An important note: All opinions and ideas expressed in The Podium are the personal opinions and convictions of featured student writers and are not necessarily the opinions of The Podium staff, the Belmont Hill History Department, or the Belmont Hill School itself.
Dear Reader,

In Volume IV - Issue II, the fourth and final issue for the current seniors, The Podium staff has sought to confront the most pressing issues that face our communities. Be it concerning topics on a global scale or within Belmont Hill's student body, The Podium endeavors to encourage discourse among students and to present the most sound and well expressed opinions of students in the written medium.

Volume IV - Issue II begins with a collection of op-eds. Jake Pappo ‘20, the winner of the first op-ed competition, has crafted a detailed analysis of Belmont Hill’s student government. He thoughtfully considers the role of student government within our community, critiques the election process, and offers suggestions as to how student government might be improved.

A letter to Mayor Marty Walsh, written by Ikenna Ugbaja ‘21, the winner of competition two, follows. Here, Ikenna explores gun culture within the United States, potential solutions to gun violence, and finally charges Mayor Walsh to action. In addition, The Podium has also decided to include an unprompted op-ed concerning LGBTQ rights in America by Jackson Riffe ‘20. Delving into three recent Supreme Court cases and examining the Trump Administration’s position on LGBTQ rights, Jackson provides an intriguing commentary on how a fresh Supreme Court could respond to these cases.

In honor of the current renovations to the Hamilton Chapel, Abe Tolkoff ‘21 has examined the multi-century history of the chapel, all the way from Connecticut to Belmont, Massachusetts.

Five student-written essays, courtesy of the history and English departments, are featured in Volume IV - Issue II. Varying in topic from espionage in the Revolutionary War to music production in the Soviet Union, these elite essays demonstrate the breadth of coursework done by Belmont Hill students.

To conclude Volume IV - Issue II, polling projects on both the Democratic Primary and gun control in the United States have been conducted and thoroughly analyzed by Luke Carroll ‘22, Declan McDonough ‘20, and Jackson Riffe ‘20.

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Thank you to the History Department for their assistance in identifying strong essays and papers. Their dedication to The Podium is vital to the success of the final publication.
In view of the current renovation of the chapel, the Podium has explored its history in order to discover the deeper meaning behind the school meeting place. In its over fifty years on school grounds, the chapel has been more than just a building; it has become a fundamental piece of the Belmont Hill’s identity. Not only does it stand triumphantly over the athletic fields, but its central campus location conveys its core value to the school. Furthermore, the chapel provides a place for the entire school to gather in one location, building upon Belmont Hill’s hope to create a community focused on working together.

The Chapel’s life began more than one hundred years before it arrived at Belmont Hill in 1963. It was originally built in 1840 as a Greek Revival Methodist Church in West Thompson, Connecticut. Of note are the original pews which reflect the social divisions of the eighteenth century. Churchgoers would purchase a pew for their family, of which the proximity to the pulpit would determine their social rank. The same theme can be found in the current seating arrangement of the Belmont Hill chapel; older boys sit closer to the stage than younger boys.

The initial catalyst for the transition of the chapel was a hurricane in the late 1950s which blew down the steeple (seen in earlier photos of the building). As a result of the devastating storm, the US Army Corps of Engineers decided to abandon the village of West Thompson to create a dam. The church would likely be deserted if it could not be moved.

At the time, Belmont Hill Headmaster Charles F. Hamilton was searching for a meeting place in which the whole school could be seated together. During Headmaster Hamilton’s tenure from 1942 to 1971, the school grew significantly in student body size and physical buildings. It was for this reason that the school required a new, larger meeting house; at that time, Hamilton had to give his speeches to the Upper and to the Middle Schools separately. Hamilton hired Roger Webb of R.A.R.E. Enterprise (Relocators of Antique Real Estate) to find a
suitable church and move it to campus.

Financial barriers, however, still remained as the school had just completed the building of a new fieldhouse and were in debt from the project. In a letter to the school community, Hamilton expressed the rarity of the opportunity and the financial benefits of rebuilding the Connecticut chapel. The chapel project was estimated to cost $145,000, roughly 1.2 million of today’s dollars. At the time of his letter, half of the cost had already been donated or pledged by friends of the school, and the project was to continue.

Relocation work began in July of 1963 and was scheduled to be completed by graduation in 1964. As the church was originally built in 1840, prior to the popularization of nails, the entire building is a ‘jig-saw’ puzzle of intermixed wood pieces. An October 14th press release entitled Only 9,800 Pieces to Go announced the setting of the cornerstone by Headmaster Hamilton. It described “[t]he 200 blocks of granite, some weighing over 3 tons and totaling 50 tons” that “have been trucked to Belmont and placed in the foundation.” The grade of the site of the foundation in Connecticut was matched exactly on the Belmont Hill campus. Many students, especially seniors, took part in the project throughout the summer and fall of 1963.

In the class of 1964’s yearbook, a foreword appears which depicts the chapel at its former home in Connecticut. The editors mention that the addition of a space for the entire community to regularly meet could be seen as a symbol for student unity. The foreword ends with the class outlining their hope to see “Belmont Hill mature into a bigger, better, and more unified institution.” These parting words outline much of what Belmont Hill has striven to do in the past half-century.

Just as the class of 1964 hoped the chapel would usher a new age of student body harmony, the current 2019 chapel renovations carry the same symbolism. As Belmont Hill looks to grow further, there is the concern that the benefits of a small community will be lost, among those, the ability for students to meet together and act as one unified body. This is why the chapel renovations are so vital; it will provide the school a space to sit as one unified body and sustain the Belmont Hill motto working together. In a time of poisonous politics and national division, it is more vital than ever for the school community to remain connected and committed to the institution of Belmont Hill.
Analyzing the School Senate

Author-Jake Pappo ’20
Section-Opinion Pieces

The job of the Senate is to represent the student body in managing Belmont Hill, though their views do not necessarily align with those of their peers. Theoretically, the voting process gives students a means to promote the way in which they think the school should be changed by electing someone who reflects their beliefs; however, in practice, the vast majority of campaign platforms are built on empty promises to fix some problem within the school, such as meals or utilities. Senators will ardently run for office, but the passion of their nomination speeches conveniently fades away once they add their newly assumed role to their résumé.

Inactivity alone does not undermine this system, though, for the students themselves neglect their vote. Cronyism, not just demagoguery, runs rampant behind Belmont Hill’s facade of a fair democratic process. People generally vote for their friends, not even considering how they might act as a senator; voting for someone because of the reforms which they support, even if they will not come to fruition, at least reflects a common interest in school affairs.

As long as students continue this lack of care, then nothing will be able to fix the current problems since no form of republicanism can function without active and responsible constituents.

Furthermore, the indifference of the student body can be ascribed to the passive acceptance that their voice will go unheard. Why would one put effort into their vote if they know that they will only elect someone to a position of minimal power?

This creates a positive feedback loop of inevitable senatorial inaction amplifying student disinterest. The bodies of true authority at Belmont Hill oversaw the creation of the Senate and likely foresaw its insignificance and have since seen no reason to grant senators real power.

This case of institutionalized obsolescence brings into question the purpose of student governments here at our school.
On October 8th, the Supreme Court of the United States will hear three cases, Gavin Grimm v. Gloucester County School Board, R.G. & G.R. Harris Funeral Homes Inc. v. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), and Zarda v. Altitude Express, all of which will consider, and ultimately adjudicate, if current sex discrimination laws, outlined in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, protect LGBTQ people from workplace discrimination. These cases, which are being presented against the backdrop of the stymied passage of the Equality Act, a piece of legislation which would explicitly add sexual orientation and gender identity to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, represent momentous occasions for LGBTQ rights and equality at the Supreme Court level. Specifically, Grimm focuses on allowing a transgender individual the right to use the bathroom of his choice, Harris deals with a wrongful termination of a transgender individual because of her gender identity, and, similarly, Zarda considers an unlawful termination of a gay man based on his sexual orientation. If the Supreme Court Justices rule that sexual orientation and gender identity are covered under the existing Civil Rights Act of 1964, it will ensure that the LGBTQ community will be protected from wrongful terminations and other forms of workplace discrimination whether or not individual states mandate it.

As with various previous landmark Supreme Court cases, the White House has taken a notable interest in these decisions; the Trump Administration filed two amicus briefs to the Supreme Court earlier this year. One asserts, “[the Civil Rights Act of 1964] does not bar discrimination because of transgender status.” And likewise, the other brief contends, “[the Civil Rights Act of 1964] does not bar discrimination because of sexual orientation.” The Trump administration has argued that “sex,” as defined in the wording of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, refers to the biological sex of a person, a definition that does not account for discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity. Since only 21 states explicitly offer protections to LGBTQ people in the workplace, a ruling which finds that Title VII does not cover sexual orientation and gender identity would place millions of LGBTQ people at risk for workplace discrimination and unlawful termination.

Contrary to the Trump Administration’s statement on this issue, I contend that that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 extends protections against discrimination to transgender individuals. The landmark piece of legislation reads, “It shall be an unlawful employment practice ... to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin...” In the context of the 1960s, the term “sex” did simply refer to biological sex, as determined by hormones, genitalia, chromosomes, and physical features, but now in the 21st century, the concept of sex has evolved to allow individuals to identify as whatever gender they choose. Since LGBTQ self-identification has dramatically increased over the past few decades, and because the language of the current legislation can be interpreted loosely, I assert that the protections awarded by Civil Rights Act of 1964 should additionally cover transgender individuals. Furthermore, although it is not explicitly stated in the language of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, I maintain that the same insurances must be extended to combat sexual identity-based discrimination. Whether through the Supreme Court’s decision on these upcoming cases or through the passage of the Equality Act, discrimination and termination based on one’s sexual identity must be eliminated.

These upcoming landmark cases will mark the Supreme Court’s first statement on LGBTQ rights since the retirement of Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, a conservative member of the court who often acted as a swing vote and advocate* of LGBTQ rights. Since becoming the President of the United States in 2016, Donald
Trump has appointed two right-wing Justices, Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh, to the Supreme Court bench. During the nomination processes, many observers anticipated that the bench's Republican majority would vote as a unified bloc, but that reality has not yet occurred. Despite both being heralded as conservative appointees, Kavanaugh and Gorsuch agreed on just 70% of rulings through their first term together.

As Donald Trump and other high-ranking Republican officials have publicly opposed protecting the LGBTQ community under Title VII, it will be interesting to see how the conservative Supreme Court rules. Under the Supreme Court Oath of Office, Justices are supposed to remain “above partisan politics”, so it is intriguing to see if today's polarized political climate will impact the rulings of these cases. Hopefully, whether through the Supreme Court's decisions or through the passage of the Equality Act, the LGBTQ community will be further protected under the provisions stated in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
Dear Mayor Walsh,

The preamble of the Constitution of the United States articulates that, “We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty...” As you are very well aware, the shootings in El Paso, Texas and Dayton, Ohio on August 3rd and 4th, 2019, mark the 250th and 251st mass shootings in the United States. I, a proud citizen of the United States, as of now do not harbour a feeling of “domestic tranquility” when, during an unassuming shopping run at the local Walmart, I stand two isles away from a plethora of shotguns and rifles available for easy purchase as seen in states like Texas and Florida. How are police officers “promoting the general welfare” when unarmed black boys and men lay dead in the streets while, easily, men like Patrick Crusius (the El Paso, Texas shooter) and Dakota Theriot (Louisiana shooter) are handcuffed and taken to a station with little to no problem/casualty?

In order to ensure “the blessings of liberty” and to not endanger our 2nd Amendment right to bear and keep arms, we have now made it easier to purchase and collect weapons than for immigrants to be granted visas and green cards. So much for, “Give me your tired, your poor. Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free...” After-the-fact, instead of condemning America’s poor and almost nonexistent gun-control laws and seeking to fix and improve upon it, we paint these shooters as poor mentally-ill men who are just products of their environments with the actual guns taking a far backseat. While the media has a field day romanticizing these shooters, studies show that more guns are bought during the aftermath of mass shootings than before them. So, if the main and principal reason behind mass shootings is mental illness and not guns, why then are extra and enhanced programs for screening and vetting, before the purchase of guns, still a foreign and nonexistent idea?

Would the inception of mental screenings and evaluations before the purchase of weapons as well as after-the-fact supervised handling of weapons for those authorized to carry be so far out of the picture? How about the introduction of a sort of tier system where “normal citizens” are only allowed basic pistols, shotguns, and rifles with limited attachments while officers and people with higher military/government credentials or clearances are able to carry semi-automatic weapons and higher-tiered weapons, with the tier system and access to weapons expanding as you make your way up? What if the government actively outlawed online websites that manufacture and sell attachments and parts that turn semi-automatic weapons into automatic weapons? Instituting programs that educate and assist ex-felons who apply to buy weapons would help as well.

Simply, the government could ban semi-automatic weapons from the general public, and offer compensation for those that would have to give their own semi-auto weapons back to the government. This, however, poses a few problems. Banning certain weapons from the public will not curtail criminals from gaining access to those weapons, instead leaving the public open to higher rates of crime as people are now left defenseless. Also, since the Prohibition Act from 1920-1933, when has banning something actually completely solved the problem? Take a page out of New Zealand’s book. New Zealand has not seen a major mass shooting of the caliber of the March of 2019 Christchurch, New Zealand shootings for over 20 years. Compare that to the 100+ mass shootings in the United States in just this year. We as Americans are so opposed to exchanging the old for the new that we do not realize that maybe modernization and taking unproven risks is the answer to our problems.

As I sit here writing to you, Mayor Walsh, I try to speak for the young black boys and girls that wish to experience that “domestic tranquility” that our Preamble states. We, the people of the United States, and the young children, hard-working middle-aged, and jaded elderly of Greater Boston are asking you to secure the blessings of our liberty. I am doing my part, please do yours.

With high regards,
Ikenna Ugbaja
Freedom of Speech

Author-Quinn Healy ’23
Section-Research Papers

Cases ranging from burning a flag to monitoring what people are posting on social media are covered by the same amendment. The First Amendment states, “Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech”. Freedom of speech, more specifically symbolic speech, is a major controversy of the amendment, as the Supreme Court has been inconsistent in its rulings concerning this topic for many years. Before the amendment was put in place, citizens in England were not given freedom of speech rights under the British common law. The Founding Fathers recognized this omission of individual rights as one of the contributing factors for why people left England, thus including the amendment in the Bill of Rights. The amendment was left vague so that it could be interpreted in different ways. Originally, freedom of speech was created to give each person the ability to express himself or herself without any restrictions from the government. The Supreme Court has not followed this concept completely as they did not allow O’Brien and others to publically burn draft cards as a protest against the Vietnam War (The United States v. O’Brien, 1968). In 1969 however, the Supreme Court decided in Tinker v. Des Moines that students could protest against war by wearing armbands in school. Later on, in 1989, the Supreme Court ruled that flag burning was a form of symbolic speech (Texas v. Johnson). The precedent of symbolic speech has shifted over time from ruling in favor of the state to more recently, allowing symbolic speech in public spaces. Not only has the Supreme Court dealt with many cases regarding symbolic speech in the past, but currently, there are many issues about this topic. Kneeling or raising a fist during the national anthem of NFL games has recently been a major question among symbolic speech. Also, the ability to post whatever one wants on social media has brought up much controversy. In this essay, I will explain how these cases and current controversies have affected the precedent of the symbolic speech aspect of the First Amendment.

Founding Fathers:
One of the Founding Fathers’ main intentions of the First Amendment was to protect the rights of the American people. The First Amendment dates back to 1787 when the Constitution of the United States was drafted. The Federalists wanted a strong central government and were in favor of the Constitution. In a series of 85 essays, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, under the name of Publius, encouraged the creation of the Constitution. An opposing party, called the Anti-Federalists, thought that the Constitution would create a strong central government and limit the power of the people. They were in favor of keeping the Articles of Confederation. The Constitution mentioned the separation of powers among the three branches of government but did not address the topic of individual liberties. In an Anti-Federalist paper, Brutus stated, “But it is not necessary, for this purpose, that individuals should relinquish all their natural rights. Some are of such a nature that they cannot be surrendered”. Brutus is arguing that the Constitution does not protect one’s rights. He understands that all rights cannot be preserved, but certain rights, such as freedom of speech, are essential to citizens and must be protected. Thus, a com-
promise was made between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists by creating The Bill of Rights along with the Constitution. Freedom of speech was included in the Bill of Rights to ensure the freedom of citizens and the protection of their rights. The rights of freedom of speech are preserved because Congress is not permitted to make any laws prohibiting one’s First Amendment rights.

Another purpose of the First Amendment dates back to the limitations set in place by the British government. Prior to the establishment of the Bill of Rights, citizens were not granted freedom of speech in England. The House of Commons was restricted on debating monopolies, and near the end of Elizabeth’s reign, the House of Commons started to demand more rights. Charles I attempted to put restrictions on the freedom of speech of the Commons by limiting their say in deciding the order of business. These constraints would have taken away the ability for the Commons to critique the government. Many people left England to gain their freedom of speech rights in a new country. The desire for free speech was recognized by the Founding Fathers because Americans fought and won in the revolutionary war. Therefore, freedom of speech was included by the Founding Fathers to strengthen the rights of citizens compared to the previous English system.

Previous Precedents:

Although the Founding Fathers intended to enhance the freedom of speech of citizens, in the case United States v. O’Brien, the Supreme Court ruled against a form of symbolic speech. David Paul O’Brien and three others publicly burned their registration draft certificates for the Selection Service on March 31, 1966. With a large crowd watching, they did this in front of the South Boston Courthouse. O’Brien was protesting against the Vietnam War, but many people disagreed with his action and began attacking him. Under section 462 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, one is not allowed to change, alter, or forge a certificate. Also, another regulation states that one is required to have both his registration and classification certificates with him at all times. In burning his registration certificate, O’Brien was convicted by the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts under section 462. O’Brien believed that the law was unconstitutional, as he was not given his rights to symbolic speech. He also argued that he was burning the certificate as a way of influencing others to change their opinion on the United States’ position in the Vietnam War. O’Brien appealed the case to the First Circuit Court of Appeals, but the decision of the lower court was confirmed. In 1968, the case was brought to the Supreme Court. In a seven to one opinion, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the United States as the Court did not believe that the law violated the First Amendment. Chief Justice Warren stated, “We think it clear that a government regulation is sufficiently justified if it is within the constitutional power of the Government.” The Court believes that section 462 does not violate the Constitution and must be followed. The result of this case demonstrates that although the Founding Fathers intended to amplify the freedom of speech rights of citizens, the Supreme Court set an early precedent against the use of symbolic speech.

A year after United States v. O’Brien, the precedent of symbolic speech shifted in favor of allowing symbolic speech as a form of protest. In the case Tinker v. Des Moines, two students wore black armbands to their public school in protest against the American concern of the Vietnam War. When the principal heard about the students’ plans to wear the bands, he created a policy regarding armbands. The rule stated if a student wore an armband to school, he or she would be asked to remove it right away. If the student did not remove the armband, he or she would be suspended until consenting to return to school without the armband. The Tinkers were told by the school to remove the armband, but because of this, they were suspended for their actions. The Tinkers’ fathers filed a suit to the U.S. District Court requesting an order for the school not to be allowed to enforce the armband poli-
The injunction was denied, and the case was brought to the U.S. Court of Appeals. In a tie vote, the ruling of the District Court remained, and the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. The Tinkers believed that the policy set in place by the school violated the students’ First Amendment rights to freedom of speech. The school thought that the system was reasonable to account for possible disturbances by the students in the future. The Supreme Court accepted the case and in a seven to two decision, ruled in favor of the students, allowing symbolic speech in public schools. In announcing the majority opinion of the court, Justice Fortas said, “First Amendment rights, applied in light of the special characteristics of the school environment, are available to teachers and students. It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate.” Fortas is saying that one’s constitutional rights are maintained when he or she goes to school. The ruling of the Supreme Court is especially important in this decision as it contradicts the decision of The United States v. O’Brien from the year before. The quick shift in precedent did not allow for the previous precedent of ruling against symbolic speech in public to have a great impact on many people.

In 1989, the precedent of permitting symbolic speech in public was greatly strengthened through the case Texas v. Johnson. Gregory Lee Johnson burned an American flag as a protest against the Reagan Administration and certain corporations based in Dallas during the Republican National Convention in Texas. No person was harmed or injured, but witnesses said that they felt offended. Johnson was charged and convicted for violating the Texas Penal Code, the desecration of a venerated object. Johnson appealed the conviction to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth District of Texas which ruled in favor of Texas. The case was appealed by Johnson to the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals. Johnson won the case this time, but the state of Texas brought the case to the Supreme Court. Johnson argued that his actions were protected by the First Amendment, and the Texas Penal Code law was unconstitutional. The state of Texas, however, thought that the law was constitutional, and it was violated by Johnson. In a five to four decision, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Johnson. Justice Brennan stated, “If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable.” Even though spectators may have interpreted Johnson’s action in a bad way, the First Amendment protects his rights. This decision helped to enforce the precedent that was previously set in the case Tinker v. Des Moines; symbolic speech is a protected right under the First Amendment.

Current Controversies:

More recently, a major controversy regarding freedom of speech has been kneeling as a sign of protest during an NFL game. In August of 2016, Colin Kaepernick sat on the bench during a preseason game to protest against the way that black people were being treated by police. His action later became a kneel, as a way of respecting the people who fight for our country but still protesting for his beliefs. As his actions became more popular, other players began protesting too. Roger Goodell, the commissioner of the league, stated in a press conference, “We believe everyone should stand for the national anthem, it’s an important part of our game.” Goodell encouraged the owners to force the players to stand during the anthem. He thinks that the NFL is a private organization, so the policies set by each team and the league should be followed, and if not, one should receive a punishment. Kaepernick believed his actions were constitutional, as, under the First Amendment, he has a right to freedom of speech. In March of 2017, Kaepernick opted out of his deal with 49ers and was not signed by any team. He filed a collusion suit against the league, stating that the owners were treating him unfairly and did not want to sign him because
of his protest. A confidential agreement was reached between Kaepernick and the NFL, but the protesting by other players did not stop. A policy was created by the NFL ruling that the players may either stand during the anthem or sit in the locker room. If a player kneels or sits down, the team may fine the player. This controversy similarly relates to the case of Texas v. Johnson. The precedent set from Johnson’s case was that one was allowed to protest using symbolic speech in public even if witnesses felt offended. Kaepernick’s situation is almost identical as he is also protesting by using symbolic speech, and the commissioner, some owners, and some veterans are against him. Because some owners, such as Dallas Cowboys owner Jerry Jones, has begun enforcing regulations on what his team can and cannot do during the national anthem, the freedom of speech aspect of this controversy is starting to lean in Goodell’s favor.

Although most freedom of speech cases occur in public places, there is a debate over whether one can post whatever he or she wants and if the social media company is able to monitor and remove what people post. One side of the argument states that under the First Amendment, one should not be restricted on the content that one can post. Similar to a public square, social media is viewable to many people, so one’s freedom of speech right applies. On the other hand, some believe that social media companies are private, and they can moderate what people are saying and remove users who violate their policies. Both sides have a convincing argument, but the main discussion, however, is about whether or not social media is a public space. In the case of United States v. O’Brien, O’Brien did not receive his freedom of speech rights, as his actions violated section 462. Social media matches up with this case because each social networking program has its policies and punishments for violations. Although the precedent from O’Brien fits well with the social media discussion, the First Amendment only applies in public spaces. So until it is determined whether social media is a public space or not, there can be no final verdict to this debate.

Conclusion:
The freedom of speech aspect of the First Amendment has changed its meaning over time. Originally, the Founder Fathers intended to include freedom of speech in the Bill of Rights to protect the rights of the American people as they were weakened by the separation of powers and a strong central government in the Constitution. The interpretation of freedom of speech, more specifically symbolic speech, has evolved from favoring the state, in United States v. O’Brien, to allowing symbolic speech in public spaces, in Tinker v. Des Moines and Texas v. Johnson. Recently, symbolic speech was brought up in Kaepernick’s protest, which was ultimately settled. In our everyday lives, the question of posting whatever one wants on social media is a major problem that is yet to be resolved. These cases show that although the First Amendment was created in 1791, its meaning has changed over time, and it still has a significant impact on many people’s actions today.

Endnotes:
5 Ibid
6 Ibid

12 Taucar, The British [191].
In 20th century China, two of the country’s most influential leaders, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, emerged from a tumultuous period and played critical roles in the formation of China’s economy, society, and government. Exiting the Century of Humiliation, China’s societal structure was left in a state of chaos. From the submission to many Western countries, such as Britain, and to neighboring countries such as Japan, China ceded enormous amounts of land and gave many trading privileges to American, British, and Japanese governments. To regain sovereignty, Mao Zedong led others in World War II, including Deng Xiaoping, to defeat the Chinese Nationalists and expel the Japanese. Only on October 1, 1949, when Mao stood at Beijing’s Gate of Heavenly Peace, did this Century of Humiliation end with the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC).1 Both Mao and Deng were critical in the formation of the PRC. Despite having worked together for many years, they each developed and held a different vision for China’s future, and implemented effective policies in different sectors of China. These effective policies first and foremost helped China, and they produced the intended result. Although Mao Zedong created more dominant social policies, Deng Xiaoping overall created the most effective economic and political policies and propelled China into an era of prosperity based on a modernized structure of Chinese society.

Mao Zedong, at the time he came to power, instilled better social policies, and he won the popular support of the people. Mao’s priority was an equitable society and reconstructing family life after a century of ruin. Before the founding of the PRC, Mao promised complete equality for Chinese citizens, as mentioned in the Common Program of Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference in September 1949.2 He also referenced this in a newspaper on October 2, 1949, which states that they are going to “observe the principles of equality.”3 In 1950, Mao Zedong implemented a policy called the Marriage Reform Law. This law gave men and women equal rights in marriage and divorce. This also gave women the ability to control land.4 In the poster of the Marriage Law below, (Appendix I) the bottom line translates as “freedom of marriage, happiness, and good luck.”5 Mao presented this poster to the people to show that the Marriage Law gave freedom and equality to women. By 1955, more than 90% of all marriages were officially registered to the government and would be concluded in free will.6 In contrast, Deng Xiaoping instilled relatively unfavorable and ineffective social policies that made the people waver in support. Under Mao, the population grew from 594 million in 1953 to 695 million in 1964. Deng wanted to reduce the rapidly growing Chinese population to stop the depletion of natural resources. (Appendix II) In 1979, Deng Xiaoping implemented the One Child Policy to change this growth.7 Essentially, this limited a family to only one child. On March 31, 2012, Lijing Jiang, reflecting on the One-Child policy, said that it caused “damages to peasants’ welfare … accelerated population aging, and other social suffering and trauma.”8 This policy was not very effective, as China’s population did continue to grow, as seen in the graph to the right.9 Furthermore, the general sentiment of Chinese society was anger not only with the age gap with older and younger people but also with forced abortions and induced labors even during the late stages of pregnancy. Women were also forced to take contraceptives, which were bad for the health of the people.10 Mao, in general, gained more support in society than Deng Xiaoping did. Mao’s social reforms made the society revere him and this period in China’s history because he was able to achieve his priority of equality. On the other hand, Deng Xiaoping’s policies did not have the same effect. He didn’t stop the population from increasing, and the people disliked his One Child Policy. In conclusion, Mao Zedong, with his priority of equality, provided for a more broadly effective social
Deng Xiaoping, with his priorities of progress and modernization, had far more effective economic policies and had better outcomes than Mao Zedong did. Mao Zedong’s main priority was building up the rural economy. In a statement by Mao called The Masses Can Do Anything on September 29, 1958, he said, “We must ... extend the system of people’s communes throughout the whole country.” He wanted to do this in order to increase the agricultural labor force and output. With these extensions of communes during the Great Leap Forward from 1958 to 1961, many families were forced to farm grain and to meet a quota set by Mao and his cadres. This led to propaganda, as cadres of the communes were competing in the production of grain. In 1958, cadres reported that 410 million tons of grain were reaped in the countryside, but the actual number was around 200 million. Too much grain was then removed from the countryside for taxes, which left families with little food. Mao also set up propaganda posters from 1957 to 1959. In these posters, it read that “the commune is like a gigantic dragon; production is visibly awe-inspiring.” Mao essentially told the citizens that the communes were helping the economy and the production was “awe-inspiring,” but this was not true. From 1958 to 1961, there was poor grain production and the output value of the agriculture also decreased, as shown in the chart below.

In contrast, Deng Xiaoping started to come into power after the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. He wanted to bring China’s economy back to prosperity after Mao’s disastrous years and to restore Chinese sovereignty. One of Deng’s most influential programs was the Special Economic Zones in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen in 1978. Companies such as Yamaha and Motorola could build factories and conduct business while using inexpensive Chinese labor. Due to this, China’s economy flourished. As a local worker said during this time period, “If you worked full time, you had a stable income and bonuses were good. Living standards went up. For example, we got a television, and then we bought a colored one to replace the black and white.” Workers in these factories had enough surplus in their salary to inject money back into the economy, which was rare for a common citizen at that time. China Daily said in Shenzhen: Showcase for China’s Economic Growth in 2002 that “(Shenzhen) has had an annual gross domestic product growth rate of 25 percent ... reached 190.82 billion yuan last year, compared with 31.73 billion yuan in 1992.” There was huge economic growth in Shenzhen thanks to the introduction of Special Economic Zones. Between Mao and Deng, Deng had the most effective policies economically. Before Mao died in 1976, China’s nominal GDP stayed mostly constant. Following the years of Mao, China experienced break-neck growth with Deng, as shown in the graph below.

Deng Xiaoping took 400 million Chinese out of poverty with his economic reforms. Even now, China is still experiencing the effects of Deng’s positive economic reforms. On March 10, 2012, The Economist wrote that “China is the world’s largest manufacturing power ... costs are soaring, starting in the coastal provinces where factories have historically clustered.” China has grown rapidly since Deng’s Special Economic reforms, while Mao’s Communes were abolished in 1983. China’s economic growth all started with the factories put in place by Deng. In all, Deng Xiaoping had more effective economic policies then Mao did that are still positively affecting China’s economy.

Furthermore, Deng Xiaoping also had more effective political policies than Mao Zedong did. Mao Zedong wanted to preserve Chinese Communism while having good foreign relations. Previously, China had strong relations with the USSR. Mao had made an alliance with the Soviets on his first trip abroad to Moscow in 1949. On February 15, 1950, the Soviet Union and China signed a Treaty on Friendship, Union, and Mutual Assistance. Because of this treaty, the USSR helped China in 160 industrial products. Mao had only allowed relations with pure communist coun-
tries during this period of time until the 1970s. However, during the late 1950s and early 1960s, these relations with the USSR started to deteriorate. In 1956, Nikita Khrushchev came into power for the Soviets, and he had relatively friendly attitudes towards capitalism. Mao and the CCP were distressed by this. The relationship grew more and more into hatred, culminating in September 1960, when Khrushchev removed 1,390 experts on technology, military, and infrastructure from China, which started the Sino-Soviet split. Mao's stalwart stand on Communism resulted at an end of a long relationship with one of China's oldest allies. He put ideology over good foreign relations. Deng's priority, similarly, was also establishing good foreign relations, but he was more practical. Deng Xiaoping wished to fix the cold relations with the US, so he finished the Joint Communique in 1979, which was first started by Mao in 1972. The US and PRC both agreed “to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations” on January 1, 1979, in the Joint Communique. Deng formally established relations with the US. Furthermore, he was the first to visit the United States. On January 29, 1979, Deng said in exchange of toasts with President Carter, “Our two countries have different social systems and ideologies, but both governments are aware that the interests of our peoples and of world peace require that we view our bilateral relations in the context of the overall international situation and with a long-term strategic perspective. This was the reason why the two sides easily reached agreement on normalization.” Despite having different ideologies, Deng realized that it was in the best interests of the people and world peace to establish relations with the US. Deng Xiaoping said in his speech, Reform is China's Second Revolution, “It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice.” Deng's practicalness and willingness to reach out to countries having different ideologies propelled China's relations, especially with the United States. In summary, Deng Xiaoping had more effective political policies, extending relations foreign nations despite having differences in ideology. Even though Mao Zedong established more popular social policies, with Deng Xiaoping's economic and political policies, Deng spurred China's economy and foreign relations into an era of unprecedented prosperity. Mao Zedong, with his Marriage Law of 1950, successfully promoted equality with women and men, keeping his old promise. However, Deng Xiaoping did not achieve his goal of stopping the growing population with his One Child Policy in 1979, nor did he gain any support from society for his social reforms. Mao extended communes during the Great Leap Forward from 1958 to 1961, hoping to further the economy, but it actually decreased the grain production and the output value of that grain. On the other hand, Deng implemented Special Economic Zones in 1978 and China's economy began a period of growth that still has not stopped today. In his earlier years, Mao only established foreign relations with countries, such as Russia, who had the same ideology as him. When Russia started to have friendlier attitudes towards capitalism, Mao cut ties with Russia in 1960, due to differences in ideology, and this resulted in the removal of Russian experts. Deng finished the Joint Communique in 1979 and established diplomatic relations with the US, despite massive differences in ideologies, being more practical than Mao. Deng Xiaoping furthered both China's economy and foreign relations, while Mao only furthered China's society. The challenge now for China and its leader Xi Jinping is to have more effective social, economic, and political policies and follow the precedent that history has set by Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping.

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Appendix:
I.

II.
III.

China's Agricultural Record 1952-62

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grain Production (Millions tonnes)</th>
<th>Meat Production (Millions tonnes)</th>
<th>Index of Gross Output Value of Agriculture</th>
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<td>183.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>147.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>94.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>160.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV.
The Stalinist Era was a unique period of time, from 1927 - 1953, where Totalitarianism was absolute, and musicians could be sent to the gulags. In a time where musicians were forced to create music that was aligned with the views of the state, those who objected were killed or had their music banned. Because Stalin understood the impact that the arts and culture have upon society, he aimed to completely revamp and connect the arts and culture with his goals. To control every aspect of the soviet society, he needed to control the people. By means of Socialist Realism, he was able to tear down prior class separations, specifically higher and lower class music, and unify the people. Part of what factored in his decisions about what art was classified as Socialist Realism was how well it conveyed his party's agenda. Stalin wanted to create culture for the masses, disseminate high culture, to allow for complete russification, which in turn would benefit him as it would unify the people of Russia. An example of this “russification” was making Cyrillic the national alphabet, as well as publishing books in over 66 different languages, newspapers in over 47 languages. As most of Russia spoke many different languages, accessing the spread out of the population and uniting them under one language stripped away many of their individual identity. Stalin embraced Socialist Realism, seeking to combine this theory and the Soviet arts together, forcing the composers to compose in a way that fit his ideology yet was still creative. He aimed to control all the parts of society, from the arts and culture with Socialist Realism, to the hearts and minds with the cult of personality, to the people's resources. Stalin controlled the Soviet arts and culture through forced Socialist Realism, using different types of political institutions to spread and glamorize the theory, punishing those who would not comply in various ways.

The communist party sought to align their political goals with the artistic scene, through the transformation towards Socialist Realism. The concept of Socialist Realism was fundamental to understanding the musical environment which existed within Soviet Russia at the time. Socialist Realism was the method of requiring a pro-socialist depiction of reality from the artist, often accompanied by the positive portrayal of the ideal life of the everyday worker. The core of the concept was that everything created was positive towards Soviet Russia, with nothing anti-Soviet or too thought-provoking. Stalin understood the importance of art and culture within society, wanting to connect the arts with the view of the communist government. The first government statement about the concept was issued in 1934:

“Socialist Realism, being the basic method of Soviet literature and literary criticism, demands from the artist a truthful, historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development. At the same time, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic depiction of reality must coexist with the goal of ideological change and education of the workers in the spirit of socialism.”

The rationale behind this statement was that by providing a clear definition of Socialist Realism and removing any anti-soviet sentiment from the arts, the arts and culture would promote feelings of loyalty and pride towards the Soviet movements. Several phrases, such as “idei'nost,” “parti'nost,” or “narod'nost” have been applied to Socialist Realism when changing the arts to fit the concept, stressing unity and obedience under the rule of socialism. Examples of music that Stalin approved of were the classic Russian folk tunes and hearty marches, simply Russian tunes which stayed in line with Socialist Realism yet divided the Soviet people at the same time, emphasizing ethnic divisions. During the time period in which Socialist Realism was effected, World War II was underway, and Stalin aimed to unite the people. Through this idea, he was able to simultaneously remove class barriers separating the higher and lower class, unify the people, and promote loyalty to the par-
The central part of Socialist Realism within music adhered to Stalin's motto of "nationalist in form, socialist in context." Shostakovich would include "the hybrid jazz-and-klezmer that was the popular staple of the time, chastushki (Russian comic songs), mass songs, pioneer songs, cheap waltzes and marches, and those syrupy tunes that every Russian knows are only sung by the drunks" within some of his material, pandering to the Soviet government. Shostakovich's Festive Overture serves as an excellent example of a piece that was characterized as "his most durable piece of music" (good in the Soviet government's eyes), but also as an example of him providing the government with music that they approved. However, not all music that composers created was in line with Socialist Realism, and composers sought to write more expressive and intricate pieces.

The opposite of Socialist Realism is the concept of Formalism: the departure from a conserved and accepted structure (commonly referred to as a non-whistleable tune by Stalin). Socialist Realism is about what content art could portray but only permitted by the Soviet government. The concept of Formalism originates from twentieth-century Soviet art theories, about a lack of ideas, content, and lack of roots based in "reality" - Formalism was the idea of abstract feelings and ideas which were hard to understand or which surpassed societal norms.

There were two types of classic Formalism: theoretical (musical) and conceptual (substantive). Theoretical Formalism was about the harmonical formation of a piece, about the lack of harmonic structure, or lack of recognizable patterns. To an average listener, the piece would be harder to understand, even though Formalism does not mean "bad" composition or an unorganized piece. The music would simply be harder to understand to an uneducated listener because of the complex, dissonant, or less common harmonic coordination throughout the piece, uncommon instrumentation.

The government directed art to reflect ideas of communism (people all doing their part in society for the greater good), attempting to portray life in Russia as good under Socialist Realism art and culture, even though the average person in Russia struggled under the totalitarian regime. The Soviet government thought that formalist pieces of art/culture would show an idea that was "counter-productive to the ultimate goals of the party," make people truly think for themselves, or become unpatriotic (would "inspire" uprisings).

The fear of Formalism and understanding of the power of art and culture influenced the Soviet Government to make the art, country, and culture fully communist. Stalin greatly influenced the artistic community of Russia through fear tactics and statements against Formalism during the first half of the twentieth century, not only a reaffirmation that Soviet Russia was truly totalitarian but also a reason why Socialist Realism was so prevalent. Stalin aimed to cultivate the people of Russia towards a common purpose while simultaneously punishing anti-Sovietism, so Formalism was not tolerated, as it led people to think in new, possibly more critical ways about their country. Formalism, everything that the Soviets did not want in their society, was described by Stalin as "rootless cosmopolitanism" (a common description of the west at the time), thus why Stalin did not approve of this concept in art or culture.

An example of music that encapsulates Formalism was Shostakovich's opera, Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District, performed in 1936. Shostakovich's second opera was the perfect matchup of the two definitions of formalist music in Soviet Russia. Theoretically, the listeners were disturbed by an unusual grouping of harmonies and instruments. Conceptually, his opera's plot was based on adultery, rape, corruption, crime, and the "cruelty of humanity." Coincidentally, Shostakovich was previously criticized by Stravinsky, most popularly known for the Rite of Spring, an ear-wrenching piece, for writing music that was "brutally hammering... monotonous... arrogant."
comments predicted other Soviet criticism to come, as a year later Stalin's Pravda article, “Muddle instead of Music” described “deliberately dissonant, a confused stream of sound... all is coarse, primitive, and vulgar... it could end very badly.” 35 Due to the formalistic nature of the piece, the vulgar themes, and unpleasant harmonies, one can understand why the play was publically decried by Stalin in the article. This article put Shostakovich's career in immediate crisis, due to the repercussions of being labeled “formalist,” but also helps us understand what kind of music the Soviet government disapproved of.36 To determine what categories the music fell into, reward those who created Socialist Realism, and punish those who created Formalism, the Soviets had a number of different organizations.

The Soviets used the Ministry of Culture, the Media, and artist membership groups such as the Moscow Artists’ Union, Stalin Prize Committee to praise compilers who created art and culture which adhered to the Socialist Realism concept.37, 38, 39, 40 The Ministry of Culture was a key part in reviewing Shostakovich's music after it was labeled formalist, allowing his music to be performed on stage.41 The Ministry of Culture also handed out awards to composers who “continued importance of ideology in the production, maintenance, and dissemination of culture within the Soviet Union,” as they named Shostakovich the “People's Artist of the USSR” in 1954 and awarded him the Stalin prize in 1949.42, 43

The Soviet media always celebrated the publication of the Stalin Prizes, for example, a radio concert and a lavish ceremony were hosted for the 1941 awards.44 (835) During World War II, Pravda, the national Soviet paper, printed about the laureates and their winnings.45 A number of public events called “Celebration Evenings” were held for the laureates for fan and admire meetings, and winning the Stalin Prize signified a “step up the ladder of fame and fortune” in the Soviet hierarchy.46 Overall, the media glorified the Stalin Prize, making the winners A-list celebrities with 100,000 extra rubles, a significant amount of money in mid-1900's Soviet Russia.47 Looking deeper, one can discern that much of the media show was propaganda, an example of the Soviet government using co-optation to lure people into the showy, glittery aspect of Soviet life, making things seem better than they really were.

The Stalin Prize Committee was a way for the musicians to gain a sense of “self-rule” as the local, regional, national artists’ unions, and professional arts organizations, the Vsekokhudoznik, the Moscow Artists' Union, and the Moscow Comradeship of Artists were able to send in works to the Stalin prize committee for evaluation. The Moscow Artists’ Union, described as the “Arts Section of the Professional Union of Arts Workers” would send in works, get some noticed, and be content with their autonomy. By allowing the artists to unionize, Stalin provided them with a false sense of independence, while keeping the Stalin Prize Committee, run by Communist Party members, to keep control within the party.48

The Stalinist state was able to keep compilers in line by publicly shaming them, yet not killing them, which was what happened in the case of Shostakovich. However, Stalin was able to kill artists who did not meet his requirements, and his penalties were “severe” when artists crossed the line into Formalism.49

The penalties handed out once punished were brutal, musicians were often sent to the gulags or executed for creating whatever the government deemed formalist music.50 However, musicians, Shostakovich as an example were also frozen out, as stopped getting any support from anyone else, blacklisted in a sense.51 Shostakovich was a unique example in that he was able to regain his musical status. The Soviet government recognized his genius and his past contributions to Socialist Realism, allowing him one “big shot,” his fifth symphony, as his great apology, as he subtitled the piece “A Soviet artist's reply to just criticism.”52 Were these means successful? How? How not? These means of control were successful in the
sense that Stalin was able to limit the amount of critical/thought-provoking music that was produced, yet most scholars agree that the art produced under Socialist Realism was “art for art’s sake.”53 Stalin was able to use the arts and culture to support Soviet loyalty and his political agenda, but at a cost to the freedom and creativity of many artists and creators. Most of the artists who were able to survive under such harsh conditions in the Soviet state were often “third-raters,” and most of the music was lackluster.54 This argument has to do with the harsh composing rules that were forced upon the composers by Stalin, as they were only allowed to compose Socialist Realism music, ie extreme pro-soviet, marches, folk tunes, and they were limited in the set of skills (and notes, as certain chords and patterns would be considered formalist) they were allowed to use in their compositions. Evidence for this argument can be found in Stravinsky’s formalist music at Le Sacre du Printemps, as the grouping of unique harmonies and instruments was able to evoke strong emotions from his listeners.55, 56 Formalism was described as the “beginning of using music not only to evoke love and hate, but also uncertainty, extreme fear, guilt, and biting tension,” introducing different aspects of the human soul.57

Conclusion

Stalin controlled the Soviet music production through forced Socialist Realism, using different types of political institutions to spread and glamorize the theory, punishing those who would not comply in various ways. Through shaming and eliminating those who created Formalist music, Stalin was able to systematically look down on those who created Formalist music, and promote those who created Socialist Realism, through the media, Stalin music prize, and other political institutions. However, the harsh environment that the artists had to create in limited their potential, resulting in “lackluster music.” Many artists fell through the cracks and were not able to survive, yet those who were able to balance between Socialist Realism and Formalism, such as Shostakovich, had to do so extremely carefully, as they could easily the next day be cast as “enemies of the state.”

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“I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country,” uttered the captured American spy Nathan Hale as he awaited death by hanging. No prayers were said, for the devout Christian had been denied the presence of a clergy. No tears were wept, for only a crowd of apathetic Loyalists and British regulars bore witness. The twenty-one-year-old Yale graduate zealously offered himself to his commander-in-chief for the purpose of fulfilling the need to acquire information from the British in Long Island, yet the only outcome of his task was the loss of his life. On September 22, 1776, General William Howe casually recorded the event in his diary: “A spy from the enemy by his own full confession, apprehended last night, was executed [this] day at 11 o’clock in front of the Artillery Park.” On the other side of the New York Sound, in order to prevent the loss of morale, Hale’s death, though much different in nature to most others, was inconspicuously added to the Continental Army’s growing casualty list as “Nathan Hale−Capt−killed−22d September.”

Hale’s fatal mission, marked by vanity and a sheer lack of qualification, had been destined for failure since its very beginning. Rather than approach the British head on from the north, Washington ordered Hale to cross the Sound and reach Huntington, Long Island so that he could travel eastward to Brooklyn. This would allow for him to report on the flow of supplies, the size of the British forces, and the time of departure for their attack on the Americans. Unfortunately for Washington, and more so for Hale, Howe’s land invasion of Manhattan began on September 15, around three days after the new spy crossed the Sound, thus rendering his dangerous task nearly useless.

During his rushed journey to Brooklyn, Hale gathered as much information as he could under the guise of a Dutch schoolteacher, but was captured at some point. Some say he was turned in by his Tory cousins. Others, including his grandson Edward Hale, say he was captured after mistakenly waving down a British ship, thinking it was his transport back across the Sound. Still others say he was recognized by Robert Rogers, an unscrupulous colonist in command of a British battalion known as the “Queen’s American Rangers”, who then had his men make Hale unknowingly confess at a bar. Though the exact means remain ambiguous, any simple mistake could have led to his exposure, whether it be his Connecticut accent, his obvious note-taking on British troops, or sharing his mission with a Loyalist falsely perceived as a Whig. In the end, the enthusiastic patriotism of Nathan Hale far surpassed his spying ability, resulting in his demise.

This easily avoidable death served as a strong warning and prompted drastic change in Washington’s establishment of a functional intelligence system, which would rise in the coming years from the hanging of Nathan Hale to much greater heights.

America’s gradual implementation of an effective espionage network proved decisive to its victory in the Revolutionary War. From 1775 to 1776, the opening years of the conflict, the Continental Army would only gather intelligence by rather simple means, such as deploying men for a quick reconnoitering. Some missions yielded impactful results, yet these proved too few and the patriots not surprisingly suffered from a general lack of information. In 1777, Washington aimed to resolve this problem and installed a novel spying system in Philadelphia; though only somewhat effective and merely embryonic, this began the much-needed evolution of American espionage towards a more professional form.

From 1778 to 1783, American spying culminated in the Culper Ring of New York. This effectively operated in the British epicenter of the colonies and surpassed its predecessor in Philadelphia, which laid a solid technical foundation but fell short of yielding tangible contributions to a patriot victory. The Culper Ring greatly influenced the changing tide of the Revolution by report-
ing detailed accounts of the British situation so that Washington could accordingly react, whether by countering their plans or making his own. Over the course of the war, the constantly maturing intelligence system grew to assume the task of providing the Continental Army with a buttress of information necessary for any successful military.

An Initial Lack of Information

The patriots did not often employ spies at the onset of the war, resorting to less effective modes of espionage like scouts; in turn, their weak intelligence resulted in military failures. At first, American officers were hesitant due to both the shame of long-term covert operations and the risk of planting unspecialized men into such a dangerous and fragile service. Early spying successes showed some promise, though, and America slowly but surely began to relieve its chronic lack of information by increasing the quantity and quality of their spies.

Although their efforts were not nearly sufficient to defeat the British, the patriots used spies successfully on several occasions in the early years of the Revolution. For example, only a few weeks after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, a basic yet pivotal use of undercover reconnaissance allowed for the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. In early May 1775, Ethan Allen sent Ezra Hickock and Noah Phelps, the latter of whom went on to become a major general in 1796, into the fort under the guise of disheveled fur traders.10 After gaining access, they wrote extensive notes on its condition and the positioning of the soldiers and guards, consisting of forty-six regulars and two officers. Of special importance, the British had a spoiled gunpowder supply, the gates were left unlocked due to the loss of the keys, and reinforcements would arrive soon.11 Ethan Allen received the critical information and knew that he had to act while the opportunity was ripe. As the sun began to peek over the horizon on May 10, 1775, his militia, the Green Mountain Boys, quickly captured the fort from the unsuspecting British without firing a single shot.12 The seamless reconnoitering by Noah Phelps led to this early triumph for the colonists, which greatly damaged the British connection to Canada and gained momentum for the revolutionary cause. However, examples of espionage, let alone successful ones, were painfully exiguous at this time and it took months of devastating losses until they finally thought to apply it on a larger scale.

One such loss occurred in late August 1776 at the Battle of Long Island, also known as the Battle of Brooklyn, which brought an especially humiliating defeat to the Americans and heavily emphasized the need for spies. This engagement, the first true open-field battle of the revolution, pitted the ill-trained and ill-fitted Continental Army against the disciplined and refined British regulars. Not only was there a massive gap of experience between the two armies, but General Howe had around 30,000 soldiers prepared off-shore in the ships of the Royal Navy and another 20,000 on Staten Island; Washington had only 10,000.13 British General Henry Clinton reached New York to help Howe plan and head the attack, which would be the largest of the entire war in regards to troop deployment. American officers were in charge of gaining information on the size and intent of the enemy, yet their amateur attempts only yielded underestimations and inaccuracies.14 Therefore, the patriots fortified New York City against an enemy whose battle designs would come as a complete surprise. The British received word—likely from a spy, scout, or Loyalist—that the Jamaica Pass, a pathway behind the American lines, had only five guards.15 Because of this information, General Howe easily pushed his way through the narrow trail, allowing him to flank and defeat the already-pressed soldiers of the Brigadier General of the New York militia, Nathaniel Woodhull. By nightfall, the British had taken over all of New York besides Brooklyn Heights and Manhattan, with Washington cornered in the former.16 Howe took the day with a clear showing of military superiority and the Americans still knew nothing of their plans due to a severe lack of intelligence,
thus leaving them no option but to keep the Revolution alive by trying to escape across British-held New York Harbor. With a little luck and providence, Washington miraculously brought his remaining 9,000 men over to Manhattan under the cover of night and fog. He then crossed to New Jersey before heading north to Connecticut, knowing that the British would soon continue their seizure of New York at Manhattan, which they indeed did two weeks later, during Nathan Hale’s mission. By the end of 1776, the colonial war effort lay in shambles, for the British continually defeated the patriots in major battles and firmly held New York. Washington surviving by thin escapes with his battered army was an ignominously common occurrence throughout the beginning of the war and a dismal end to the fight for independence loomed.

As Washington scrambled to keep his constantly fleeing army alive, the need for intelligence became exceedingly apparent. At the start of the Revolution, most Americans expected a simple and straightforward battle between the two sides from which a glorious and independent America would emerge; however, this romantic view of war eventually withered away as the true military prowess of the British was realized through gruesome battles. Fervent patriotism alone would not be enough to claim victory. Therefore, rather than relying on Loyalist newspapers and word of mouth, as he had been throughout 1775 and early 1776, Washington sought to obtain intelligence on his own terms. He first did so strictly through the use of the military, a more traditional and honorable practice centered on reconnoitering enemy encampments and activities. For example, in early August 1776, only several weeks before the Battle of Brooklyn, he created Knowlton’s Rangers, under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton, in order to scout unoccupied positions and also to learn more on the British. Though units like the Rangers brought some improvement, especially to an army always looking over its shoulder, far more still had to be done.

The Americans had to secure information that would allow for them to precisely prepare and successfully counter the intimidating British army. On September 6, 1776, a concerned General Washington addressed the Continental Congress on their absence of intelligence, the effects of which were constantly felt by the struggling soldiers: “[The Royal Navy’s] designs we cannot learn, nor have we been able to procure the least information lately, of any of their plans or intended operations.” Washington had finally come to accept that he must actively find and utilize intelligence in order to obtain a victory over his formidable enemy, yet the path to do so would be rough and long.

Advancing Espionage: The Intelligence System of Philadelphia:

With Washington’s establishment of a spy network in Philadelphia in 1777, espionage became increasingly vital to the Continental Army, though it still needed much improvement. An anonymous letter, received by a Yankee officer travelling under a flag of truce at the British camp in New Jersey, prompted Washington to reconsider his approach to intelligence. The general’s military secretary Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman examined the mysterious message. The writing on the paper could not even be read, yet letters arose once it was held over a flame. In a message to his father, Tilghman describes the phenomenon and the content: “[W]e soon discovered that the whole sheet was fully written with some composition that appeared when warm... The [Delaware] River was to be crossed upon the Ice and the [British] Army marched directly to Philada.” Though the Americans never had to defend against this specific plan of General Howe because of their victory at Trenton, this letter both revealed British methods of conveying secrets, especially that of the invisible ink, and, more importantly, informed Washington on his enemy’s intentions. This inadvertent reception of intelligence put into realization the potential of spying and caused the Americans to proactively set up their own intelligence organs in order to handle the newly uncovered British desire for Philadelphia.
With Howe mustering a force to finally take the city in 1777, Washington, now aware of the necessity of information, knew that he had to establish a means of gaining intelligence before their arrival. As the commander-in-chief prepared to defend Philadelphia against the imminent attack, he attempted to maintain a foothold in and around the city should it be captured. In April 1777, he had General Thomas Mifflin create a network of spies in Philadelphia, informing him that the members of which should “remain among [the British] under the mask of friendship” and that “some in the Quaker line, who have never taken an active part, would be least liable to suspicion from either army.”

Washington had come to accept the value of intelligence, to the point where he discredited vain scouting missions and sought to acquire it more thoroughly. He apparently learned from his mistake of never setting up an intelligence system in New York before the British seized it, something from which he still felt the impact. This practical forethought proved incredibly useful, for General Howe defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777, then freely marched into Philadelphia two weeks later.

Though the city was lost, spies had already been installed within it and helpful information soon began to reach the Americans. Thomas Mifflin placed Major John Clark Jr. in charge of the system, based out of Newton Square, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. On December 4, a spy wrote a letter to Washington, signed “D.W.”, most likely a William Darrah, stating that the British soldiers had received four days of rations and that they were preparing to bring artillery out of the city with horses. Washington accordingly prepared for the attack by readying the tents and moving away unnecessary baggage. A massive British force of 10,000 men left Philadelphia in the late night of December 4 to destroy the Continental Army, yet they met prepared American soldiers, something they were not used to at that time; in the end, Washington successfully countered the British offensive with several days of engagements known as the Battle of Whitemarsh.

This report from the mysterious “D.W.” allowed the colonists to match the crown’s military might by foiling the British attempt to end the war before the start of 1778. The line between victory and defeat had now thinned, and continued intelligence emerged as the vehicle with which the Americans could cross that line.

Another instance of Clark’s spies granting advantages occurred on December 21, 1777. Washington received word that the British and Hessians were foraging and driving cattle into the city to augment their provisions, so he ordered Colonel Daniel Morgan to harass them. Internal agents frequently conveyed such information on British supplies and their planned provisioning routes, allowing for Washington to hinder their efforts to restock.

Washington also grew fond of utilizing misinformation through his new spy network in order to deceive the British. Major Clark had gained access to British communication in Philadelphia and took advantage of this to write a deceiving “few lines to Sir William [Howe], informing him that the rebels had plundered me, and that I was determined to risque my all in procuring him intelligence.” He had one of his spies deliver the letter to Howe and falsely give the British general the name of a known Loyalist Quaker as the writer. General Howe unhesitatingly took the bait and “told the bearer, if he would return and inform him of your [Washington’s] movements and the state of your army he would be generously rewarded.” With one clever move, Major John Clark opened up two opportunities for American espionage: firstly, General Howe himself gave Clark’s spy a pass granting...
access to and within Philadelphia, thus ensuring solid information on the British; secondly, a channel was opened into the city for the Americans to supply false information directly to the leader of the British army.

Washington enthusiastically replied to Clark’s letter the next day with a fake report on the Continental Army to be sent to an oblivious Howe. He first expressed his joy in the breakthrough, writing, “I think you have fallen upon an exceeding[ly] good Method of gaining Intelligence,” which reflected his growing appreciation for spying. Washington wanted Clark to mention that “a very Handsome Reinforcement of Continental Troops” was on its way, that “all the New England & York Militia is to make an immediate Descent on N. York”, that the New Jersey militia will “at the same time... attack Staten Island”, that “we will immediately attack Philada on the arrival of the troops from the Northward”, and that “the whole Continent seems determin’d to use every exertion put an end to the War this Winter.”

Washington paints a beautiful, yet, unfortunately, untrue picture of the American position in the war. Such a report most likely demoralized the British to such a degree that they would have remained uneasy and guarded until it could finally be discredited. Utilizing the intelligence system in creative ways like this allowed Washington to disrupt the British and influence their future actions.

The rising tensions in and around Philadelphia at the end of 1777 show that the British, and also Americans, became aware that enemy espionage posed a severe threat to their military. Joseph Galloway, whom Howe placed in charge of the police and of imports and exports, restricted passage across the Delaware to only two ferries so that it would be harder for spies dressed as farmers to slip into the city. A double agent for Major Clark reported that Hessians in Middle Ferry, a place on the border of the city, would break up citizens assembled in groups of three or more. Howe also ordered civilians traveling into or out of Philadelphia between 5 p.m. and 8 a.m. to be put into custody. Washington tried to control the flow of people and goods as well, commanding his troops to bring anyone leaving the city to his headquarters and to prevent farmers from entering Philadelphia to sell their produce for coin. Both sides had acknowledged the impact of spies and had to take actions to hinder those of the enemy and expedite their own. After both armies entered winter quarters, Major John Clark requested to go on leave since his services would be lacking and he also asked Washington to write a letter of recommendation for him to the president of Congress, Henry Laurens.

Though John Clark would no longer be there to lead it, the spies of Philadelphia continued providing useful information on the British up until their evacuation of the city in June 1778. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce and the Treaty of Alliance between America and France, both signed on February 6, 1778, forced the British to thoroughly reconsider their position in the entire Western hemisphere. They had to protect their resources on their Caribbean Islands since France put them at risk and they had to consolidate their colonial troops in one place, which they had decided to be New York. With their evacuation from Philadelphia imminent, Washington received reports that the British were gathering supplies and provisions for their departure. The Brigadier General William Maxwell informed him that wagons and pack horses were setting out to New York through New Jersey, while 150 ships in the Philadelphia area were leaving down the Delaware River. Over the next couple weeks, the British completely evacuated Philadelphia. The commander-in-chief’s letter of recommendation to Henry Laurens for Major John Clark best exemplifies the effectiveness of and his gratitude for Philadelphia’s espionage system: “[Major John Clark] is active, sensible, and enterprising and has rendered me very great assistance since the army has been in Pennsylvania by procuring me constant and certain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the Enemy.” The efforts of Clark and his spies allowed Washington to survive through a difficult part of the war and it witnessed evidence of its success as a more confident Conti-
nental Army reclaimed Philadelphia. The most significant contribution of Philadelphia's espionage system came not in its continued oversight of the city, but in its establishment of a more professionalized approach to spying. By 1778, American espionage had taken great strides from the failed mission of Nathan Hale, as John Clark demonstrated the plausibility and potential of running a web of spies behind enemy lines. Though the information it collected may not have had a profound impact on the war, its functionality gave Washington the confidence to continue his pursuit of advanced intelligence-gathering. However, the group of spies in Philadelphia should not be considered a “ring”. The espionage network lacked strict organization, since Clark served as a facilitator who channeled information to Washington from various people, none of whom had a defined or interconnected role. The changing climate of the Revolution, though, namely the British completely moving to New York, offered a larger stage on which to apply and refine systematic spying.

New Heights of Espionage: America's First Spy Ring:

The story of the Culper Spy Ring starts with a close friend of Nathan Hale and fellow graduate of Yale, Benjamin Tallmadge of Setauket, New York. After being promoted to the captain of the Second Dragoons unit, Tallmadge took on the role of coordinating the operations and relaying the messages of the patriot spy Nathaniel Sackett in Long Island. In February 1777, Washington trusted Sackett to lead the espionage activities in New York. Sackett pioneered several useful practices, including the installment of spies behind enemy lines for long-term communication; however, due to some unknown failure, most likely inaccurate reports, the new head of spying held his position for a mere two months before being asked to leave. The immature system soon dissolved and left Washington with little progress in the endeavor. After successfully finishing up in Philadelphia, though, Washington returned his focus to New York, now with the majority of the British forces.

With no hope of defeating the British and recapturing New York, Washington needed intelligence from within the city since he was blind to the condition and intent of the enemy. On August 7, 1778, Lieutenant Caleb Brewster first offered his services for this task and Washington soon ordered him to find information on the naval transports of the British, including their arrivals, movements, gatherings, supplies, and troops. The commander-in-chief had General Charles Scott manage Brewster and find more spies, and he also had Tallmadge help lead the organization of the system. General Scott spent much of his time involved with the affairs of his light infantry division in the field, thus resulting in Tallmadge taking on a more serious role in espionage. In August 1778, Tallmadge's friend from Setauket, Abraham Woodhull, had been captured by an American patrol while illegally trading across the Sound. Tallmadge released him early and recruited him to help start up the new intelligence system.
order to maintain secrecy in their letters of communication, Tallmadge assumed the code name “John Bolton” and Woodhull “Samuel Culper”, the latter deriving its name from the reverse initials of “Charles Scott” and from a modified version of Culpeper County, Virginia, where a seventeen-year-old Washington worked as a surveyor in 1749. The Culper Ring had officially been born.

As the ring began to materialize, tensions rose between Tallmadge and Scott on account of their opposing approaches to handling their spy operations and it soon became apparent that the two could not coexist as leaders. Whereas the traditional Scott favored quick Hale-like missions, the unconventional Tallmadge preferred to have his spies stay within the enemy and provide better information through a strong and safe line of communication. At first, Washington tenaciously stuck with the old style, yet repeated failures on Scott's part caused him to turn to Tallmadge, whose ideas resembled those of Major John Clark, yet were even more ambitious.

After the recruitment of its foundational members, Tallmadge established the roles of his agents so that the Culper Ring could finally function as an effective vehicle for collecting and relaying information. Brewster became a courier for the Culper Ring with the task of bringing messages across the Sound and supplementing them with observations of his own. In late October 1778, Woodhull managed to get his friend Amos Underhill “to make it his business to keep his eyes upon every movement and assist me in all aspects” by providing safe lodgings for him in Manhattan. As all the pieces fell together, the Culper Ring created a sound system for communicating gathered intelligence: Woodhull would visit Amos Underhill’s house and glean information from the British, then meet with Caleb Brewster at a rendezvous point around fifty miles from Setauket; Brewster would add some notes of his own and traverse the Sound, thence Tallmadge would personally deliver it to Washington in his camp. This process successfully transmitted letters from Woodhull to Washington in two weeks' time and raised minimal suspicion due to its many contributors.

After the installment of a transportation system in the winter of 1778, the Culper Ring began to bring in reports so that the Continental Army always knew of their enemy’s activities and, therefore, remained in a strong position throughout the war. On November 18, Washington told Tallmadge that he wanted to know of the corps in Manhattan and Long Island, any building of forts in Brooklyn, commanders and their placements, and general plans; however, he frequently stressed that numbers should not be arbitrarily added, for he had already suffered the consequences of inaccurate intelligence, as seen in the aforementioned Battle of Brooklyn. Washington received an extensive and descriptive letter from Woodhull, who was so confident in his work that he even included numbers. A part of this reads: “The whole of the Kings troops on York Island including outposts, doth not exceed three thousand five hundred men...[the] best of their troops are on Long Island... there is about 300, most of them Hessians, at Brooklyn Ferry. 350 New Town, British; 1500 British, Jamaica; 800 Yeagers, Flushing; 200 Jerico, most of them Dragoons; 400 foot, 70 Dragoons Oyster Bay; 150 Lloyd's Neck, [new] Leveys; 400 Hempstead, Dragoons.”

The genuine accuracy of the report made Washington “desirous of a continuance of [Culper’s] correspondence”, for letters like this would be able to keep him updated on all the details of the British military, thus allowing him to coordinate his own moves and prepare for his enemy’s. The ever ambitious commander-in-chief still sought to better his spy system in New York, which continued to prove its worth; he ordered Tallmadge to reduce the time it took for the letters to reach him. Woodhull began to worry− and not without reason− that rushing the process would put him in even greater danger. Nevertheless, the Culper Ring safely remained in the shadows for the time being and Washington further realized the potential of espio-
Though military activities always slowed down during the winter season, in late 1778, Tallmadge diligently worked on implementing a more efficient way to pass on the critical information from New York. On February 26, 1779, Washington's simultaneous reception of two separate letters, one from Brewster and one from Woodhull, exemplified the consistency of the chain of messengers and the helpful content of the messages themselves. Brewster wrote that the British were “repairing all their flat bottom boats in New York and building a number at the shipyards” and “fitting a number of privateers”,63 thus suggesting that they were preparing to deploy troops and attack some nearby location, most likely in Connecticut.64 Woodhull's report consisted of seven thorough pages on the relevant undertakings of the British, the placement of regiments, and notable commanders, including General Clinton. He then estimated “the whole force of the enemy to be thirty four battalions, equal to two hundred and fifty in a battalion,”65 which amounts to 8,500 men. Woodhull also confirmed Brewster's observation on the construction of boats and the apparent preparation for some major British move. When informed that the Royal Governor of New York, William Tryon, raided American stockpiles at West Greenwich, Washington would have wondered if there was some correlation between this attack and a larger British strategy involving the assemblage of troops and transport boats in New York, on which both Brewster and Woodhull reported; a need for further investigation thus arose.66 This information from Tallmadge's spies would prove especially useful in the coming months as the British plans began to unfold, yet, in the meantime, the ring had to fix its own organizational problems.

The introduction of a new and superior invisible ink greatly secured the communication line of the Culper Ring and propelled American espionage forward. The invisible ink created by Sir James Jay, John Jay's older brother, far surpassed any of its predecessors, which typically appeared when heated. His consisted of a complex chemical agent that completely disappeared when put on white paper and a reagent that the recipient rubbed on the letter to reveal the characters. He later recalled to Thomas Jefferson that “it occurred to me that a fluid might possibly be discovered for invisible writing,” which would greatly help spies “who were continually conveying useful intelligence,”67 and so Washington made sure it fell into the hands of his Culper Ring. This resulted in a massive boost to their safety and effectiveness, for, if a messenger were to be captured, their baggage would no longer be able to bring about the downfall of Washington's most important intelligence system.

Despite these reassuring advances, Woodhull began to show alarming signs of weariness and anxiety in the spring of 1779, leading Washington to seek a new source of information from deeper within New York. The core spy was increasingly faltering under the extreme pressure of living as a parasite in the bosom of the enemy. For example, British troops were quartered at Woodhull's own home in Setauket and the door to his room abruptly opened as he began to write a Culper letter; he flipped over the table in a panic, consequently spilling a new vial of the valuable invisible ink.68 Though the intruders were fortunately his nieces, Woodhull was clearly losing his capability of continuing as a spy, and professed his desire to solely remain in Setauket as opposed to constantly going back and forth between there and Manhattan.69 However, Washington needed a replacement for Woodhull before he could grant this request; therefore, on June 27, 1779, he proposed that Tallmadge offer the spot to a George Higday.70 Due to the interception of a letter from Washington to Tallmadge, written two weeks earlier without the “sympathetic stain”, in which he mentioned “C——r” and a certain useful “liquid”, the British raided Tallmadge's camp. They obtained his saddlebag, with Washington's June 27 letter about Higday, before being driven back.71 The British, who thereafter arrested the potential recruit, now knew of an American spy ring in New
York that communicated across the Sound, thus forcing all of its members to lay low for a while and prolonging the replacement of a troubled Woodhull.

A Rejuvenated Culper Ring:

Though the Culper Ring underwent positional and systematic changes in response to the dangerous mishaps of the summer of 1779, Washington and Tallmadge made sure to continue and improve upon operations in order to maintain the crucial stream of intelligence from New York. After thorough and cautious searching, in late June, Woodhull finally found someone to take his place, to whom he “disclosed every secret and laid before him every instruction that hath been handed to me,” going on to confirm that he “hath the interest of our country at heart.”72 Although Woodhull looked forward to his reduced role in the ring, he still offered to mentor his replacement, relay his messages, and make reports of his own from Setauket. The new spy, Robert Townsend, who assumed the name “Samuel Culper, Junior”, was a young man in his late-twenties from Oyster Bay, Long Island and he conveniently lived among Loyalists at Amos Underhill’s house in Manhattan. The British military occupation of Long Island resulted in Oyster Bay being looted for provisions, corrupted by graft, and subjected to martial law;73 this obscene example of British cruelty and authority pushed Townsend to accept Woodhull’s offer.

During the first weeks of Townsend’s service and soon after the British raid of Tallmadge’s camp, in July 1779, the head of the Culper Ring created a code to more thoroughly secure the critical information within their letters. The invisible ink, though effective, was scarce and Tallmadge clearly needed another way to protect the letters. In response, he made a code with a one-part nomenclature, assigning a number to 710 words that he felt would be important to conceal in reports, all 710 of which he wrote out in what is known as the “Culper Dictionary” (see Appendix I).74 Numbers 711 to 763 related to relevant names and places, including “711” for Washington, “712” for Clinton, “721” for Tallmadge, and “727” for New York.75 However, the code still had its shortcomings: he encoded 22 of the 27 most popular words, which did not hide much information and made it easier to decipher; on the other hand, he excluded more telling words, such as “officer”.76 The code sufficed in fooling the average Loyalist or soldier who might happen upon a letter, though, and it reflected the professional advancements of the Culper Ring that lay behind its success and longevity.

With the integration of Townsend and the strengthening of its safeguards, a revived Culper Ring rose to meet the high expectations of Washington. Samuel Culper Jr. sent his first letter only nine days after Woodhull informed the commander-in-chief about him. Writing as a concerned Tory, Townsend’s report on June 29, 1779 stated that British soldiers were being sent up the Sound. Brewster and Woodhull had already given similar warnings, as seen in their simultaneous letters on February 26, which suggested that the British in New York were preparing for some attack. These warnings soon became a reality: On July 5, William Tryon, who, as mentioned before, had attacked American stockpiles in New Greenwich in late February, invaded Connecticut with 2,600 troops from New York, using the same flat bottom boats that Woodhull and Brewster had both observed several months prior.77 As a matter of fact, Tryon’s raids merely served as bait in a much larger plan, for General Clinton intended to destroy an unsuspecting Washington as he was lured out of his secure position on the Hudson in order to bring aid against Tyron in Connecticut; however, the Culper Ring had long been reporting to their general that Clinton was waiting to make a major move and that troops were simultaneously gathering in New York, and so Washington remained in camp, thus rendering the overall British stratagem a failure. Once more his spy ring granted him an unprecedented knowledge on the plans of his enemy, allowing him to make a decision that would seem foolish to an uninformed colonist, yet indeed prevented a devastating, and possi-
bly fatal, defeat for the Continental Army.

Washington himself offered different ways to further protect and formalize the Culper Ring and his increased involvement reflects upon its importance. On September 24, 1779, Washington sent a lengthy letter to Tallmadge on some clever techniques for more secretive communication. He suggested that Townsend write with the invisible ink “on the blank leaves... of registers, almanacks, or any new publication or book of small value.”

Not only did this make the messages much less suspicious and unrecognizable, but it also proved much cheaper since new publications provided clean white pages suitable for the invisible ink. Three weeks later, on October 14, Washington and Tallmadge together wrote a list of instructions thoroughly detailing the roles of Townsend and Woodhull:

“C——r Junr, to remain in the City, to collect all the useful information he can—to do this he should mix as much as possible among the officers and refugees, visit the coffeehouses, and all public places. He is to pay particular attention to the movements by land and water in and about the city especially... The number of men destined for the defence of the City and environs, endeavoring to designate the particular corps, and where each is posted... The state of the provisions, forage and fuel to be attended to, as also the health and spirits of the Army, Navy and City... C——r Senior’s station to be upon Long Island to receive and transmit the intelligence of C——r Junior.”

(See Appendix II)

Overall, Washington’s increased investment in personally seeing to the management and mechanics of the Culper Ring shows that he recognized its continued support of the Continental Army and the Revolution as a whole.

The Culper Ring not only proved itself worthy in obtaining information for military affairs, but also, in one case, saved the financial foundation of the colonists. On November 29, 1779, Townsend reported that the British believed “[America’s] currency will be entirely depreciated, and that there will not be provision in the country to supply an Army [for] another campaign.” He went on to mention that “several reams of paper” meant for printing the Continental currency were captured by the British in Philadelphia. This would allow the enemy to put a plethora of counterfeit dollars into circulation, thus greatly dragging down the already dangerously low value. In fact, the British were using the New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury to publicly advertise that they were paying people travelling to other colonies to bring stacks of their forgeries with them, “it being almost impossible to discover that they are not genuine.”

One American dollar had depreciated to the point at which 30 of them could buy only one silver dollar, while a single British guinea, worth 21 shillings, could buy 200 Continentals—American efforts to save their country from this death spiral proved fruitless.

Washington immediately contacted Congress that “he received a letter from a confidential correspondent in New York dated the 27th of November” which had informed him that the British acquired a means of printing nearly perfect counterfeits, a warning which influenced their decision to completely recall the American currency three months later, on March 18, 1780. Their army, having struggled to equip themselves since the beginning of the war, would have been devastated by such a great monetary crisis. The silent fingers of the Culper Ring indeed stretched into all sorts of British affairs for the benefit of America, limited neither by the boundaries of New York nor by purely martial content.

Townsend, who had temporarily stopped spying after his cousin was arrested while scouting for the Culper Ring, was pleaded to return by Washington in the summer of 1780 due to the imminent arrival of the French fleet. On July 20, Townsend urgently sent a letter in which he stated that the British had learned of the planned French landing in Rhode Island and prepared nine ships and eight thousand troops from New York to attack them in hopes that they could drive back America’s much needed ally. Washington considered attacking New York if Clinton were to leave it, yet his generals advised...
against this; however, he took full advantage of his knowledge on the situation and on the intent of the British in New York by fabricating battle designs for an ambush on the city, knowing that it would make Clinton think twice about leaving his only stronghold in the colonies.85 The plan worked beautifully. After receiving the letters, planted by an American messenger, the British general was forced to call off the assault.86 The Culper Ring played a vital role in ensuring the safe arrival of their French allies. If the fleet had been met and repelled by the planned British force, then France may never have been able to give sufficient support to cement an American victory.

On a less positive note, Benedict Arnold's betrayal shocked colonists everywhere, and especially those involved in espionage. The treasonous officer became the spyhunter-general in New York and his knowledge on a ring run by Tallmadge, though slim, resulted in Townsend resigning from late October 1780 to the spring of 1781.87 British power and morale had been slipping at that time, though, and Tallmadge began to use information from Woodhull and Brewster to coordinate a series of attacks with his dragoon unit on royal strongholds and foraging stockpiles along the Sound.88 These successful offensives on New York itself reflected the shifting tide of the war and the waning need for spies. With its intelligence, the Culper Ring had granted the Continental Army advantages that put them in a much more favorable position in the Revolution; consequently, their success resulted in their services becoming less needed as Washington, now the main aggressor, tried to close out the war with his newly arrived foreign allies. By the time of the Battle of Yorktown, in which an amphibious Franco-American assault on New York led to the surrender of 8,000 British troops on October 19, 1781, a patriot victory became nearly inevitable.89

Though Washington's prized operation saw little action in its final days, the ring was still there to oversee the victorious end for which it had been started. Townsend continued to supply infrequent verbal reports, yet they carried nothing notable nor did they have to. On May 5, 1782, Woodhull wrote a letter to Washington with the same efficiency he had shown in the midst of the war, but, to his delight, with much different content: “A cessation of arms is ordered to take place within these lines both by land and sea and terms of peace are gone to Congress, but the conditions is here unknown, but generally supposed independence is offered.”90 Woodhull's intelligence was confirmed three months later when the official news that Britain would recognize America as an independent nation came in August 1782,91 and the Treaty of Paris was formally drafted at the end of November.92 The Culper Ring miraculously lasted throughout the long and arduous Revolution, maintaining its place in the background of the war and at the forefront of espionage. Its members returned to their everyday lives, keeping their services a secret and humbly living on as the unsung heroes of American independence.

Conclusion:

The Culper Ring embodies the tragedy of history disregarding the successful spies of the Revolutionary War. Espionage during this conflict is not unrecognized because of its insignificance, but because of its continued secrecy far into the future. Spying undoubtedly contributed to a patriot victory, as seen in Tallmadge’s Culper Ring and best stated by Major George Beckwith, a British intelligence officer from 1782 to 1783: “Washington did not really outfight the British, he simply outspied us!”93 A major reason the members of the Culper Ring have not become famous is that they sought neither money nor glory, but simply a free America. The shame of spying weighed heavily on their consciences as well, though it did not outweigh their revolutionary spirit, so they committed themselves to acquiring intelligence for the Continental Army; however, this moral burden, along with their humility, fueled their intent to remain silent about their role in the Revolution. In fact, the noble Woodhull constantly grappled with this stigma and only accepted compensations as payment.94 Tallmadge wrote a 68-page memoir on his life and experiences...
in the Revolutionary War, yet only dedicated an underwhelming paragraph to his most important position as the head of the Culper Ring, a part of which states, “This year [1778] I opened a private correspondence with some persons in New York which lasted through the war. How beneficial it was to the Commander-in-Chief is evidenced by his continuing the same to the close of the war.”95 Furthermore, the 229-page book of the Townsend family history, which one would expect to honor their descendant who played a central role in American independence, ignorantly gives Robert a single line: “Robert, son of Samuel, died unmarried, March 7, 1838.”96 The members of the Culper Ring did not have the faintest hint of vainglorious or mercenary intentions and, in fact, actively hid their achievements worthy of immeasurable praise. Contrary to this, Nathan Hale died as a spy and now serves as the quintessence of self-sacrifice and patriotism, with his well-deserved statue standing outside of the CIA headquarters (see Appendix III). His direct contribution as a spy, though, is far overshadowed by that of men like Clark, Tallmadge, Woodhull, and Townsend; the only difference is that these spies gave their lives to their country and lived to tell the tale—yet they never did. As a result, the story of the Culper Ring silently sank into the annals of history and was not unearthed until the 1930s.97 Though their indispensable service to their country remained unknown for 150 years, and is still untaught and overlooked, these selfless men achieved their one and only goal: securing independence and freedom for America.

Endnotes:

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23 Kilmeade and Yaeger, George Washington's, 19.
27 Nagy, Spies in the Continental, 44-45.
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50 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 71.
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53 Ibid, 75.
54 Kilmeade and Yaeger, George Washington’s, 56.
55 Abraham Woodhull to Charles Scott, November 23, 1778.
56 Kilmeade and Yaeger, George Washington’s, 57.
57 George Washington to Benjamin Tallmadge, November 18, 1778.
58 George Washington to Israel Putnam, August 11, 1777.
60 George Washington to Benjamin Tallmadge, November 29, 1778.
61 Ibid.
62 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 94.
63 Caleb Brewster to Benjamin Tallmadge, February 26, 1779.
64 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 103.
65 Abraham Woodhull to Benjamin Tallmadge, February 26, 1779.
66 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 106.
68 Benjamin Tallmadge to George Washington, April 21, 1779.
69 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 110.
70 George Washington to Benjamin Tallmadge, June 27, 1779.
71 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 112.
72 Abraham Woodhull to Benjamin Tallmadge, June 20, 1779, quoted in Alexander Rose, Washington’s Spies: The Story of America’s First Spy
Ring (New York: Bantam Dell, 2006), 131.
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75 Ibid.
76 Rose, Washington's Spies, 124.
77 Rose, Washington's Spies, 166.
78 George Washington to Benjamin Tallmadge, September 24, 1779.
80 Robert Townsend to Benjamin Tallmadge, November 29, 1779.
83 George Washington to Congress, December 7, 1779.
84 Abraham Woodhull to Benjamin Tallmadge, July 20, 1780.
85 Kilmeade and Yaeger, George Washington's, May 5, 1782.
86 Ibid, 126.
87 Abraham Woodhull to Benjamin Tallmadge, October 26, 1780.
88 Rose, Washington’s Spies, 227.
90 Abraham Woodhull to George Washington, May 5, 1782.
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93 Kilmeade and Yaeger, George Washington’s, 94 Rose, Washington's Spies, 98.
95 Benjamin Tallmadge, Memoir of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge (n.p.: T. Holman, 1858), 29.
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---. Letter to Benjamin Tallmadge, February 26, 1779.

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Secondary Sources


Appendix I: The original manuscript of the Culper Dictionary, written by Benjamin Tallmadge (Source: https://www.mountvernon.org/education/primary-sources-2/article/culper-spy-ring-code/)

Appendix II: List of instructions for Culper Senior (Abraham Woodhull) and Culper Junior (Robert Townsend), made by Tallmadge and Washington

Appendix III: Statue of Nathan Hale at the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia (Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/cia-gov/5415999565)
As the 2020 Democratic Primary begins to take shape across the country, the Podium staff polled the Belmont Hill community on its preferred Democratic candidates for president and the most important issues this cycle, both domestic and global. Respondents were also asked if they had viewed any of the Democratic primary debates and what influenced them most in that decision.

Of the fourteen options presented to respondents when asked to choose their preferred candidate, only five exceeded 5%: Mayor Pete Buttigieg, Vice President Joe Biden, Senator Elizabeth Warren, Andrew Yang, and “None.” Belmont Hill’s highest-polling candidate was Andrew Yang, who was chosen by 24.3% of respondents. He was followed by Pete Buttigieg (18.4%), Elizabeth Warren (13.6%), Joe Biden (12.6%), and “None” (8.7%). The remaining 22.4% of respondents chose between ten other options. Belmont Hill’s community polled significantly outside of the current norm in the U.S., placing Andrew Yang in first place and Elizabeth Warren, Joe Biden, and Bernie Sanders in third, fourth, and seventh places, respectively. In most nation-wide primary polls, Andrew Yang has been selected by only 1-2% of respondents, while Warren, Biden, and Sanders have all floated between 15% and 30%. Notably, the vast majority of respondents were current students, which may have been the cause for a general preference for a younger candidate.

77% of the Belmont Hill community responded that they had viewed at least one primary debate. When asked about the main influence on their choice of their preferred candidates, nearly 70% of respondents chose between “proposed legislation, plans, or campaign promises” (39.8%), “moderated debates” (15.5%), and the “track record of candidates” (14.6%). No other option passed 8% in the poll.

When asked to list the domestic issues most important to them during this election cycle, only three options were agreed on by a majority of the Belmont Hill community: health care (58.3%), the economy (54.4%), and gun control (57.3%). Among the least popular issues -- all receiving less than 10% -- were campaign finance laws, reparations, the death penalty, and the prison & bail system. When asked about global issues, a majority agreement was only reached on climate change and the environment (68%) and foreign relations (52%).

Though the Democratic Primary still remains in its early stages, Belmont Hill gave surprising results to the Podium’s school-wide poll. Andrew Yang was by far the most popular candidate, while Bernie Sanders, a candidate known for his ability to connect with youth voters, failed to cross 5%. Current front-runners, like Elizabeth Warren and Joe Biden, both failed to meet polling expectations. Despite the surprising results, though, the Belmont Hill community may begin to reflect current polls of Democratic candidates contending for the party’s nomination in 2020 as the field of candidates begins to thin.
A

Who is your preferred candidate for President in the Democratic Primary?

- Andrew Yang: 13%
- Elizabeth Warren: 14%
- Pete Buttigieg: 31%
- Joe Biden: 24%
- Other: 18%

B

Have you watched any of the 2020 Democratic Primary debates?

- No: 24%
- Yes: 76%
C

What is the main influence on your choice of preferred candidate?

- Proposed Legislation, Plans, or Campaign Promises: 15%
- Moderated Debates: 9%
- Candidate's Track Record: 23%
- Unsure: 14%
- Other: 39%
Gun Control

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Section- Data Analysis

In the aftermath of several mass shootings, including those in El Paso, Texas; Dayton, Ohio; and Midland-Odessa, Texas, gun control remains at the forefront of the national news conversation. Individuals and interest groups, such as March for Our Lives, an organization led by student survivors of last year’s mass shooting at a high school in Parkland, Florida, have been publicly advocating for stricter gun legislation. Measures they have called for include a nationwide ban on the sale of assault weapons, universal background checks for all gun buyers, a nationwide ban on high-capacity magazines, the establishment of ‘Red-Flag’ laws, and the creation of a mandatory gun buy-back program. Since the debate over gun legislation has heated up nationally, “The Podium” decided to conduct a school-wide poll to gauge the feelings of the Belmont Hill community. 181 individuals responded to the poll, and they expressed their support to nine different statements on a 1-5 scale, with ‘1’ meaning ‘Strongly Disagree’ and ‘5’ representing ‘Strongly Agree.’

We found that a majority of the Belmont Hill community supports stricter gun legislation in order to prevent future mass shootings. 52% of respondents strongly believe that there should be a nationwide ban on the sale of assault weapons, and 51% of people believe that there should be a nationwide ban on high-capacity magazines, defined as magazines that hold more than ten rounds of ammunition. 92% of the community expressed support for requiring background checks for all gun buyers, including at private sales, auctions, and gun shows. Furthermore, 66% of respondents indicated that they strongly support Red Flag laws, which would allow police to seize guns from people who have been found by a judge to be a danger to themselves or others. Interestingly, the Belmont Hill community was more divided on the issue of a mandatory gun buy-back program; 33% of people strongly supported the idea, and 20% of people strongly disapproved. Additionally, the poll sought to understand the community’s sentiment regarding mental health as a factor for mass shootings; it discovered that 79% of respondents support the belief that improving mental health monitoring and treatment would reduce mass shootings in the US.

The conducted poll indicates that the Belmont Hill community supports stricter gun legislation; specifically, it showed that the community most strongly supports universal background checks and is most divided over the issue of a buy-back program. Furthermore, it demonstrated that 66% of respondents agree that passing stricter gun laws would reduce mass shootings in the US, and 12% of people strongly disagree with that belief. Despite the contentious national debate over gun legislation, it clearly seems that the Belmont Hill community supports stricter regulations in order to prevent future mass shootings.
A
With 5 being strongly agree, and 1 being strongly disagree, do you think there should be a nationwide ban on the sale of assault weapons?

51%

B
With 5 being strongly agree, and 1 being strongly disagree, do you think there should be background checks for all gun buyers, including private sales, auctions, and gun shows?

88%