001) pp. 66-70

24 Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 63-65, 84-86; Fanon, *Black Skin*, p. 106; Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (London: Grove Press, 1988) pp. 122-123; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 102-104

and produced the Self-Consciousness that domination had curtailed.²⁵

Du Bois offered another interpretation of Alienation's position in racial domination. Having engaged with Hegelian philosophy from 1888, Du Bois' Hegelianism is most pronounced in his early work, specifically *The Souls of Black Folk's* conceptualisation of the Veil, alienating the Black world from the white, denying Recognition to the Black person.²⁶ While Du Bois' early Hegelianism reflects the interpretations of a separated Black existence displayed in the work of Fanon and Wright, his utilisation of Hegelianism in his emancipatory theory after 1940 was deeply impacted by his developing Socialist thought.²⁷ In contrast to Fanon's assertion of the self-realisation of Self-Consciousness, Du Bois leans toward Wright's interpretation that mutual realisation between whites and colonial subjects must break the dialectic.²⁸ However,

in a rejection of Wright's argument, Du Bois asserts that Alienation, as a system of Capitalist economic exploitation, can only be solved by the emancipatory Recognition of Socialism.²⁹

Expanding upon Fanon and Wright, Du Bois established the comparable Alienation of white and Black people labouring under Capitalism.³⁰ While Fanon used Jean-Paul Sartre's *Anti-Semite and Jew* to present the more complete Alienation of Black individuals, Du Bois' invocation of Warsaw Jews and American whites presented "the white worker ...[as] fundamentally the same as...the black."³¹ Capitalists dominated and Alienated both groups, as economic exploitation required refuting the humanity of the exploited.³² In opposition to Wright, Du Bois asserts that only Socialist principles, which rejected Western economic exploitation, could facilitate Recognition.³³ By engaging with a Socialist variation of Hegelian phi-

25 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 122-125; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 73-74, 66-70, 33-34, 46-48

26 Shamoon Zamir, *Dark Voices: W.E.B. Du Bois and American Thought, 1888-1903* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) pp. 113-119; Du Bois' nuanced early relationship with Hegel's philosophy remains contested. Joel Williamson has argued that Du Bois sought to integrate the African diaspora into Hegel's philosophy of history as a privileged "seventh son." (Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (Oxford: OUP, 1984) pp. 403-405, 404) While Williamson's language of struggle appears to influence Paul Gilroy's work, Zamir has rejected Du Bois' adoption of Hegel's philosophy of History, contending instead that Du Bois appealed to the racialised Hegelian dialectic which this work discusses, an assertion recently supported and extended into Du Bois' later life by Stone-Richard. (Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, pp. 112-114, 134-139; Stone-Richards, 'Du Bois and Fanon', pp. 149-151; Zamir, *Dark Voices*, pp. 114-119) While Kimberly Ann Harris has sought to reject Hegel's influence upon Du Bois, the breadth of evidence supports Du Bois' deep engagement with a racialised Hegelian theory, even if the aspect he engaged with remains uncertain. (Kimberly Ann Harris, 'Du Bois and Hegelian Idealism', *Idealistic Studies* 51, 2 (2021) p. 162)

27 Thomas C. Holt, 'The Political Uses of Alienation: W.E.B. Du Bois on Politics, Race, and Culture, 1903-1940', *American Quarterly* 42, 2 (1990) pp. 308-310; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr (Oxford: OUP, 2014) pp. 185-190

28 Wright, *Three Books*, p. 607; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 67-70; W.E.B. Du Bois, *W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses 1920-1963*, ed. Philip Sheldon Foner (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970) pp. 196-197, 263

29 Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, pp. 275-276; Du Bois, *Autobiography*, p. 35; Stone-Richards, 'Du Bois and Fanon', pp. 148-151

30 Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, pp. 250-255

31 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 12-15, 194; Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, pp. 250-255; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 87-91

32 Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, pp. 182-190; Reiland Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory: Reconstructing The Black Radical Tradition, From W. E. B. Du Bois and C. L. R. James to Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009) pp. 48-50

33 Richard Wright, 'I Tried to Be a Communist', *The Atlantic*, 1 May 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1944/08/richard-wright-communist/618821/> (accessed May 11, 2022); Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 23-24, 262-265; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'A Path for Nigeria', 1961,

losophy, Du Bois placed Alienation and racial domination within the economic superstructure of Capitalism.³⁴ While both Wright and Fanon had expressed concern over rampant imperial Capitalism, Du Bois conflated the racial and the economic problem, presenting an economic shift as sufficient for facilitating emancipatory Recognition.³⁵

Psychology

Wright, Fanon and Du Bois were all influenced by a psychological understanding of racial domination.³⁶ Zaretsky presents an interesting investigation of their shared psychological understanding of domination, however, he appears to incorrectly assign psychological constructs to their interpretation of Sigmund Freud which were produced by other psychologists, specifically Carl Jung's Collective Unconscious.³⁷ Stephan Kuhl has noted that Wright's psychological influences, rather than representing Zaretsky's "Marxo-Freudian" interpretation, presented a broader interest in trauma, supported by Dorothy Stringer's investigation of Wright's interest in *African-American literature's* psychological legacy.³⁸ While Zaretsky is supported in asserting that psychology affected Du Bois' presentation of racism in the 1940s, he excluded William James' influence, which is presented by Cynthia Schrager and Shannon Sullivan.³⁹ Zaretsky presents a more detailed picture of Fanon's psychological influences but focuses almost exclusively on *BSWM*, an analysis which this work aims to broaden, alongside the scholarship of Reiland Rabaka and Gwen Bergner.⁴⁰

mums312-b228-i003, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b228-i003>, pp. 19-21

34 Stone-Richards, 'Du Bois and Fanon', pp. 275-276

35 Du Bois, *Du Bois*, pp. 182-190; Wright, *Conversations*, p. 78; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 127-128; Stone-Richards, 'Du Bois and Fanon', pp. 148-151; Holt, 'Alienation', pp. 308-311

36 Zaretsky, *Political Freud*, pp. 47-48, 53-54, 66-68

37 Anthony Stevens, *Jung: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2001) pp. 46-50; Zaretsky, *Political Freud*, pp. 39-40

38 Dorothy Stringer, 'Psychology and Black Liberation in Richard Wright's Black Power (1954)', in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, pp. 198-199; Stephan Kuhl, 'Wright, Psychoanalysis, and Fredric Wertham's Reading of Hamlet', in *Richard Wright in Context*, ed. Michael Nowlin (Cambridge: CUP, 2021) p. 237; Zaretsky, *Political Freud*, p. 62

39 Zaretsky, *Political Freud*, pp. 47-48; Shannon Sullivan, 'Remembering the Gift: W.E.B. Du Bois on the Unconscious and Economic Operations of Racism', *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 39, 2 (2003) pp. 209-210; Cynthia D. Schrager, 'Both Sides of the Veil: Race, Science, and Mysticism in W.E.B. Du Bois', *American Quarterly* 48, 4 (1996) pp. 567-570

40 Gwen Bergner, 'Politics and Pathologies: On The Subject Of Race in Psychoanalysis', in *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Anthony C

Wright engaged with a variety of psychological works, notably those of Jung and Sigmund Freud, alongside literary psychological investigations, which influenced his political and fictional work.⁴¹ Similarly to Fanon, Wright utilised psychology to understand the enforced behavioural repression of the colonial native.⁴² Under the system of colonial domination, Wright noted the common psychological repression of native culture and heritage across colonised societies, owing to its characterisation as shameful and inferior by colonisers.⁴³ While Fanon asserted that whites construct the Black man, Wright argued that “African psychological attitudes...reflect the West’s assumptions,” as racially dominated people internalise their supposed psychological inferiority.⁴⁴ Accepting Octave Mannoni’s interpretation of a native dependency complex developing against the coloniser’s superiority complex - sharply rejected by Fanon - Wright saw natives concealing their spiritual culture, as the “feeling of inferiority” formed through imperialism “corrodes their very souls.”⁴⁵

Theorising on the Unconscious collective and individual, commonly associated with Jung but accredited to Frederic Wretham’s influence by Kuhl,

Wright rejected the possibility of relating to natives, as they had been psychologically differentiated by colonialism’s enforced inferiority and the subsequent stagnation of traditional culture.⁴⁶ This “psychological distance,” separating modernised Westerners from traditional natives, enforced his dialectical view of Alienation between an inferior Slave and superior Master, psychologically manifesting as an inferiority complex.⁴⁷ Comparably to Fanon, Wright asserted that psychological inferiority had been induced for imperial domination, aiding the Western Other’s “cheap and vulgar superiority of race domination.”⁴⁸ Diverging from Fanon and Du Bois, Wright argued that psychological emancipation not only required the colonised to “master the ideas and techniques of the twentieth century”, reducing their psychological separation from the West, but also demanded that the West abandon its enforced superiority.⁴⁹ Similarly to Wright’s dialectic, psychological influences produced a dualistic understanding of domination, denouncing its imposition by the West while seeking emancipation through colonial modernisation.

Fanon, a practising psychologist, utilised psychological explanations more broadly than Wright or

Alessandrini (London: Routledge, 1998) pp. 219-220; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 131-134; Zaretsky, *Political Freud*, p. 70

41 Wright, *Conversations*, pp. 159; Michel Fabre, Richard Wright: Books and Writers (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990) pp. 83-84, 57-58; Stringer, ‘Black Liberation’, pp. 198-201

42 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 336-337

43 Ibid. pp. 556-557

44 Fanon, *Black Skin*, p. 73; Wright, *Three Books*, p. 150

45 Gilroy, ‘Racial Community’, pp. 128-129; Wright, *Three Books*, p. 581; Richard Wright, ‘The Neuroses of Conquest’, *The Nation* 183, 16 (20 October 1956) pp. 330-331; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 61-65

46 Stevens, *Jung*, pp. 47-50; Kuhl, ‘Wright, Psychoanalysis’, pp. 437-420; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 148-149, 706; Stringer, ‘Black Liberation’, pp. 205-208

47 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 149, 807

48 Wright, *Three Books*, p. 807; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 112-115, 144-147

49 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 803, 808-812

Du Bois, noting the individual and collective psychological response to racial domination. Initially mirroring Wright, Fanon noted that Black people were forced to reconstruct their Ego to engage with whites, as the title *BSWM* plausibly references the masks (persona) of Jung's social interactions.⁵⁰ The colonised man looks "to prove to White men... the richness of their thought," as the inability to gain white Recognition forces increasingly desperate attempts to "become white" while rejecting native cultural heritage, even desiring sexual relationships with white women allowing them to be "loved like a white man."⁵¹ While Rabaka discusses the possible homosexual undertones of this passage, a common Freudian theme that Fanon rejected in the colonial setting, Fanon used his psychological influences to display the production of native psychological inferiority by whites.⁵² Moving beyond Wright, Fanon racialised Jung's Collective Unconscious to provide *a priori* Black Archetypes of racial domination.⁵³ Rejecting Mannoni's characterisation of native psychological aptitude for domination, Fanon argued that

colonisation "‘implanted in the subsoil of the collective’" an Archetype of the 'good' white man who assails the 'bad' Black savage.⁵⁴ These Archetypes, realised upon contact with whites, forced the Black individual to inhabit an imposed subordinate role, not owing to native ancestral practices, but enforced through the pre-ordained violence of the coloniser.⁵⁵ Fanon rejected contemporary psychoanalysis' familial causes of psychosis and asserted that the presence of the white coloniser produced colonial psychosis among native populations.⁵⁶ The colonial native, psychologically damaged by their enforced inferiority, must achieve emancipation by rejecting the Archetypal inferiority through their struggle for liberation.⁵⁷

Du Bois' central interpretation of psychology presented racism as a fundamentally irrational force, stemming from Capitalist exploitation. While *The Souls of Black Folk* has received the majority of historiographical interest, this work is primarily concerned with Du Bois' psychological understanding of racial domination in the post-war period.⁵⁸ A critical psy-

50 Stevens, *Jung*, pp. 63-64; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 35-36, 119-120

51 Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 4, 9, 45; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 33-35; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 53-55, 236-237; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, p. 194

52 Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 207-208; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 34-35, 101; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 117-118

53 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 52-53; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 35-37; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 66n9, 144-147

54 Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 112-115, 144-147

55 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 65-68; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 40-42; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 111-115; Maurice Stevens, 'Public (Re)Memory, Vindicating Narrative, and Troubling Beginnings: Towards a Critical Postcolonial Psychoanalytical Theory', in *Fanon: A Critical Reader*, ed. Lewis Gordon, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Renee T. White (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996) pp. 205-210

56 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 52-53; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 33-37; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 117-119

57 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 68-74; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 86-87; Gwen Bergner argued that, while most academic interest in Fanon's psychological influences focuses on *BSWM*, the transition from *BSWM* to *Wretched of the Earth* saw individual psychosis extended onto the nation itself, equally degraded under colonial inferiority complexes which required pervasive individual action to alleviate. (Bergner, 'Politics and Pathologies', pp. 229-221) Concurrently, A Dying Colonialism remains infused with psycho-sexual theory, while Fanon's journalism explored colonialism's enforced psychological inferiority beyond *BSWM*. (Fanon, *Dying Colonialism*, pp. 39-43, 58-63; Fanon, *African Revolution*, pp. 125-126)

58 Zamir, *Dark Voices*, pp. 153-168; The traditional understanding of Du Bois' psychological influences focuses on Du Bois' formation of double consciousness growing from James' split-self model. (King, 'Intellectual History', pp. 131-134; Dickson D. Bruce, 'W.E.B. Du Bois and the Idea of Double Consciousness', *American Literature* 64, 2 (1992) p. 304) More recently Shamooin Zamir has challenged the importance that James ex-

chological influence was William James, a pre-Freudian psychologist who exposed Du Bois to the concept of an internally divided psyche at Harvard.⁵⁹ James noted the presence of psychological Habit as a “mental action which has been frequently repeated, [and] tends to perpetuate itself” in a near immutable psychological cycle.⁶⁰ Sullivan notes that Du Bois initially held a thin understanding of Habit, describing racism as a “habit of mind...[which could] easily be overthrown.”⁶¹ While neither Sullivan nor Zaretsky notes Du Bois’ precise introduction to Freudian psychology, Freud’s concept of an irrational Unconscious influenced Du Bois’ understanding of Habit and racism.⁶² By 1940 Du Bois argued that “race prejudice... [is not] simply the rational, conscious” racism, but an “unconscious habit and irrational urge.”⁶³ Utilising the Socialism which coloured his Hegelianism, Du Bois asserted that while Capitalism enforced racial domination for economic gain, the cross-class white benefit of racial economic domination had formed an Unconscious Habit.⁶⁴ While Wright presented racism

as an irrational form of Western traditionalism, Du Bois argued that whites desired the economic security racial domination provided which was repressed into the Unconscious and reappeared as racist Habit, perpetuating racial domination.⁶⁵ The conflation of Unconscious desire formulating steadfast Habits untouchable by rational education, produced a shift in Du Bois’ emancipatory theory. Racially dominated groups could not end racism through appeals but must organise themselves beyond racialised Capitalism into communities devoid of the psychosis Capitalism induced.⁶⁶ Du Bois focused his emancipatory theory on those who, through a rejection of Capitalism, did not hold the Unconscious Habit of Capitalist racism and exploitation, facilitating his continued advocacy of Socialist emancipation.

The challenge to racial domination presented by Wright, Fanon and Du Bois stemmed from specific philosophical and psychological influences. The varied influence of Hegelian philosophy produced disparate understandings of the relationship between the colo-

erted on Double Consciousness, noting the reformation that Du Bois made to James’ decidedly “ahistorical and apolitical account of the self” while Adolph Reed has argued that “no such evidence joins James to Du Bois.” (Zamir, *Dark Voices*, p. 116; Adolph L. Reed, *W.E.B. Du Bois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line* (Oxford: OUP, 1997) p. 105) Cynthia D. Schrager has offered the most explicit reconnection of James and Du Bois, arguing that “Du Bois made explicit the racist subtext embedded in” James’ work. (Schrager, ‘Both Sides’, p. 570) Richard King recently charted course between Zamir and Schrager, noting the impression that James made upon Du Bois, but arguing that Du Bois developed upon James’ psychological consideration of the Self in a racial context, rather than fundamentally reconstituting it. (King, ‘Intellectual History’, p. 134)

59 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 83, 90; Schrager, ‘Both Sides’, pp. 567-570; Richard H. King, ‘The Place of W.E.B. Du Bois in American and European Intellectual History’, in *The Cambridge Companion to W.E.B. Du Bois*, ed. Zamir, pp. 133-134

60 Sullivan, ‘Remembering the Gift’, p. 210; Russell Goodman, ‘William James’, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2022, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2022/entries/james/> (Accessed May 11, 2022)

61 Sullivan, ‘Remembering the Gift’, p. 210

62 W.E.B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (Oxford: OUP, 2007) p. 148; Sullivan, ‘Remembering the Gift’, pp. 208-210; Holt, ‘Alienation’, pp. 308-310

63 Sullivan, ‘Remembering the Gift’, pp. 209-211; Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 148

64 Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 147-149

65 Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 147-149; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 807-808

66 Sullivan, ‘Remembering the Gift’, pp. 210-213; Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 151-153

nial Slave and the Western Master. Wright perceived the need for mutual cooperation to ensure equitable Recognition, Fanon saw the relationship as “irrevocably one of transcendence” while Du Bois perceived Alienation as a Capitalist phenomenon.⁶⁷ Psychological influences equally affected each thinker; Wright tied colonial psychological inferiority to traditionalism, Fanon saw imperialism as inducing psychosis, while Du Bois understood racism as an Unconscious Habit. Each thinker’s philosophical and psychological influences produced a distinct theory of domination, facilitating three divergent emancipatory theories.

Political Challenges

The philosophical and psychological interpretation of racial domination Wright, Fanon and Du Bois presented necessitated the formation of three divergent emancipatory theories. While their political and practical challenges to racial domination overlap in the primary work, a division facilitates an efficient investigation of their psychological and philosophical influences. Wright’s political strategy sought to promote Western secularity and rationalism, Fanon demanded a native political organisation, while Du Bois appealed to Socialism in a rejection of Western exploitation. These political orientations were formulated in response to each author’s philosophical and psychological influences, responding to their specific perception of racial domination.

Wright

Wright centred his emancipatory political strategy on the colonial adoption of Western Values. Wright was an ardent Francophile, presenting France as a nation above the racial predilections of England and America, and described himself as a “product of western civilisation.”⁶⁸ For racial emancipation, Wright demanded the adoption of Western secularity and rationality, repudiating traditional political structures.⁶⁹ As a former Communist Party member, Wright offers a rejection of Du Bois’ position, asserting instead that Communism could not emancipate racially dominated groups, as they perceived dominated groups as

⁶⁷ Fanon, *Black Skin*, p. 106

⁶⁸ Michel Fabre, *The World of Richard Wright* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985) p. 144; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 705, 672-673; Wright, *Conversations*, pp. 123

⁶⁹ Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 607-608, 672-673; John Wharton Lowe, ‘Globetrotting, 1949–1960: Wright’s Cosmopolitan Years’, in *Richard Wright in Context*, ed. Michael Nowlin (Cambridge: CUP, 2021) pp. 56-57

pawns, useful for ideological gains rather than groups capable of divergent contributions to society.⁷⁰ Communists lacked individual freedom, were mistrustful of divergence and limited the development of a Hegelian Self-Consciousness beyond the Party.⁷¹ Given the unattainability of Communist Recognition, Communist involvement in post-colonial politics risked perpetuating Alienation and psychosis.⁷²

Despite dismissing emancipatory Communism, Wright also rejected the Western status quo. Wright argued that Western political ideology had facilitated emancipation, and failed to extend the emancipatory freedoms inherent within Western Values to dominated people, arguing that “communism and Americanism...are two evils...[but] in the capitalist world, the hope of change exists.”⁷³ Western Values, promising individual freedom and equitable Recognition, represented the only opportunity for racial emancipation.⁷⁴

The West’s suppression of Western Values and Communism’s lack of freedom produced Wright’s du-

alistic emancipatory political theory, demanding the secularisation and rationalisation of post-colonial and Western politics for philosophical and psychological emancipation.⁷⁵ Wright rejected his prior veneration of Russia’s preservation of domestic traditionalism and his own respect for native culture, promoting instead the reorganisation of post-colonial politics in accordance with Western Values.⁷⁶ Despite hoping to discover “some vague but definite ancestral reality” in Africa, Wright mourned that his “blackness did not help,” as native traditionalism curtailed his Recognition of them.⁷⁷ The Gold Coast’s tribal politics - reliant on Juju, ancestral Gods and tribal chiefs - represented “a barrier to the modern consciousness” of independence while native “minds and consciousness” offended Westerners, distancing them from the West.⁷⁸ Wright was equally concerned by tribalism and politics at Bandung, where a “deep and organic relation...between race and religion,” presented the political unification of two irrational constructs.⁷⁹ Wright’s political goal was to advocate for a structure which

70 Richard Wright, *American Hunger* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977) pp. 79-85, 118-121; Wright, *Conversations*, p. 140; Michel Fabre, *The Unfinished Quest of Richard Wright*, trans. Isabel Barzaun (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993) pp. 225-230; Hazel Rowley, *Richard Wright: The Life and Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Wright, ‘Communist’, pp. 295-301

71 Wright, ‘Communist’; Wright, *American Hunger*, pp. 77-81

72 Wright, *Three Books*, Pp. 412-414, 607-607; Cedric J. Robinson, ‘Richard Wright and the Critique of Class Theory’, in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, pp. 48-50

73 Wright, *Conversations*, pp. 140; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993) pp. 123-125, 152-153

74 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 718-722; Kevin Kelly Gaines, ‘Revisiting Richard Wright in Ghana: Black Radicalism and the Dialectics of Diaspora’, in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, p. 183

75 Wright, *Conversations*, pp. 228-229; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 722-726; 807-812; Gilroy, ‘Racial Community’; Abdul R. JanMohamed, ‘Notes toward a Political Economy of Life and Death: Reading Richard Wright with Frantz Fanon’, in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, pp. 293-294

76 Wright, ‘Communist’; Wright, *Conversations*, p. 78; Fabre, *Unfinished Quest*, pp. 144-145

77 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 19, 161

78 Gaines, ‘Wright in Ghana’, p. 184; Wright, *Three Books*, p. 706

79 Wright, *Three Books*, p. 541; Joseph Keith, ‘Wright and Postcolonial Thought’, in *Richard Wright in Context*, ed. Nowlin, pp. 288-290; Bri-

allowed post-colonial nations to “become free of their stultifying traditions,” while forming organisations to proliferate the Western Values necessary for philosophical and psychological emancipation.⁸⁰ Wright did not advocate for post-colonial Western-style democracy but offered native politicians “carte-blanc” to use “quasi-dictatorial methods” to produce a citizenry capable of adopting Western Values by destroying the traditionalism and irrationality which exacerbated the problems of Recognition and psychosis, producing significant contemporary criticism and contravening Du Bois and Fanon’s shared fear of a bourgeois African Capitalism.⁸¹ The rejection of “backward traditionalism,” which “imposes a psychological distance” between the colonised and the coloniser facilitated emancipatory parity with the West, repudiating the inferiority complex confronted at Bandung through modernisation while facilitating post-colonial Recognition as a rational and secular state.⁸²

Wright’s emancipatory political theory equally demanded proliferating Western Values amongst Westerners. Just as native religion and race represented “irrational forces”, so too did Western spiritualism and racism.⁸³ Despite Gertrude Stein insisting that Spain

was quintessentially Western, Wright found Spain “scarcely western,” governed by “primitive, irrational mysticism [which] separated them from the western world.”⁸⁴ While Wright respected Black Christianity’s community, he saw Western spirituality as irrational, heightened by his Grandmother’s devotion to Seventh Day Adventism, while white Catholicism acted as a complement to racial domination.⁸⁵ The demise of Catholicism produced irrational racism in defence of the racial superiority formerly secured by Christianity.⁸⁶ Post-colonial emancipation was unattainable while these irrational elements survived within Western politics, representing the West’s failure to attain Western Values and perpetuating racial domination.⁸⁷ Arguing that the post-imperial and post-colonial political production of Western Values could achieve emancipatory equality, “Wright anticipated Frantz Fanon’s argument...that aid to Africa is not charity but rather ‘reparation’” as Self-Consciousness required action from the Westerner and the native.⁸⁸ While Fanon criticised Wright for seeming to wait for Western Recognition, Wright’s Hegelianism, necessitating equitable Recognition from the Other, ensured that without corresponding Western action, Fanon’s action-based

an Russell Roberts, ‘Bandung and Third-World Liberation’, in *Richard Wright in Context*, ed. Nowlin, pp. 162-163

80 Gaines, ‘Wright in Ghana’, pp. 188-191; Keith, ‘Postcolonial Thought’, pp. 285-290; Roberts, ‘Bandung’, pp. 163-165; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 607-608.

81 Roberts, ‘Bandung’, pp. 163-167; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 725

82 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 583-585, 705; Keith, ‘Postcolonial Thought’, pp. 288; Wright, *Conversations*, p. 237

83 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 541, 707; Richard Wright, *The Man Who Lived Underground* (New York: Library Of America, 2021) pp. 172-174

84 Rowley, Richard Wright, p. 441; Fabre, *Unfinished Quest*, pp. 306, 411

85 Jamall A. Calloway, ‘Wright and Religion’, in *Richard Wright in Context*, ed. Nowlin, pp. 153-155; Wright, *Underground*, pp. 172-174; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 707-714

86 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 707-714; Calloway, ‘Wright and Religion’ pp. 156-158

87 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 718-721; Keith, ‘Postcolonial Thought’, pp. 286-289; Gilroy, ‘Racial Community’, pp. 127-129; Marilyn Nissim-Sabat, ‘Richard Wright’s Mission: Initiating a Politics of the Human’, in *The Politics of Richard Wright* ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh pp. 88-90

88 Keith, ‘Postcolonial Thought’, pp. 286-289; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 718-721; Lori J. Marso, ‘Seizing Freedom with Simone de Beauvoir’, in *The Politics of Richard Wright*, ed. Gordon and Zirakzadeh, p. 163

solution would have been ineffective.⁸⁹ Without the dualistic acceptance of Western values, natives would always remain Alienated, separated by the irrationality and spiritualism which ensured racial domination, and oppressed through an enforced inferiority complex.⁹⁰

Fanon

Fanon offered a divergent emancipatory political theory, arguing that dominated nations cannot have the “irrational, unjustified confidence in the west’s ‘perspicacity’” which Wright professed, but must secure emancipation independently.⁹¹ Despite admiring Wright’s fiction, once Fanon engaged with Algerian liberation, he rejected the post-colonial appeal “to the good nature of the colonizer,” characteristic of Wright’s negotiation with imperial nations.⁹² While Fanon mirrors Du Bois’ dismissal of Capitalism and had an affinity for Socialism, Fanon reflected Wright’s theory by rejecting Communist alliances, unwilling to involve liberated nations in the Cold-War power struggle.⁹³ Fanon’s psychological and philosophical emancipatory politics demanded that natives reclaimed their agency against the colonial Master, necessitating the formulation of a new native political system.

Fanon rejected the native bourgeoisie’s nationalism which Wright venerated, believing they would replicate the colonial bourgeoisie by dominating poorer, rural natives and become the dialectics Master.⁹⁴ Instead, Fanon proposed mass political engagement and popular action.⁹⁵ Fanon’s action-based Hegelianism necessitated broad political involvement in emancipation; political decrees could not produce emancipation, as “colonial peoples...must liberate themselves from colonialist domination.”⁹⁶ Fanon proposed political decentralisation, popular democratic control and civic education, politically integrating the “radically revolutionary” peasantry to protect the revolution from demagogues and ensure the revitalisation of rural “inert districts” that imperial Capitalism had underdeveloped.⁹⁷ As Neil Lazarus argued, Fanon did not denounce all nationalist politics, only the uneven development of bourgeois nationalism, although Ciccariello-Maher contends that Fanon’s lumpen-proletariat nationalism represented a political means, not an end.⁹⁸ The political integration of the peasantry into post-colonial governance promoted a mass nationalistic political movement against all imperialists, thus fulfilling Fanon’s perceived necessity for

89 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 607, 719, 724-5, 735; Fanon, *Alienation*, pp. 638-640

90 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 717-723; Keith, ‘Postcolonial Thought’, pp. 285-291

91 Fanon, *Alienation*, p. 640; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 73-76

92 Fanon, *African Revolution*, pp. 100-102; Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1965) pp. 133-135; Fanon, *Alienation*, p. 637n1

93 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 31, 78-84; Fanon, *African Revolution*, pp. 124-126

94 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp.140-146; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 155-161

95 Fanon, *African Revolution*, pp. 104-105; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 150-152; 161-162

96 Fanon, *African Revolution*, p. 105; Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 63-66; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 122-125

97 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 103, 127-128, 150-152, 161-162, 163

98 Neil Lazarus, ‘Disavowing Decolonization: Fanon, Nationalism and the Question of Representation in Postcolonial Theory’, in *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Anthony C. Alessandrini (London: Routledge, 1998) pp. 162-164; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 189-192; Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 88-91

individual activity to repudiate the dialectic, release psychological inferiority, and produce emancipation.⁹⁹ Peasant involvement in post-colonial politics ensures what Gwen Bergner saw as the extension of individual emancipation from alienation and psychosis, displayed in *BSWM*, onto a national level, as “authentic national liberation exists only...[when] the individual has irreversibly begun his own liberation.”¹⁰⁰

Despite disavowing party politics, arguably owing to his philosophical and psychological influences, Fanon’s political classification has engendered significant historiography. Tony Martin offered the quintessential Marxist appraisal of Fanon, arguing that Fanon “accepted Marx’s basic analysis of society,” utilising *The Eighteenth Brumaire* to update Marxist theory, rather than rejecting Marxism as incompatible with post-colonialism.¹⁰¹ Nigel Gibson adopted Martin’s Marxist *Fanonism*, an assertion strengthened in Gibson’s 2020 article, but this characterisation has received substantial criticism.¹⁰² Rabaka has argued that Fanon rejected Marxism as inherently Eurocentric, an argument supported by Lewis Gordon’s assessment of the “obsolescence of orthodox Marxist formulations” in Fanon’s post-colonial vision.¹⁰³ Fanon’s scepticism

of Marxism, highlighted by Peter Hudis and Michael Stone-Richards, his reticence towards a Du Boisean post-colonial Socialist union, and his criticism of Socialism’s role in supporting African Bourgeois governments, all question Fanon’s Marxist interpretation, despite Fanon’s appreciation of Marxism’s Capitalist critique.¹⁰⁴ Although Fanon was invested in Marxism, Rabaka’s argument that if Fanon is “a ‘Marxist’ simply because he utilised certain elements of the Marxist method” then Fanon must also be a “Negritudist, existentialist and phenomenologist,” showcases the apparent irrationality of labelling Fanon as Marxist.¹⁰⁵

Du Bois

While Wright promoted Western Values and Fanon advocated for native political organisations, Du Bois presented Socialism as an emancipatory political structure. Analogously to Wright’s post-1945 work presented above, Du Bois spent his early career seeking to integrate the African diaspora into the Western sphere maintaining an attraction to European culture despite growing Socialist critiques of Western materialism.¹⁰⁶ Du Bois’ conciliatory Socialism hardened sig-

99 Lazarus, ‘Disavowing Decolonization’, pp. 162-164; Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 88-91; Fanon, *African Revolution*, pp. 81-83

100 Stone-Richards, ‘Du Bois and Fanon’, pp. 155-157; Fanon, *African Revolution*, p. 103

101 Tony Martin, ‘Rescuing Fanon from the Critics’, in *Rethinking Fanon: The Continuing Dialogue*, ed. Nigel C. Gibson (Amherst: Humanity Books, 1999) p. 87; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 176, 183

102 Nigel C. Gibson, *Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003) pp. 185-187; Nigel C. Gibson, ‘Fanon and Marx Revisited’, *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 51, 4 (2020) pp. 332-335

103 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 146-148; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 176-185; Lewis R. Gordon, *What Fanon Said: A Philosophical Introduction to His Life and Thought* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015) p. 119

104 Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 176-185; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 115-117; Stone-Richards, ‘Du Bois and Fanon’, pp. 155-157

105 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 204; Timothy Kerswell, ‘Frantz Fanon and the Peasantry as the Centre of Revolution’, in *Frantz Fanon and Emancipatory Social Theory: A View From The Wretched*, ed. Seyed Javad Miri and Dustin J. Byrd (Leiden: Brill, 2019) pp. 152-153; Fanon, *Alienation*, pp. 761-765

106 Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 63-65; W.E.B. Du Bois, *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887-1961*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985) pp. 59-64; *W.E.B. Du Bois, Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (New York: AMS Press, 1969)

nificantly over the interwar period, subsequently aligning with Fanon's anti-Capitalist critique.¹⁰⁷ While Du Bois credited his increasingly assertive Socialist politics to the Russian Revolution, Rabaka has questioned this assertion by noting Du Bois' criticisms of Socialism's Eurocentrism after 1917, provoking ire from more devout Black Marxists such as Claude McKay.¹⁰⁸ While Rabaka's critique of Du Bois' early dissatisfaction with Socialism is supported by his writings, his assertion that Du Bois held a "longstanding distrust of the Communist Party" appears incongruent with Du Bois' later work, alongside Bill Mullen's analysis.¹⁰⁹ While Mullen minimises Du Bois' early criticisms of Socialism, asserting that the Russo-Japan war of 1904 promoted Du Bois' adoption of Socialism, his analysis of Du Bois' developing Socialist theory after his 1926 journey to Russia and its fuller realisation after 1945 finds more support in David Levering-Lewis and Du

Bois' works.¹¹⁰ While Cedric Robinson centred on Black Reconstruction in Du Bois' Socialist development, Du Bois remained uncertain of Socialism's international application into the 1940s.¹¹¹ While Du Bois did not progress linearly toward advocating for Socialism, his overarching development increasingly presented Socialism as an emancipatory system.¹¹² Du Bois pre-empted Lenin's analysis by connecting Western Capitalism to colonial domination, while his growing appreciation of Capitalism's psychological and political immutability which exacerbated racial domination within the economic superstructure necessitated his adoption of a Socialist political emancipatory theory.¹¹³

Du Bois argued that, devoid of Capitalist exploitation, Russia was "the only European country where people are not...encouraged to despise... some class, group or race."¹¹⁴ Despite questioning the

pp. 44-46

107 Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 139-144; Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 194-195; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 122-128

108 Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 56-59, 59-62

109 Du Bois, *Against Racism*, pp. 294-295; Bill V. Mullen, *Un-American: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015) pp. 84-86; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Russia: Her Development', 23 November 1947, mums312-b199-i009, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b199-i009>, pp. 2-3; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, p. 62

110 David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography 1868-1963* (New York: Holt, 2008) pp. 653-636; Mullen, *Un-American*, pp. 20-23; Du Bois, 'Russia', pp. 2-3

111 Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) pp. 195-199; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Russia Has No Negro Problem', 1947, mums312-b123-i002, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b123-i002>, pp. 8-10

112 Du Bois, 'Russia Has No Negro Problem', pp. 8-10; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: No Race Prejudice in Russia Declares Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois', 24 June 1927, mums312-b040-i007, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i007>, pp. 2-4; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Russia and America: An Interpretation', 1950, mums312-b221-i082, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b221-i082>, pp. 281-285

113 Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, pp. 128-129; Mullen, *Un-American*, pp. 20-22; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'The African Roots of War', May 1915, mums312-b207-i165, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b207-i165>, pp. 1-4; Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 259-265; Du Bois, 'Nigeria', pp. 19-22

114 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 22

“Communist boast” of racial equality in 1947, Du Bois subsequently asserted that only Socialism offered the parity necessary for racial emancipation.¹¹⁵ While Du Bois promoted a democratic Socialist revival, personally seeking election as a Socialist, he concluded that a democratic reorganisation was impossible owing to the entrenched Capitalism of American politics.¹¹⁶ Du Bois no longer wanted to “fight for integration into a house that was inherently flawed” but sought political organisation free from the Capitalist domination of disparate racial groups.¹¹⁷ Appealing to the African tribalism which Fanon and Wright sought to reject, Du Bois presented African tribes in a proto-Socialist light, whereby the freedom of the tribe emerged from equal and collective effort.¹¹⁸ Du Bois believed that a revitalisation and modernisation of this traditional African Socialism offered an equitable community free from Capitalism’s Alienating pursuit of profit, which would Recognise racially dominated groups as Self-Conscious beings, not subjective tools of profit to be dominated for financial gain.¹¹⁹ Alongside the “horizontal division of classes,” African Socialism could also reject the “vertical fissure” of racism that Capitalist

psychosis produced.¹²⁰ The irrational Habit of Western Capitalists, conditioned through their desire for comforts produced by racial exploitation, limited their assistance of racial minorities.¹²¹ Repudiating his interwar rapprochement, Du Bois told Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe to seek freedom through Socialist political organisation, modelled after China and Russia, and to reject Western aid.¹²² The Western Capitalist political system offered no Recognition nor the end to racism, ensuring that Socialism was the only political option for post-colonial nations.¹²³

Wright, Fanon and Du Bois produced three divergent political theories, addressing the problem of racial domination through a political strategy appealing to their individual philosophical and psychological influences. Both Wright and Fanon mistrusted Communist’s use of post-colonial politics for Cold-War posturing without advancing racial equality, but Fanon rebuked Wright’s placid strategy for Western acceptance, rejecting Capitalist intervention; Du Bois also rejected Capitalist intervention and promoted African Socialism against Fanon’s native political structure and Wright’s Westernism.

115 Du Bois, ‘Russia Has No Negro Problem’, p. 2; Du Bois, *Against Racism*, pp. 294-298

116 W.E.B. Du Bois, ‘I Won’t Vote’, *The Nation*, 183, 16 (October 1956) pp. 324-325; Du Bois, ‘Russia Has No Negro Problem’ pp. 6-10

117 Holt, ‘Alienation’, p. 309; Du Bois, *Against Racism*, pp. 294-298

118 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 161-162; Wright, *Three Books*, p. 306; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, p. 74

119 Du Bois, *Against Racism*, pp. 294-298; Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 35, 189, 251-255, 259-265; W.E.B. Du Bois, ‘The Role of West Africa’, 27 December 1949, mums312-b200-i017, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b200-i017>, pp. 1-2; Du Bois, ‘Nigeria’, pp. 19-21; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 48-53; Stone-Richards, ‘Du Bois and Fanon’, pp. 147-151

120 Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, p. 103; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 48-53

121 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 7-8; Stone-Richards, ‘Du Bois and Fanon’, pp. 145-146, 147-151; Sullivan, ‘Remembering the Gift’, pp. 210-213; Du Bois, ‘Nigeria’, pp. 13-14

122 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 259-262; Du Bois, ‘West Africa’, pp. 1-2; Rabaka correctly notes that Du Bois advocated for Socialism’s adaption onto traditional African structures, not an acquiescence to Russian Communism. However, his characterisation of “Du Bois as more of a critic of Marxism than a Marxist” appears incompatible with Du Bois’ continued praise of Russia and China and his promotion of economic, political and social ties between post-colonial nations, Russia and China. (*Autobiography* of W. E. B. Du Bois, pp. 159-165; Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, pp. 60-62, 62)

123 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 259-262; Du Bois, ‘I Won’t Vote’, pp. 324-325; Du Bois, ‘West Africa’, pp. 1-2; Stone-Richards, ‘Du Bois and Fanon’, pp. 149-151

Practical Challenges

While the totality of each thinker's practical theory necessitates a broader work, each thinker's philosophical and psychological considerations may be demonstrated through a more limited investigation. This shall be displayed through an assessment of Wright's theories of post-colonial leadership and native culture, Fanon's arguments concerning native culture and anti-colonial agitation, and Du Bois' assertions regarding anti-colonial agitation and post-colonial leadership. This section will seek to demonstrate that each thinker remained equally isolated in their practical theory. The post-colonial leadership imagined by Wright and Du Bois emanate from opposite ends of the political spectrum, while Fanon and Du Bois offered diametrically opposed promotions and rejections of post-colonial violence, as Fanon sought to protect the native culture which Wright saw as an impediment. This work shall continue to make the case that the divergence between these thinkers was influenced by their divergent philosophical and psychological influences, demonstrated through a thematic comparison of their practical solutions to post-colonial leadership, violence, and culture.

Leadership

Wright's rejection of Communist emancipation and his faith in Western Values' capacity to rescind racial domination promoted his assertion that natives who adopted Western Values must undertake post-colonial leadership.¹²⁴ Wright's discovery of the disconnection between himself and Gold Coast natives promoted his belief that Westernised leadership was required to produce a national emulation of Western Values.¹²⁵ Native elites presented an individual substitution of traditionalism with Western secularism and rationality.¹²⁶ These educated and Westernised colonial elites "understand that the future of their people depends upon...breaking with their past and evolving...a rational society."¹²⁷ In a diametrically opposed reflection of Fanon's analysis, Wright argued that without the leadership of these elites, post-colonial nations will remain in a stagnated state which the West will never Recognise equitably, but by empowering Westernised colonial leaders, "the natives of Africa...[could] assimilate the ideals of western civilisation."¹²⁸ Wright even thanked the Imperial nations for "unconsciously and unintentionally" freeing Westernised natives from "irrational traditions and customs" and making "Asia and Africa (that is, the elite in those areas) more secular-minded than the West."¹²⁹ Despite his unease at the political and religious merger some native leaders produced, Wright argued that only Westernised na-

124 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 720-726

125 James Campbell, *Exiled in Paris: Richard Wright, James Baldwin, Samuel Beckett, and Others on the Left Bank* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) pp. 184-191; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 148-149, 541

126 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 484; 607-608

127 Wright, *Conversations*, p. 181

128 Wright, *Conversations*, p. 78; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 131-133

129 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 718, 719, 721

tives, such as Nkrumah, could form an organisation capable of modernising traditional spiritualistic politics.¹³⁰ While the educated natives still encountered psychosis and Alienation owing to the West's unequal application of Western Values, they represented a practical fulfilment of one half of Wright's political solution.¹³¹ Having adopted Western Values to become "more Western than the West," Westernised natives offered the best solution for leading the post-colonial nation towards Western Values, facilitating the equal Recognition of the Western Other by repudiating the Alienation of the superior Master and induced psychological inferiority.¹³²

Du Bois inverted Wright's desire for Westernised native leadership, advocating instead for Socialist native leadership. Before 1951, Du Bois advocated for educated African Americans to lead the pan-African movement. While the international leadership of African Americans was uncertain by 1949, owing to their growing "provincialism" and attachment to the Western structures Wright venerated, Du Bois advocated

for an American Guiding-Hundredth, as a Socialist collective to aid emerging post-colonial nations.¹³³ However, by 1951, the fear over African American submission to Western Capitalism had been realised, as African Americans chose to "get 'rich quick'" rather than seek racial emancipation devoid of Capitalist success and the classless African American bloc became divided between Capitalist elites and working-class African Americans.¹³⁴ While standing trial in 1951, Du Bois perceived his abandonment by friends and corporations unwilling to support his peaceful Socialism after "selling their souls... to become part of the ruling plutarchy."¹³⁵ As African American leadership became untenable given their Capitalist integration, Du Bois moved his focus to the native elites whom Wright praised. Already impressed by African leaders' rejection of imperialist Capitalism, Du Bois perceived the success of Socialist native leadership, untarnished by Western Capitalism, as necessary for post-colonial emancipation.¹³⁶ While "private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa," African leaders

130 Gaines, 'Wright in Ghana', pp. 187-9; While Nina Kressner Cobb's traditional analysis of Wright's identification with Westernised colonial elites remains supported by contemporary scholars such as Keith, this only partially represents Wright's position. (Nina Kressner Cobb, 'Richard Wright and the Third World', in *Critical Essays on Richard Wright*, ed. Yoshinobu Hakutani (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982) pp. 235-237; Keith, 'Postcolonial Thought', pp. 286-288) Although Wright seemingly likened himself to colonial leaders, he was not unconcerned by their traditionalism. (Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 645-647) Manthia Diawara, in a rejection of Cobb's view, argues that "Wright was...disappointed with Nkrumah" for infusing post-colonial politics with tribalism, while Gaines asserted that Wright's veneration of Nkrumah was marred by Nkrumah's utilisation of tribalism. (Manthia Diawara, *In Search of Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) p. 71; Gaines, 'Wright in Ghana', pp. 187-190) Wright's trepidation over Nkrumah's "politics plus" is clear in *Black Power*, but Wright's speeches compiled in *White Man, Listen!* displays his reaffirmed willingness to offer Nkrumah total control, as a Westernised native, representing the best option for the proliferation of Western Values. (Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 79-85, 119; 803-812)

131 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 456, 465-466, 653

132 Ibid. p. 682

133 Du Bois, 'West Africa', p. 1; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'The Talented Tenth', 12 August 1948, mums312-b199-i023, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b199-i023>, pp. 8-12

134 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, p. 254; Du Bois, *Against Racism*, pp. 296-298

135 Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, pp. 254; Lewis, W.E.B. Du Bois, pp.153-155

136 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 260-265; Du Bois, 'Nigeria', pp. 16-17, 19-21; Du Bois, 'West Africa', p. 2

could produce emancipatory African Socialism, comparable to China's merger of tradition and Socialism, owing to the leadership of men like Mao Zedong.¹³⁷ By promoting Socialist leadership, Du Bois sought to repudiate the economic superstructure which fostered racial domination to alleviate Alienation and psychosis.¹³⁸ With the administrative and fiscal aid of China and Russia, alongside Black and white Western Socialists, African leaders could refute Capitalism's exploitation and Alienation, building a system in which individual Humanity is Recognised.¹³⁹

Violence

Alongside advocating for Socialist leadership, Du Bois also considered the use of violence as a tool of imperial expansion and anti-colonial repression.¹⁴⁰ Despite having asked African Americans to "close ranks" in support of WW1, Du Bois later rejected WW1's premise and subsequently condemned WW2, racial vi-

olence, and Cold War posturing.¹⁴¹ Du Bois' pacificism saw violence as a tool to repress colonial possessions and maximise profits, which could not be used for emancipation as "war and respect for civil rights were irreconcilable."¹⁴² While Communist violence shocked Wright, Du Bois dismissed Russia's Revolutionary violence in comparison to Capitalism's utilisation of violence, asserting that Russia remained focused on "peace through international collective security," offering defence against imperial exploitation demonstrable through Russia's aid to China.¹⁴³ Even violence utilised against imperial powers, such as Du Bois' characterisation of Japan's participation in WW2, only exacerbated the issues of domination without challenging their root causes, rather than producing the freedom that Fanon sought through violent liberation.¹⁴⁴ Du Bois rejected the violence which sustained Capitalist domination, advocating for the non-violent rejection of Capitalist imperialism through education and reform

137 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 30-31, 261; Du Bois, 'Nigeria', pp. 16-17

138 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 260-261; Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, p. 309

139 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 260-265; Du Bois, 'West Africa', pp. 16-17, 19-21; Du Bois, 'Nigeria', p. 2

140 Du Bois, 'The African Roots of War', pp. 1-5; Manning Marable, 'Peace and Black Liberation: The Contributions of W.E.B. Du Bois', *Science & Society* 47, 4 (1983) pp. 389-390; Sullivan, 'Remembering the Gift', pp. 707-708

141 Du Bois, 'Russia', pp. 2-3; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Non-Violence and War', 1955, mums312-b215-i005, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b215-i005>, pp. 1-2; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Close Ranks', *The Crisis* 16, 3 (July 1918) p. 111; Charisse Burden-Stelly, 'In Battle For Peace During "Scoundrel Time": W.E.B. Du Bois and United States Repression of Radical Black Peace Activism', *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 16, 2 (2019) pp. 562-565

142 W.E.B. Du Bois, 'To Save the World -- Save Africa!', 1947, mums312-b161-i389, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b161-i389>, p. 1; Burden-Stelly, 'Battle for Peace', p. 564

143 Du Bois, 'Russia and America', pp. 281-284; Mullen, *Un-American*, p. 3; W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Fact Sheet on U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations', 1948, mums312-b121-i294, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b121-i294>, pp. 88-90; Wright, 'Communist'

144 W.E.B. Du Bois, 'The Winds of Time', 14 August 1945, mums312-b216-i082, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b216-i082>, pp. 1-2; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 73-74

observed in Africa.¹⁴⁵ Analogously to Wright, Du Bois insisted that only peace could emancipate the dominated individual, but contrastingly asserted that only Socialism could produce this peace.¹⁴⁶ In Du Bois' economic understanding of domination, the refutation of violence aimed to halt the advancement of Capitalism while promoting peaceful and emancipatory Socialism.¹⁴⁷

Conversely, Fanon saw violence as fundamental to post-colonial emancipation. While Fanon agreed with Du Bois that colonialism relied upon physical, social, and psychological violence, Fanon rejected peaceful emancipation as a viable solution.¹⁴⁸ While Fanon appears to praise the peaceful decolonisation Du Bois supported, he argued that in Algeria no recourse was left besides violence.¹⁴⁹ Rather than peacefully accept Algerian decolonisation, "the French government preferred to change its government six times" to justify its domination, forcing the Algerian National Liberation Front to accept "the unique solution that was left to them."¹⁵⁰ Every colonial organisation sought to destroy the colonial subject, imparting violence onto natives which had to be expressed.¹⁵¹ Despite Wright rejecting violence for practical liberation, Fanon analogised the

violence of the colonised native through Wright's 'Bigger Thomas', who acted violently "to put an end to his tension" and "shatter the hellish cycle" of racial domination.¹⁵² While Hannah Arendt decried Fanon as a proponent of violence, his application of anti-colonial agitation is fundamentally related to his understanding of domination.¹⁵³ Hudis has argued that only *BSWM* addressed violence through Hegelian influences, given the lack of direct references in Fanon's subsequent works, which more practically address Algerian liberation.¹⁵⁴ While *The Wretched of the Earth* (WE) does appeal directly to the Algerian situation, although less so than *A Dying Colonialism* (DC), the language employed across Fanon's works displays a continued interest in self-actualised relief from Alienation and psychosis.¹⁵⁵ The dialectical role of violence, working to reject the native's "inferiority complex" which "makes him fearless and restores his self-respect" in a Hegelian manner is recognised by Rabaka and Ciccariello-Maher, while the nationalisation of individual psychosis in WE, which Bergner analysed, has been previously discussed.¹⁵⁶ Anti-colonial violence, which teaches the colonised that "my life is worth as much as the settlers," alleviated Alienation through enforced Recogn-

145 Du Bois, 'West Africa', pp. 1-2; Du Bois, 'Non-Violence', pp. 1-3; Du Bois, 'Nigeria', pp. 5, 13-14

146 Burden-Stelly, 'Battle for Peace', pp. 562-564; Wright, *Conversations*, p. 171

147 Du Bois, 'Non-Violence', pp. 1-2; Du Bois, 'Save Africa!', pp. 1-3; Du Bois, 'Nigeria', pp. 5, 19-21

148 Du Bois, *Du Bois Speaks*, p. 305; Frantz Fanon, *Dying Colonialism*, pp. 31-33; Fanon, *Alienation*, p. 658

149 Fanon, *Alienation*, pp. 953-955, 957-959

150 Ibid. p. 658

151 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 31-35; Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp.119-122

152 Fanon, *Black Skin*, p. 107; Wright, *Conversations*, p. 171

153 Elizabeth Frazer and Kimberly Hutchings, 'On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon', *Contemporary Political Theory* 7, 1 (2008) pp. 98-100

154 Hudis, *Frantz Fanon*, pp. 118

155 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 30-35; Fanon, *Alienation* pp. 581-582; Fanon, *Dying Colonialism*, pp. 58-63

156 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, p. 74; Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 126-130, 131-135; Bergner, 'Politics and Pathologies', pp. 220-221; Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 78-81, 84-86

nition while rescinding psychological dehumanisation through the realisation of imperial and native human parity.¹⁵⁷ Against Hegelian and psychological domination, “violence is a cleansing force,” serving to facilitate the individual repudiation of racial domination, producing individual and national emancipation.¹⁵⁸

Culture

Fanon saw anti-colonial violence as crucial for creating an emancipatory post-colonial culture. Fanon lamented native cultural stagnation under colonial rule - despite the temporary solace that Negritude provided in *BSWM*, Fanon agreed with Wright that Negritude only amounted to an academic revitalisation of a dead culture.¹⁵⁹ For a young Fanon, Black people had no history that colonisation had not destroyed, and that which academic study reclaimed was disconnected from colonial reality.¹⁶⁰ While DC presents native culture as repressed but surviving under colonialism, WE presented colonised culture as totally destroyed.¹⁶¹ Against colonial stagnation, Fanon presented the collective struggle for liberation as revitalising and modernising native culture, while simultaneously constructing an African consciousness and culture based on collective domination.¹⁶² Post-colonialism’s revital-

ised culture offered a “psycho-affective equilibrium,” repudiating the coloniser’s lie, sunk into the Collective Unconscious, that the coloniser “restrains her fundamentally perverse offspring” from succumbing to the “barbarism, degradation, and bestiality” of indigenous culture.¹⁶³ The struggle for liberation rejected the colonial insistence that native culture required domination, as stagnated legends and myths were rejuvenated to valorise the nation and the rejection of colonialism, while cultural contributions enabled natives to reject their colonial psychological dependency.¹⁶⁴ Just as Fanon had felt alienated by his perceived ontological defencelessness, “the cultural estrangement...of the colonial epoch”, elsewhere translated in Hegelian terms as a “cultural alienation”, forced the natives to see whites as their saviours, contributing to their psychological dependency.¹⁶⁵ The regeneration of national culture rejected the myth of native barbarism and Western culture’s supremacy, repudiating native psychological dependency produced by the colonial reduction of native culture and individuals to barbarism.¹⁶⁶

Both Wright and Fanon recognised the destruction of native culture through colonial domination, producing the psychological dependency of colonised people.¹⁶⁷ However, while Fanon thought that the re-

157 Rabaka, *Fanonism*, pp. 131-135; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, p. 35; Ciccariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, pp. 84-86, 91-95; Fanon, *Alienation*, p. 598

158 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, p. 74

159 Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 175-176; Marso, ‘Seizing Freedom’, p. 162

160 Fanon, *African Revolution*, pp. 31-35; Fanon, *Alienation*, p. 654; Fanon, *Black Skin*, pp. 175-176

161 Fanon, *Dying Colonialism*, pp. 42-47; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 32-33

162 Fanon, *Alienation*, pp. 566-568, 633-635; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 170, 179, 182-188

163 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 169-170

164 Ibid. pp. 178-182, 193-195

165 Fanon *Wretched*, 2001, p. 169; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004) p. 149

166 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 168, 169-170, 186-189, 193-199

167 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 575-577; 717-719; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 168-169

vitalisation of this culture could produce psychological emancipation, Wright demanded the rejection of native culture for emancipation:¹⁶⁸ “Tribal memory...has erected a psychological distance between the African and the western world” which can only be bridged if natives become “free of their stultifying traditions and customs.”¹⁶⁹ Rather than reprimanding colonial powers for their “clumsy and cruel” destruction of native culture, Wright celebrated that this destruction might produce “the conditions for the possible rise of rational societies for the greater majority of mankind.”¹⁷⁰ The tribalism which Du Bois venerated and the national culture Fanon sought to revitalise were incompatible with Western rationality and secularism and its observance by post-colonial administrations, stymying the development of modern institutions which would aid post-colonial psychological and philosophical emancipation.¹⁷¹ Wright recognised that colonial domination had enforced the inferiority complex on the natives, making them “ashamed of them [their customs] before the eyes of the world.”¹⁷² Despite Wright’s dismay at the natives’ enforced inferiority and his criticisms of imperialism’s means of destroying native culture, Wright saw native cultural domination as an ultimate good.¹⁷³ The repudiation of native psychological inferiority came not from the rejuvenation of native culture but from allowing Westernised native leaders to dispel the traditional, irrational culture which distanced natives from Westerners, introducing Western forms of

culture to facilitate equitable Western Recognition.¹⁷⁴ Wright’s theory of emancipation rested on the colonial nations becoming more Western, justifying his advocacy for the utilisation of Western Values to create a modernised African culture, facilitating the psychological and philosophical emancipation from racial domination by producing parity with the West.¹⁷⁵

The practical considerations Du Bois, Wright and Fanon presented were tied to their philosophical and psychological influences and subsequent interpretation of racial domination. Colonial leadership affected post-colonial politics, dictating Wright’s promotion of Westernised natives and Du Bois’ advocacy for Socialist natives. Du Bois’ perception of Capitalism producing philosophical and psychological domination necessitated the rejection of violence as a Capitalist tool, while Fanon saw violence as offering the independent struggle required for his Hegelianism. Fanon saw national culture, rejuvenated through struggle, as a repudiation of the West’s imposed psychological inferiority, while Wright saw its destruction as necessary for the ascension of post-colonial nations to emancipatory equality with the West. While a full analysis of each thinker’s practical emancipatory theory falls beyond this work’s scope, post-colonial leadership, violence, and culture exemplify the impact which philosophical and psychological considerations exerted upon each thinker.

168 Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 193-194; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 722-726

169 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 148-149, 726

170 Ibid. p. 722

171 Du Bois, *Autobiography*, pp. 161-162; Fanon, *Wretched*, 2001, pp. 178-180; Wright, *Conversations*, 237-238; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 182-183, 205-206, 412-415, 682-684

172 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 336-337

173 Wright, *Conversations*, pp. 78, 181-183; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 189-191, 652-655; 720-721

174 Wright, *Conversations*, p. 78; Wright, *Three Books*, pp. 413-416, 684-687, 718-720

175 Wright, *Three Books*, pp. pp. 412-418; Keith, ‘Postcolonial Thought’, pp. 288-290

Conclusion

The emancipatory political theories of Richard Wright, Frantz Fanon and W.E.B. Du Bois were heavily informed by their psychological and philosophical influences. Having outlined their specific understandings of the intersection between philosophy, psychology and racial domination, this work has compared how these factors affected their challenges to racial domination. Wright understood Recognition as impossible without the proliferation of Western Values of secularism and rationality within the post-colonial and Western spheres, while the psychosis of the dominated native stemmed from their stagnant culture and Western irrational racism. The philosophical and psychological necessity of proliferating Western Values guided Wright's political theory, legitimising post-colonial domination by Westernised natives, the rejection of Western irrationalism and the abandonment of native traditions. Fanon understood domination differently, psychologically induced by the white Master who will never grant Recognition, inducing psychosis by destroying native culture and history. His "inverted Hegelianism" necessitated a native political organisation and the intervention of violent struggle to liberate Alienated natives and rejuvenate national culture for psychological emancipation.¹⁷⁶ Du Bois saw native Socialist leadership and the curtailment of Capitalist violence as the only opportunity for emancipation, alleviating Alienated workers from exploitative Capitalist Masters and forestalling the Capitalist Habit of racial domination which protected whites' privileged economic position. While the limits of this work curtail a deeper investigation of disparate areas of

these thinker's emancipatory theories, such as the role of emancipatory violence in Wright's fiction, Fanon's utilisation of existentialist philosophy, or Du Bois' engagement with African American cultural expression, this work has offered a broad comparison of how philosophy and psychology influenced the conception of racial domination and the subsequent theories of emancipation produced by Richard Wright, Frantz Fanon and W.E.B. Du Bois.

176 Cicciariello-Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics*, p. 53

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