

American Intervention in Siberia

Confusion, Indecisions and Frustrations:

The American Occupation of Vladivostok

and Siberia during the Russian Civil War

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“[T]he great Allied Powers will, each of them and all of them, learn to rue the fact that they could not take more decided and more united action to crush the Bolshevik peril before it had grown too strong.”
--Winston Churchill, February 1, 1920.¹

Winston Churchill's historical insight is highly respected in academic circles. The prophetic prediction in his statement would eventually be justified, as it is beyond dispute that many peoples of the world have since come to greatly regret the fact that Bolshevism, and the Soviet government, were not stamped out in their infancy. However, it is improper to critique the decisions of those in the past based on what unforeseen consequences arose. Churchill's prediction did come true, but that could be dismissed simply by understanding that if enough predictions are made, at least one of them will be proven true, and there were certainly a plethora of opinions on Bolshevism. In the end, historians can only strive to reconstruct what was known and what was intended at the time the decisions were made. The question then becomes, what did they know, and more importantly, what did they intend to accomplish. What motives drove the actions that changed, or failed to change, the course of history?

When American troops landed in Siberia, there was not a clear policy as for why the nation was intervening in the Russian Civil War. Many reasons have been put forward, but in the end there is not enough evidence, such as actions taken or written orders, to support anyone of them as a legitimate reason. President Wilson's lack of a clear Russian Policy for intervention doomed any chance America had for a victory in Siberia. There were just too many factions who were all vying for power inside Siberia, not to mention the rest of the country. The Americans

¹ Ilya Somin. *Stillborn Crusade: The Tragic Failure of Western Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1918-1920*. London: Transaction, 1996, 1.

were simply caught in the middle of a multi-sided slug-fest. Without any directions to follow, the American agents on the ground, as well as the commanding Army officers, were unable to pick their way through the minefield that was Siberian politics.

This paper will cover the general overview of the American Intervention as well as give numerous specific examples. First, a brief historiography of the event will be presented so that the reader may place this argument in proper historiographical context. Then there will be a brief overview of the historical events that led up to the Russian Civil War and subsequent Allied Intervention, including details on the primary factions fighting within Russia. The rest of the paper will deal with the: reasons for Wilson's decisions, the American Expedition and its goals and actions, the details of the hostile factions, the uneasiness of the U.S. Congress over the Intervention, and finally specific events that served to undermine and defeat the American presence.

It is always important when approaching a subject to first attempt to grasp what the historians that have come before had to say. On the topic of the American Intervention, it is generally agreed that Woodrow Wilson had specific motives for the deployment of American troops to Siberia. Some have argued political and philosophical reasons, while others have argued humanitarian reasons. One largely accepted school of thought states that it was a matter of economic foreign policy.

The First World War set the stage for many global changes. Mighty empires were rocked. America, for the first time since its independence, was dragged into an European war. The death toll was well into the millions. The Russian revolutions of 1917 started the world onto a path that would be dominant for most of the rest of the century. The second and final revolution put

the Bolshevik party in power and led to Russia's withdrawal from the Great War. Bolshevism was by no means accepted universally within Russia, or without. With the signing of the peace treaty, old school hardliners in the military declared their intent to overthrow this socialist government in favor of a Conservative one. The Civil War that was to result was fought by almost every conceivable faction. Opposing the Bolsheviks were former Tsarist generals, contingents of Slavs seeking the freedom of their own people, and hordes of renegade Cossacks. Supporting the Bolsheviks were bands of continental Europeans fighting for a variety of reasons. In the midst of all this confusion, there was also a sizable deployment of Allied troops sent there for peacekeeping operations.

When President Wilson ordered American soldiers to Russia, there was wide spread speculation as to why. The official reasons were to rescue stranded Czech freedom fighters and to bring humanitarian aid to the beleaguered Russian civilians. However, these reasons were not accepted by everyone. One of the most widely accepted alternate reasons for the intervention, was that of fighting Bolshevism. One other major explanation offered was that Wilson was actively seeking to stop Japan's expansion into Siberia and, by so doing, to maintain the Open Door to eastern Russia.

General Graves was sent was sent to Siberia with what he considered to be very clear instructions for neutrality. He was accompanied by 8,000 soldiers. With these men, Graves assumed responsibility for various portions of the area in and around Vladivostok, Russia. While he was in Siberia, General Graves focused on rail operations. An Allied rail alliance was formed for the maintenance of this essential service. As the Americans came into the region after the Japanese, much of Graves' initial actions were designed to curb Japan's influence.

Operating in Siberia meant that Graves had to deal with a number of powerful and often hostile figures. These factions ranged from the usual cross-section of White Army and Red Army groups, as well as more exotic groups such as Cossack Hosts, random units of Austro-Germans, and Bolshevik partisans. The Japanese army also played a very influential role in Siberia during the intervention. These factions would make Siberia so divided that General Graves really had little to no chance of maintaining an effective, neutral position.

While the American Expedition was operating in Siberia, the U.S. Congress started to become aware of the fact that President Wilson was not giving them a clear picture of why he had sent troops there. They repeatedly requested information from the White House. At first they only received the official, previously stated reasons. After a while, certain representatives of the executive branch would argue different reasons for the deployment, thus further muddying the political scene. This would eventually escalate to the point where certain Congressmen were regularly demanding the withdrawal of the American troops.

While stationed in Siberia, General Graves had to take part in certain actions that would eventually lead to a decline in his positional authority in Siberia. It would also call into question America's ability to truly maintain neutrality while occupying a foreign country. Between the influence of the Japanese and the incredible hostile attitude adopted by the warlords, it would eventually become impossible for the Americans to accomplish anything positive by intervening.

The study of the American involvement in the Russian Civil War is not new. There have been several major schools of thought concerning why the U.S became involved, what the President wished to accomplish and whether or not the U.S should have been involved at all or what it should have been fighting for. The largest school of thought generally supports the idea

that the intervention was all about fighting Bolshevism. The question is usually of whether it was right for America to be fighting the Bolsheviks. Some have argued that it was merely financial and economic reasons that led the Americans to Siberia, while others viewed it as an extension of normal foreign policy.

Betty Unterberger has been long considered to be an authority on the Civil War. With her book, *America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920*, she argues that the Americans were there primarily to stop the Japanese. American Intervention grew out the early policies of intervention for the sake of maintaining free trade and equal economic opportunities. In the book, she states that Wilson was foremost “concerned with keeping the Open Door in Siberia.”² If it were not for Japan's imperialistic attitude at the time, Woodrow Wilson would have had no reason to intervene.

In *Stillborn Crusade: The Tragic Failure of Western Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1918-1920*, Ilya Somin argues that the American policy was at least partially anti-Bolshevistic. This book was written largely as a critique of Unterberger's work and defies Unterberger's dismissal of political biases.³ Somin felt very strongly that the failure of the West was in not defeating Bolshevism when they had the chance. This is described as a terrible crime.⁴

David Foglesong has a very similar view to Somin. His work, *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*, states that the government was strongly anti-Bolshevistic, but that it was done in secret. America's Intervention

² Betty Miller Unterberger. *America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920: A study in national policy*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1956, 135.

³ Somin. *Stillborn Crusade*, 7.

⁴ Somin. *Stillborn Crusade*, 1.

in the Civil War was a carefully crafted plan by Wilson to oppose the Bolsheviks without having to tell the American people.⁵ Wilson, he argues, was staunchly anti-Communist and the apparent confusion shown to the public was all an attempt to hide what the government was doing at his direction.⁶

Christopher Dobson argues a much more limited view. In *The Day They Almost Bombed Moscow*, he puts forth that the Americans' primary reason for the intervention was to rescue the Czechs. He also states that General Graves was rather unimaginative and hard headed and that his lack of vision was what hampered U.S. efforts. Dobson did feel that the overall intervention was a bad idea. One serious critique of the book is that author regularly misspells Graves' name as "Groves."⁷ While this does not really affect the work, it does bring into question the accuracy of his research.

Between War and Peace: Woodrow Wilson and the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, is written by Carol Melton. In this work, Melton argues that Wilson's primary reason for sending troops into Russia was for them to act as a stabilizing, neutral force.⁸ Wilson's major fault was in failing to keep the various elements of the U.S. government working in step with his policy.

Along with an overview of other historians, it is important to have a general understanding of the events that led up to the Civil War. The two major events that spawned the Civil War were the First World War and the Russian Revolutions. It is also important to look at

⁵ David S. Foglesong. *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995, 5.

⁶ Foglesong. *America's Secret War*, 4.

⁷ Christopher Dobson and John Miller. *The day they almost bombed Moscow: the allied war in Russia, 1918-1920*. New York: Antheneum, 1986, 233.

⁸ Carol Willcox Melton. *Between War and Peace: Woodrow Wilson and the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, 1918-1921*. Macon, GA: Mercer UP, 2001, 27.

the politics taking place in the post-*Tsarist* government.

The First World War did more to change the face of the world than probably any event before or since. Empires fell and were replaced by democracies centered around ethnic nationalities. Nations that had dominated both European and global politics for centuries were reduced into poverty and forced to accept humiliating sanctions. Eventually this conflict would engulf all of the major powers in Europe, as well as drag in neutrally minded America.⁹

When the Great War started, the Russian Empire chose to honor its commitments to France and Britain, and its Slavic brethren by declaring war on the Central Powers. Despite his nation being ill-equipped for a major conflict, *Tsar* Nicholas II forced his people to fight a bitter, devastating war. This can be considered an especially risky decision when one considers the weakness of the Russian State throughout the twentieth century, as shown through several major military defeats and an attempted revolution in 1904. Events eventually came to a boiling point in the winter of 1917. The first revolution forced the *Tsar* to abdicate from power, relinquishing it to the Provisional Government.¹⁰

The Provisional Government would also make the fatal error of honoring Russia's commitment to the Allies by continuing to fight Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Russian peasantry were simply not willing to fight anymore. In autumn of the same year, the Bolsheviks led a second revolution that overthrew the Provisional Government and replaced it with a soviet government. The Bolsheviks immediately sought peace with Germany, signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in early 1918.¹¹

At the time of the revolution there were several political revolutionary parties, other than

⁹ Richard Lockett. *The White Generals: An Account of the White Movement*. New York: Viking, 1971, 3.

¹⁰ Lockett. *The White Generals*, 35.

¹¹ Edward Hallett Carr. *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923: volume three*. New York: Macmillan, 1953, 47.

the Bolsheviks, that were less widely known. The three other main parties were the Social Revolutionaries, the Kadets, and the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks were a brother party to the Bolsheviks, both having split away from the other earlier on. These other parties would, unfortunately become associated with the unpopular government and would subsequently see their influence decline.¹²

The Bolsheviks would eventually secure their place in infamy. Their accomplishments included, as previously stated, overthrowing the Provisional Government and signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This action both secured their power base in western Russia and brought upon them a great deal of international angst. In the western, European parts of Russia, the Bolsheviks had delivered on the only promise that the average worker or peasant cared about, peace. However, to the Allies, Russia's surrender was a betrayal; a betrayal that both confirmed their suspicions of the untrustworthy nature of the Bolsheviks, as well as granted the Allies the belief that they were entitled to intervene in the Civil War that was to follow. In the trouble to come the Bolsheviks would always be very strong in western Russia, where they had the majority of their support, but weak and erratic further to the east.¹³

The Russian Civil War started soon after the Bolsheviks, or Reds, pulled Russia out of the war. The Soviet government never had anything even close to complete control over the entire Russian system. Numerous generals and other military leaders took the Soviet betrayal of the *Entente* as the justification they needed to turn against Moscow in an attempt to return Russia to a *Tsarist* state. The rebels were called Whites after the royal colors of the *Tsar*. The White Army was never unified and often refused to cooperate with each other. Prominent White leaders

¹² Luckett. *The White Generals*, 40.

¹³ Evan Mawdsley. *The Russian Civil War*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987, 5.

include General Denikin in the west and Admiral Kolchak, who established a government in the east.¹⁴

Just trying to catalog all of the various factions fighting in the Civil War can be a grueling task. The Bolsheviks were dubbed the Red Army, for which they are more widely recognized. The primary opponents of the Reds were the Whites, though this can be misleading. The term White was used so broadly that it came to not really mean anything more than Not-Red or Anti-Red. They were so divided that this anti-Bolshevism was the only thing they had in common and they only worked together when the Reds were threatening them. Among the more legitimate leaders were many former military officers, imperialists, and monarchists, men who feared socialism and desired a return to the “old ways.” There were also Cossack hosts, bodies of soldiers from Russia’s military caste, which mostly went independent during the war.¹⁵

The Civil War was also fought by a surprisingly large number of units composed entirely of foreigners. The Red Army included internationalists and units of former prisoners of war. The internationalists were foreigners who chose to fight for the Reds due to political or philosophical comradery. The Whites were supported by a large number of Slavic units, most prevalent being the Czech-Slovak Corps, also known as the Czech Legion. There was a Polish Legion that fought against the Soviets in order to gain Polish independence. Serbs appeared in pretty much every faction throughout the conflict. There were also several Rumanian (later, Romanian) contingents.¹⁶

There were large numbers of prisoners of war in Russia when the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

¹⁴ Mawdsley. *The Russian Civil War*, 4.

¹⁵ Peter Kenez. *Civil War in South Russia, 1919-1920: The Defeat of the Whites*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, 18.

¹⁶ Jamie Bisher. *White Terror: Cossack Warlords of the Trans-Siberian*. London: Routledge, 2005, 151.

was signed. Since the Bolshevik government was no longer at war with either the Germans, the Austrians or the Hungarians, the prisoners were to be freed and sent home.¹⁷ The complications arose when the other soldiers of the Austria-Hungarian Empire entered the situation. The Austro-Hungarian empire was composed of more than ten major ethnicities, most of which were Slavic. The other groups viewed the Empire as an oppressor and resented the fighting they had had to do on behalf of their overlords. The Czechs and the Slovaks, after capture, were not interested in returning home to aid their oppressors, but rather wanted to fight against them. The Czechs and Slovaks were moving East to join the fight against the Central Powers; Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians were headed West to rejoining their own armies. Naturally, when their paths crossed, violence ensued, as the Czecho-Slovaks were viewed as traitors. Later on these bodies of Austro-Germans would be actively armed to be used against the Czecho-Slovaks, who had been organized into the Czech Corps.¹⁸

The Allies had encouraged the creation of the Czech Corps so that they could aid the fight in Europe. The idea behind the Corps had directly appealed to the nationalistic feelings of the democracies in the West. It was fully intended that this war would result in the breakup of the empires in central and eastern Europe as they were neither nationalistic nor democratic. *Tsarist* Russia had been happy to gain new allies, but the Revolution threw a serious kink in the plan. The Bolsheviks were not at war and so had no need of more troops. They were also wary of breaking their peace treaty.¹⁹

Eventually the Bolsheviks agreed to allow the Czechs to be transported across Siberia.

¹⁷ Lockett. *The White Generals*, 163.

¹⁸ U.S. Department of State. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918: Russia (in three volumes) Volume II*. Washington: United States GPO, 1932, 347.

¹⁹ Victor M. Fic. *The Collapse of American Policy in Russia and Siberia, 1918: Wilson's Decision not to Intervene (March-October, 1918)*. New York: Columbia UP, 1995, 27.

This may have been agreed too largely because the Czechs numbered over 40,000 and, as future events would prove, were an unusually effective fighting force, considering how they had been formed. The Red policy regarding the Czechs changed several times. There were several attempts to disarm the Corps, but this was only carried through in limited cases. Probably the primary cause for the Corps turn to total hostility came when a Hungarian POW, being exchanged, threw a rock from a passing train, killing a Czech. The other Czechs seized the train and executed the offending Hungarian. The local Soviet government tried to protest this act of vigilante justice, but only succeeded in pushing the Czechs into open warfare in June of 1918.²⁰ Before too long word spread through the entire Corps, and the Czechs seized any piece of Russian real estate that was nearby. Eventually the Czechs' purpose would become muddled as smaller elements of the Corps were sucked into the camps of Russian factions, the most important faction in Siberia being Kolchak, who will be discussed in detail later on.²¹

With all of the factions in Russia making the fighting worse, the Allies were clamoring harder than ever for an active military intervention. For some time Wilson refused to commit to anything. Eventually the Allies wore him down and he agreed to provide military assistance.

When President Woodrow Wilson decided to send American troops into Russia, he did so most unwillingly. Initially Wilson had refused to involve America in what he saw as an internal issue, but the Allies were relentless in their request for American intervention. In the end Wilson never seemed to have ever had any clear reason for the mission. Some of his official reasons included saving the Czecho-Slovak Corps and bringing aid to the Russian peasantry in Siberia. The U.S. State Department seemed to believe that they were there to defeat Bolshevism, a

²⁰ Bisher. *White Terror*, 77.

²¹ Fic. *The Collapse of American Policy*, 45.

mindset shared by much of the American public. Later on, the mission's scope seemed to be expanded to include keeping Imperial Japan from expanding into the region. The President issued this statement to the Japanese:

In taking this action the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs - not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy - and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter, but that what we are about to do has as its single and only objective the rendering of such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves in their endeavors to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory, and their own destiny.²²

When the fighting between the Czechoslovakian Corps and the Red Army broke out, the Czechs were spread out all along the Trans-Siberian Railway. They quickly, and without much trouble, seized the vast majority of the railroad. Prior to the fighting, their only purpose had been to leave Russia so they could travel to western Europe and fight the Germans. After the fighting broke out, escape was still their primary goal, but the Corps started to take a more active role in the factional fighting going on around them. The Corps was extremely well organized and efficient. Before the Allies could even land troops to come to their aid, the Czechs and Slovaks had taken control of Vladivostok, the only port on the east coast capable of handling their withdrawal. President Wilson quickly lost this issue as strong cause for American deployment. Upon his arrival, General Graves found the Czech Legion to be both taking care of its own safety and to be rather unwilling to rapidly leave Siberia.²³

The second major reason Wilson gave for the Siberian deployment was the humanitarian cause of the plight of the Russian peasantry. The Soviet government had yet to reestablish any kind of normal bureaucratic operations in Siberia and as a result nothing was functioning. In

²² U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918: Russia Vol. II.*, 329.

²³ Fic. *The Collapse of American Policy*, 119.

Siberia all commerce flowed on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Food, clothes, and even the coal needed to run the trains could not be readily attained by the locals of the area. Unfortunately, the trains were barely operating. There was no government office to make sure food went where it was needed. To make matters worse, there were brigands of every stripe prowling the country side who were all too willing to raid an undefended rail car.

Prior to the Russian Revolution most Americans did not have a very good grasp of what exactly Bolshevism was. It was radical, but they did not know much else. The Revolution itself did not do much too warm democratic capitalists to the idea. Bolshevism was treacherous, as proven by their withdrawal from the World War and most Americans were not in favor of it. Prior to the actual deployment of American troops, most Americans felt that Bolshevism was an internal matter. Americans have always put a lot of stock in self-determination and they felt that the Russian deserved no less. This would start to drastically change the following year. Unterberger's research found that "throughout 1919 public sentiment against the Bolsheviks grew in intensity throughout the United States."²⁴ It is quite probable that this change in attitudes came about as a result of American boys being killed by Bolsheviks. The crime made even worse by the fact that the Americans were neutral in the Civil War and, as far as the public had been told, were only there to guard the trains to keep food flowing. This Anti-Bolshevik sentiment would naturally lead to numerous senators calling for the destruction of Bolshevism.²⁵ As late as September 9, 1919, President Wilson himself stated in a speech that Bolshevism was a very small minority that was oppressing the majority. By this statement, Wilson was decrying it as evil, as well as invoking the right of self-determination, only this time, it was in favor of

²⁴ Unterberger. *America's Siberian Expedition*, 137.

²⁵ Unterberger. *America's Siberian Expedition*, 137.

intervention.²⁶

Despite this large quantity of anti-Bolshevistic sentiment, Wilson never declared America's mission to be the defeat of Bolshevism. The instructions that had been given to the American Expedition Force Siberia's commander, General Graves, had specifically told him to remain neutral. A great quantity of friction was generated by the fact that the U.S. State Department did not seem to have ever received any similar instructions. Wilson did not seem to be able to decide what America should be doing in Siberia. Even in late 1919, Wilson still seemed to be vacillating back and forth. He sent instruction to General Graves stating that he was not to “interfere in Russian affairs, but to support Mr. Stevens wherever necessary.”²⁷ Mr. Stevens was an agent of the State Department and was actively trying to interfere in Russian affairs, primarily in support of Admiral Kolchak. The contradiction is readily apparent. How could General Graves both be neutral and be supporting a major White government? His answer was to largely refuse to cooperate with the State Department.

The Open Door policy was a major part of the United States operations in the Far East and had been since the mid-nineteenth century. The Open Door was the idea that all nations should have the right to have commercial, diplomatic and political relationships with all of the Asian countries. It was the Open Door that led Commodore Perry to negotiate with Japan. It was the Open Door that would leave China totally defenseless and internally weak until well after the Great War. One final reason offered up to explain Woodrow Wilson's decision to interfere, was the desire to maintain an Open Door with Siberia. The Open Door was being actively threatened by the Japanese Empire. Imperial Japan had learned firsthand from the West

²⁶ U.S. Department of State. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*. Washington: United States GPO, 1937, 119.

²⁷ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 393.

how to justify expansion of influence over “underdeveloped peoples.” The Japanese were very willing students once they realized that they could not defeat the western system. It was truly a case of “If you can't beat 'em, join 'em.” In line with this attitude, the Japanese seem to have decided that they wished to take complete control over eastern Russia, primarily Vladivostok and the Transbaikal region. Very soon after the American deployment to Siberia, Wilson did overtly make the Japanese presence a primary issue. Several times in dispatches the Open Door was mentioned. While this reason was never stated explicitly when Wilson was considering and then ordering actions, it is possible that this was the real reason with all the official reasons being mere justification.

Regardless of his reasons, Wilson appointed Major General William S. Graves to lead the American Expeditionary Force Siberia. The President’s instructions to him would be proven to be vague and limiting. General Graves' interpretation of his orders would prove to be very decisive in the outcome of the Siberian deployment.

General Graves never wanted to intervene in Siberia. He felt that it was an internal matter and that America would be foolish to become involved. He was never perfectly clear as to why he and his Expeditionary unit had been deployed to Siberia. He was not given any direct orders regarding engaging the Bolsheviks and he presumed that this meant that he was not supposed to do anything against them. The primary stated goal for his deployment was to aid in the withdrawal of the Czech Corps. They were a strong symbol for the Allies and helping them was the right “American” thing to do. He was also to do whatever he could to stabilize the region and restore order and security, regardless of what political leanings the residents may have

had.²⁸

While in Siberia, Graves worked very hard to limit the activities of his troops to merely policing their area of operations and safe-guarding their section of the Trans-Siberian Railway. He helped initiate the Inter-Allied Railway Agreement, an alliance that enabled the Allies to keep the Trans-Siberian Railway operational during the chaos of the Civil War. This would become the primary venue by which General Graves was able to carry out both of his original objectives. Keeping commerce operating on the rails was the single most important thing in regards to maintaining the survival of Russian civilians. The functioning trains also aided the Czech movement and would eventually provide them a way out of Russia. It was unfortunate for the Americans that it also ended up serving the purposes of the White Army, thus breaking the neutrality that the Americans claimed.

Before the Civil War, the Allies had had some limited involvement inside Russia. The Allies had maintained a supply depot at Archangel for the support of Imperial Russia. When the government fell, British and French troops seized the port, officially to protect the depot and prevent it from falling into the “wrong hands”, which everyone knew meant the Bolsheviks. The Allies had also maintained a sizable depot at Vladivostok.

Vladivostok was a very important city in Eastern Russia. It was the only port of significance, which is why it housed a major Allied supply depot. After the revolution, a soviet council had been formed to run the city. Bolshevik control ended when the Czechoslovakians arrived. After a small delay, the Corps seized control of the city. When Allied ships arrived in the harbor, the Czechs voluntarily turned control of the city over to be governed by the Allies.²⁹

²⁸ Message from the President of the United States, 66th Congress 1st Session Doc. No. 60, p. 1

²⁹ Bisher. *White Terror*, 90.

The first order of business was to get the trains functioning again. The Inter-Allied Railway Agreement was the ultimate solution. In this document, all the major Allies involved agreed to take full responsibility for a portion of the railroad.³⁰ The American Expedition Force, Siberia (AEFS) was put in charge of “three specific locations: An area north of *Spasskoe*, near Lake *Khanka*; a second position just north of [Vladivostok] in the vicinity of *Nikulsk-Ussuriski*; and a third in the Baikal District, west of *Verkhne-Udinsk*.”³¹ General Graves stated in his memoirs that this was a neutral agreement, that “[the] Military had nothing to do with the class of freight, or for whom it was destined, and the same rule was to apply to passengers.”³² The Agreement set forth that an Inter-Allied Railway Committee would oversee the Agreement, while an Inter-Allied Technical Board would assume control of the daily operations of the trains.³³ The IATB was supported in this by the Russian Railway Service Corp, a unit created by the U.S. government that recruited American rail operators to work in Siberia.³⁴

The American military commitment would eventually reach roughly 8,000 soldiers. The units deployed to Siberia were from the 27th Infantry Regiment and the 31st Infantry Regiment.³⁵ By March 1919, the Allied numbers were staggering. Along with the Americans, there were 12,000 Poles, over 50,000 Japanese, and around 8,700 soldiers in smaller deployments from all the other Allied nations.³⁶ The number of Japanese were overwhelming. They outnumbered the rest of the Allies put together by almost two-to-one.

While the bulk of American operations were in and around Vladivostok and Siberia, there

³⁰ William S. Graves. *America's Siberian Adventure: 1918-1920*. New York: Cape and Smith, 1931, 184.

³¹ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 171.

³² Graves. *America's Siberian Adventure*, 184.

³³ Bisher. *White Terror*, 155.

³⁴ Bisher. *White Terror*, 94.

³⁵ Bisher. *White Terror*, 93.

³⁶ Bisher. *White Terror*, 146.

was one other significant deployment to North Russia. North Russia is a term referring to the north-western corner of Russia where the population is largely European. Once again, the Allied deployment was focused on an existing supply dump, this one being at Archangel, a major Russian city along the coast. This action forms an interesting contrast to the Siberian operations. Where as General Graves strongly felt that his command was neutral, the Americans at Archangel did not even attempt a claim of neutrality. The first Americans on the ground were a naval detachment of fifty sailors from the *USS Olympia*, which was at anchor in the harbor at Archangel. Half of these men would leave to “[pursue the] Bolsheviks down the railway line” along with the British.³⁷ The U.S. Army would eventually land 4,500 men from the 399th Infantry Regiment and deploy them in North Russia. Two of the battalions from the regiment were sent south to fight the Red Army.³⁸ This is clearly not the actions of a neutral force.

The concept of neutrality itself deserves some discussion. By both the declaration made to the Russian peoples and by General Graves’ himself, the U.S. had clearly stated that its army was neutral. The question is whether an occupying army can be considered neutral. Neutrality itself can be difficult to maintain. Later on, it will be discussed how General Graves fought to maintain his neutrality. But did the Russians share this sentiment? Did they accept America’s neutrality? Without going into too much detail, there are numerous stories recorded of local Russians going to the AEFS to ask for the Americans’ intervention in local matters and for protection from other Russians. It is also interesting to note that, during an incident between the Americans and leading White elements, Bolshevik partisans actively sought to aid the Americans. On average, America was seen as being in the middle, neither one side nor the other;

³⁷ Bisher. *White Terror*, 93.

³⁸ Foglesong. *America's Secret War*, 188,

unfortunately this meant that the various factions usually treated the Americans as obstacles. Thus the Americans were seen as something to avoid or to even try to exploit. This made neutrality an impossibility.

While it is unlikely that the Japanese were President Wilson's primary reason for sending General Graves, it cannot be denied that they quickly moved themselves up America's priority list. As previously stated, the Japanese had deployed over 50,000 soldiers by March 1919. This was not the start of it. As early as October 1918, the Japanese had been taking control of a large number of Russian Communities.³⁹ They were also gaining control of a large quantity of Siberian natural resources and were taking control of all the railroads.⁴⁰

Once the other Allies showed up in force in “Japanese Siberia”,⁴¹ the Japanese were forced to change their tactics. By signing the Inter-Allied Railway Agreement, Japan acknowledged that the other Allies had a legitimate right to be overseeing things in Siberia. The plan Japan followed, was to play both sides against the middle. As will be discussed in just a little while, the primary conservative government in Siberia made frequent use of Cossack Hosts and allowed their generals to operate with almost no supervision. In the chaos of the Civil War, Japan was able to gain considerable influence over several of the leading Cossacks and White generals. Japan regularly supplied them with munitions and other consumables. The rouge military leaders were then encouraged to plunder, pillage, and generally cause as much destruction as they could, all in the name of Anti-Bolshevism.

Japan's goal was rather simple. If the situation became much worse, the Allies would give up their course of neutrality and return home. The Allies did not wish to rule over Siberia

³⁹ Bisher. *White Terror*, 122.

⁴⁰ Bisher. *White Terror*, 123.

⁴¹ Bisher. *White Terror*, 122.

so they would not be capable of taking the appropriate measures needed to re-stabilize the region. At the same time, the Japanese commanders were undermining the authority of the Anti-Bolshevistic government by enticing and enabling the government's generals to act outside of the government's control. The end result of all this chaos would be that the Allies would leave and leave nothing behind, while the local governments, neither conservative nor even Red, would have any control politically or even any support from the people, the people who had been brutalized by the factions' soldiers. This course of events would leave the Japanese the only faction with any power in the region. The Japanese military was not handicapped by an unwillingness to take power by force, as the Allies were, and their army was easily large enough to exert control over a wide region.

The Japanese would prove to be only half of Graves' troubles. While in Siberia he had to regularly deal with numerous factions leaders, revolutionaries, and warlords.

The primary Russian leader that all the Allies had to deal with in Siberia was Admiral Kolchak. He was a *Tsarist* admiral who had commanded a tiny fleet of three ships prior to the revolution.⁴² Admiral Kolchak had been sought out by White officers to be a rallying figure for the anti-Bolsheviks in the East. As Denikin led the fight in the Ukraine, Kolchak would lead it in Siberia. He founded a White government in the city of Omsk. The Omsk Government was “officially” democratic, but Kolchak never seemed to really employ any democratic processes. The only real policy that Kolchak could be said to have had was that of anti-Bolshevism. It was this point alone that enabled him to remain in power for as long as he did and to garner support from a wide range of combatants. He was supported by the Czech-Slovak Corps and was recognized by most of the Allies. The Omsk Government was strongly characterized by its

⁴² Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 187.

incredibly inefficient bureaucracy, its tacit support and approval of Cossack *Atamans* (native Cossack leaders), and its own rouge generals. The government was barely kept functioning only by military aid rendered to it from, primarily, the French and the British, but also with some military surplus from the United States.⁴³

Melton attributed Kolchak's failure to five categories. First was his use of Cossack *Atamans* as representatives in the East. They were largely untrustworthy and turned many of Kolchak's potential supporters away from him. The second reason is the disconnected attitudes of his officers from those they were ruling. The Omsk officials never realized that there was an ever growing resentment towards the inept overlords of the region. These officials alone were largely responsible for the vast majority of so-called Bolshevik partisans. Another area of failure on Kolchak's part was the complete lack of any improvements to the region. It seemed that the White officers were content to just run the current system for as long as they could, so as to gain as much as they could, without ever giving anything back to the people.⁴⁴ Kolchak's commander Gajda even tried to reform the Omsk government by uncovering corruption and bribery. He wanted to fire corrupt officers, but Kolchak refused and fired Gajda instead.⁴⁵

Related to the growing void between rulers and subjects, was the policy of ruthless conscription of peasants into the army and the subsequent treatment they would receive once enlisted. It was common practice to simply march through an area and take whomever they could find. If they were expecting someone to be there that was not, they would punish the

⁴³ John Silverlight. *The Victor's Dilemma: Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War*. New York: Weybright, 1970, 231.

⁴⁴ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 189.

⁴⁵ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 187.

families with torture and even murder.⁴⁶ This policy hurt Kolchak greatly as it generated active opposition against him. The Bolshevik partisan bands were growing in number largely due to the inhumane administrative policies of Kolchak. Punitive expeditions were regularly sent to recruit men and to punish villages.⁴⁷ In one such incident it was recorded that “Kolchak forces had killed peasants and burned villages.”⁴⁸

The last area of failure betrayed the White's political leanings. Admiral Kolchak continually professed that he intended to found a democracy. Of course, he had to say this if he wished to have Western aid. France and Britain would have been reluctant to support an outright dictator and the United States would have probably opposed him, maybe even found a new Russian candidate. While he did profess democracy, his actions revealed other wise. Melton points out that Kolchak and his officers repressed every attempt the Russian people made at local, representational government.⁴⁹

The Cossacks were truly the great villains of this whole conflict. The Cossack system was a holdover from earlier in Russian history. Cossacks had been used to expand the Empire eastward. These soldiers were originally outcast and other types living on the fringe of Imperial control. The *Tsar* recruited them to conquer all the outlying tribal peoples. They were rewarded by being granted a permanent status of military elite. When the Revolution came, they were loath to give up their privileged rank.

When the Revolution broke the old system, the Cossacks generally sided against the Bolsheviks. Especially in the East, Cossack Hosts would nominally side with the White Army,

⁴⁶ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 189.

⁴⁷ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 173.

⁴⁸ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 178.

⁴⁹ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 189.

but this was an affiliation in name only. Mr. Harris, of the State Department, reported back to Washington that the Cossack *Atamans*, the native leaders, were naturally independent and self-focused when it came to Russian domestic policies.⁵⁰ The leading Cossack *Atamans* at the time were Semenov and Kalmykov. *Ataman* Semenov was an independent faction leader who refused to join Kolchak.⁵¹ He created a criminal empire in Transbaikalia.⁵² *Ataman* Kalmykov, on the other hand, was officially under Kolchak's command, but tended to do as he pleased. Of course, nearly every Russian military leader in eastern Russia was under the influence of the Japanese. In eastern Siberia the two primary *Atamans* were joined by General Ivanov-Rinov, a White officer and a supporter of Kolchak. He did as much as Kalmykov to upset any attempt at peacekeeping.

Kalmykov's true nature was shown to the Allies shortly after their arrival in Vladivostok. From December of 1918 through the following January, large numbers of *Ussuri* Cossacks mutinied from Kalmykov's ranks. The situation had apparently become so unbearable that several hundred came to the U.S. compound seeking aid. A few initially tried to enlist in the U.S. Army.⁵³ General Graves harbored the Cossack mutineers for several months under "arrest", keeping them because he had been assured that, if he turned them over to Kalmykov, they would be executed.⁵⁴ For the next few months, Kalmykov's forces actively sought to aggravate the Americans and entice them to fight. For his numerous crimes against humanity, General Graves wanted to arrest Kalmykov, but the Japanese were protecting him and his Cossack officers.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 464.

⁵¹ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 486.

⁵² Bisher. *White Terror*, 143.

⁵³ Bisher. *White Terror*, 144.

⁵⁴ Bisher. *White Terror*, 145.

⁵⁵ Bisher. *White Terror*, 144.

Bisher characterizes Kalmykov's band of soldiers as little better than a gang of thugs.⁵⁶

On particular incident that will be discussed more closely, to give a general idea of the actions of General Ivanov-Rinov, is the Suchan Mines. The Suchan Mines were strategically important for Eastern Siberia and irreplaceable. The coal dug there was the only major source of the fuel to keep the Trans-Siberian rail cars functioning. The United States contingent was asked to take over running the mines. General Graves sent 250 soldiers under a subordinate, Colonel O. P. Robinson, to take control of the facility.⁵⁷ Despite the American presence, the miners continued to grow restless and more upset. Melton argues that Ivanov-Rinov was intentionally starving the Suchan Mines in order to cause a labor strike which would in turn be used as propaganda against the US troops and Graves in an attempt to show their efforts to be failures.⁵⁸ If the region were to deny the vital coal, the trains would stop. This would be as serious a failure as Graves could make, considering that his only real goal was to keep the trains operating. General Ivanov-Rinov was just waiting for an excuse to seize control of them for himself. When the shortages were not enough, the General started sending in punitive expeditions to cause trouble and force conscriptions. While investigating reports of White aggression, an American, Lt. Colonel Eichelberger, and another officer were arrested by Kolchak's forces. Lt. Colonel Eichelberger felt that their captors were trying to set them up for a pretense for the execution of the two Americans.⁵⁹ Eichelberger and the other officer, Winnigstad, were released the next morning, but with no apology, nor assistance.⁶⁰ The soldiers under Kolchak and his generals certainly did not seem to consider the Americans to be allies, or

⁵⁶ Bisher. *White Terror*; 143.

⁵⁷ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 174.

⁵⁸ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 181.

⁵⁹ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 176.

⁶⁰ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 177.

even neutral. After the affair, General Graves dismissed Colonel Pendelton for his failure to take strong action in the rescue of the officers.⁶¹ He was determined to stay neutral, but also to prevent any faction from abusing them.

When President Wilson first ordered troops into Russia, he did so unilaterally. America was already at war and it did not take any special act of Congress for Wilson to simply expand troop placement. On August 3 1918, the U.S. Acting Secretary of State handed over to the Japanese a document outlining what the United States Government wanted to see happen in Siberia.⁶² There would not be any serious military action as this was seen as inadvisable. America's first priority was to aid and protect the “Czecho-Slovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them,”⁶³ Once this was taken care of, their second priority was “to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept.”⁶⁴ In this document the U.S. Government very clearly spells out that it did not want the Japanese to be exercising any expansionist policies in Russia.⁶⁵ Presumably, this document was made available to Congress.

Despite these rather clear cut, stated reasons, there seems to have been a great deal of doubt in some of the Congressmen's minds. On May 20 1919, a formal request for information regarding the deployment of American troops to Siberia was made directly to the President.⁶⁶ Apparently, some of the Congressmen did not believe that they had been told the whole truth. In response to this request, President Wilson issued a speech on July 22 reiterating his position. In

⁶¹ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 178.

⁶² U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918: Russia Vol. II*, 328.

⁶³ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918: Russia Vol. II*, 328.

⁶⁴ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918: Russia Vol. II*, 328.

⁶⁵ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918: Russia Vol. II*, 329.

⁶⁶ U.S. Congressional Record, *Proceedings and Debates of the First Session of the Sixty-Sixth Congress of the United States of America, vol. LVIII, part-1, May 19 - June 12, 1919*. Washington: GPO, 1919, 64.

this press release, Wilson still held that intervention was still only for the two reasons stated in the previous summer. He then went on to explain in some detail everything that has been taking place in the American zone.⁶⁷

Later in the summer of 1919, there were several more request for disclosure. August 25th, the House passed a resolution that the Secretary of the State should have to inform them of the status of American soldiers in Siberia and how long they would remain there.⁶⁸ This resulted in a face to face briefing:

In August, 1919, Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, went before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and in careful detail described all of the events which led to the sending of American troops to Siberia and to their retention there. He answered the questions of the committee fully and frankly. His testimony clearly revealed that the guiding motive of American Policy in Siberia and Northern Manchuria had been the maintenance of the open door free from Japanese Imperialistic designs.⁶⁹

Apparently the Department of the State was under the impression that America was now in Russia to maintain the Open Door. This is probably because earlier that summer in June, the President had sent a dispatch to Mr. Morris, instructing him to go to Omsk. His purpose was to evaluate Kolchak, but more importantly, he was “too impress upon the Japanese Government” America's strong desire to maintain “the Open Door to Russia.”⁷⁰

This apparently was the last straw for some Senators. On September 8, Mr. Mason from Illinois spoke very passionately on the war in Russia. He stated that it was not an American war and that Americans had no business being in it. Most importantly, he argued, the President of the United States did not have the authority to declare war. His general argument was that the

⁶⁷ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 391.

⁶⁸ U.S. Congressional Record. *Proceedings and Debates of the First Session of the Sixty-Sixth Congress of the United States of America, vol. LVIII, part-5, Aug 25 - Sep 12, 1919*. Washington: GPO, 1919, 4324.

⁶⁹ Unterberger. *America's Siberian Expedition*, 140.

⁷⁰ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 388.

President had deceived Congress.⁷¹ A Mr. Borah argued, somewhat more calmly, that: “The people of the United States do not desire to be at war with Russia. If the question were submitted to the people of this country, there would be a practically unanimous vote against war with Russia or any part or faction or division of the Russian people.”⁷² Wilson was losing support for his pseudo war. From the number of resolutions passed requesting information, it can be concluded that Congress was either being kept in the dark or at least felt like they were not being told the whole story. It is also quite probably that Woodrow Wilson could not tell them a clear policy because he himself did not have one.

The frustrating decline of General Graves command in Siberia was marked by two major events and one frustrating series of actions on the part of his enemies. The first major blow came in the Suchan Mines when the workers finally went on strike. They did this in wide support of the Bolsheviks, and as previously stated, the mines were simply too important to allow them to be shut down for any period of time. The second major action taken by Graves was to finally head west to the capital Omsk to see first hand Kolchak's government. This was a concession to the State Department and was done under duress. During this final period, Graves and the Americans were plagued by the ever increasing attempts of the Japanese, the warlords, and Kolchak to alienate and frustrate the Americans through a brutal propaganda and terror campaign.

Up until the spring, the Bolsheviks had not been fighting the U.S. very much. In the spring of 1919 they began a campaign to take the *Ussuri* Valley and the Suchan Mines.⁷³ The Bolsheviks were also planning to take control of the Trans-Siberian Railroad away from the

⁷¹ U.S. *First Session of the Sixty-Sixth Congress*, 5040.

⁷² U.S. *First Session of the Sixty-Sixth Congress*, 4896.

⁷³ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 173.

Allies, including the Americans.⁷⁴ Their campaign started when the miners went on strike. General Graves had to respond to the strike. The mines were just too important. Melton estimated that there were 2,000 Bolshevik partisans operating in the region. The strike acted as a general signal for them to try to run the Americans out and to seize control of all the assets in the region. They took hostages and launched some larger assaults on U.S. encampments.⁷⁵ Graves responded to the partisan attacks with surprisingly clear conviction. He ordered his troops to clear the Suchan of Bolsheviks.⁷⁶ The U.S. campaign to reclaim the mines was a sloppy success. It succeeded much better than it should have. Unfortunately, the American also succeeded in convincing the Bolsheviks that they were now pro-White. General Graves' actions were clearly justified under rules of neutrality, but it was tough to convince the partisans of this when the Americans had been supported by members of both Allied and White factions.⁷⁷

The second major action General Graves was forced to take was to visit the seat of Kolchak's government in Omsk. Graves himself records that he was forced to visit Omsk against his judgment.⁷⁸ Mr. Harris had been reporting that all of Graves' statements about Kolchak were false. He argued that Graves had never been out west where Kolchak held more sway, so that Graves could not intelligently speak on the matter. Harris felt very strongly that the U.S. should recognize Kolchak as a legitimate government because he would inevitably win. A bonus for the whole expedition would be that if the government supported Kolchak, the Omsk Government would be aided in taking stronger military action against the rouge Cossacks in the East.⁷⁹ As

⁷⁴ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 171.

⁷⁵ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 183.

⁷⁶ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 184.

⁷⁷ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 185.

⁷⁸ Graves. *America's Siberian Adventure*, 208.

⁷⁹ U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 200.

Graves headed west, he decided to send out an interpreter to question locals. Even among those willing to stay relatively close to Kolchak, and his government, Graves was not able to find a single person who could speak well of him. For Graves this confirmed his opinion and closed the case on Kolchak.⁸⁰

The final area of discussion was one of great frustration for the Americans. It was the systematic way that the Japanese and their Russian allies tried to “run the Americans out of town.” It started as early as spring when some of Kolchak's forces arrested the two officers. During an attempt to parlay for their release, Kolchak forces opened fire on a vehicle bearing the U.S. Flag.⁸¹ Even when Russian warlords blatantly attacked American personnel, the Japanese Army was always quick to defend them. The Japanese regularly denied their connection to the warlords and any responsibility for their actions. This was a thin charade at best. Graves reported that as early as December 1918, the Japanese had admitted to financing Semenov, who was not really more than a criminal. The Japanese connection to Kalmikoff was all but stated outright. When at one point Graves had seized a sizable amount of Kalmikoff's weaponry, a Japanese representative claimed that the arms were actually theirs and they wanted them back. When they filed for their return, they stated that the weapons should be delivered directly to Kalmikoff. Their connection to General Ivanoff-Rinoff is harder to prove, but General Graves was convinced of it. After having been informed by a Russian as to the situation, Graves confronted the commanding Japanese officer. The charge of supplying Ivanoff-Rinoff was never denied and during the course of the conversation it was strongly implied that Japan was

⁸⁰ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 187.

⁸¹ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 176.

supporting Cossacks, they just did not say whom.⁸² The hostility towards the Americans became so bad that in September, Japanese troops allowed American troops to be arrested by Cossacks on trumped up charges.⁸³

President Wilson was never able to come to a real decision about what to do in Russia. He wanted to leave them alone, but he could not ignore certain pleas. He disliked Bolshevism, but he believed in self-determination. He told his General to do nothing, but then allowed his State Department to run wild. There was no cohesion in Siberia because no one knew what they were supposed to be trying to achieve. With this handicap, it became impossible to accomplish anything in the situation. There were too many factions running their own games. Without a clear game plan, America had no idea how to fit in. As a result of this, any hope to accomplish anything of real value in Siberia was lost.

Most historians generally accept that Wilson had some kind of guiding vision for the Intervention in Siberia. In contrast, this paper is an attempt to prove that there was no policy. This is new because it has always been assumed that Woodrow Wilson had to have a reason, but that he never made it widely known.

The Great World War and the Russian Revolution that resulted did so much to divide Russia that when the Civil War erupted, Russia was a hopeless mess. When the Americans were sent in, they were not given any clear instructions on how to work with each faction, or even whom to work with, once they were on the ground. In this chaos, there was no middle ground. For the Americans to take one kind of stance would have the inevitable result of placing them in contention with some groups, while appearing to support others.

⁸² U.S. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia*, 468.

⁸³ Melton. *Between War and Peace*, 192.

There has always been a lot of debate regarding Wilson's exact reasons for the Intervention. Historians argue that America was there either to: help the Czechs, reestablish stability, maintain the Open Door against the Japanese, or to defeat Bolshevism. To put it bluntly, the Czechs did not need help. They were soundly defeating everyone who opposed them and managed to secure the entire length of railway needed for their extraction. While there is some evidence that Wilson was trying to reestablish some manner of normalcy to the region, he never provided General Graves with enough money, supplies, or soldiers to seriously influence the region. Graves was also never given any orders to really interfere with local governments or to make a priority the policing of bandits and warlords, an act that would have gone far to restore peace and stability. Once Graves arrived in Siberia, his correspondence with the government started to vaguely mention the Japanese, but in the end the same problems of supply and support would have prevented any real action against the Japanese. On top of which, there is never any official statement released condemning the Japanese for their actions. Finally, were they there to defeat Bolshevism? This is the most prevalent opinion among average Americans, but the same objections apply as to this as to the previous few reasons. Graves was never given instructions to resist this political movement, nor ever supplied enough to even try. In the end, it cannot be argued that Wilson seemed to be trying to accomplish anything in Siberia. It seems that he merely sent troops there because he could no longer make excuses to the Allies.

When he arrived in Siberia, General Grave set out to do the best job he could with the limited instructions he had been given. He was initially very successful at establishing a working relationship with the other Allies present. He also seemed to be widely accepted by local Russians, at least by those who had no larger political agenda. He truly believed that his purpose

there was to maintain neutrality and to provide certain groups with aid. As far as his orders are concerned, General Graves did exactly as he had been instructed.

The thing that the Allies had not counted on, especially Wilson, was the overwhelming influence of the Japanese and their resolve to maintain and increase the level of chaos and destruction being enacted throughout Siberia. Japan needed things to get worse if they were going to annex the region. In the Cossack *Atamans* and White generals, they found ready and willing allies. There are specific incidents concerning all three of the major warlords, when they actively attacked U.S. soldiers and threatened the American command.

One of the major indicators historians have to prove confusion surrounding the deployment, is the record of the U.S. Congress. By late spring, Congress had started to suspect that there was nothing guiding this 'new war' being fought. They started agitating, first for information, and then later for a full withdrawal. Apparently they too were unconvinced that there was anything worth pursuing in Siberia. If Wilson's reason really had been humanitarian, Congress would most likely have supported it, as many Americans felt favorably towards the Czecho-Slovaks and the average Russian peasant. They too, would have supported maintaining the Open Door against Japan as this was accepted U.S. Asia-Pacific policy. The idea that America was fighting Bolshevism would just about fit with the Congresses' actions. They were not strongly in favor of interference, so if they felt that that was the true reason, a protest would likely have been the result. This works fine except for the fact that there was little or no debate present in Congress as to the merits of opposing Bolshevism.

In the end, General Graves could not do anything productive in Siberia. He had been given no real objectives or parameters as to how to go about simply being in Siberia. With

warlords all around him trying to provoke an all out war, and Japan actively supplying and protecting the warlords, the situation was always hostile. President Wilson's total lack of policy prevented General Graves from being able to accomplish anything beneficial in Siberia.

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Christine E. Buzan

Pass it to the Intern

A look of startled surprise passed over the supervisors face as he looked up into the face of his new intern for the first time. "My word, you're a tall one aren't you? You must play basketball." The new intern shook her head "no", and thought if she got asked that stereotypical question one more time she may have to resort to violence. Ginny Us just joined on with NewBrain Curriculum Development Agency (NBCDA) in Hollywood, MD as its new summer intern. Located in a small city, the building that NBCDA resided in was relatively older, but age was not really noticeable from the inside where many renovations had taken place. Her head supervisor, Grant Pahaiur, met her at the door, showed her around and introduced her to other office workers. Her cubicle was located in the direct center of a large room, across from Grant's office, next to the lounge area and the secretary's cubicle. Her placement allowed Ginny to listen in (purposefully or not) on any important conversation that went on in the office without anyone really knowing. Ginny, a fourth year physics student, was hired as a non-paid volunteer to specifically work with the new science curriculum and give legitimate feedback on the physics material. Ginny was pumped to be helping out in this capacity, and was proud to be needed as the most capable person with her specific skills.

"Ginny, we are so glad to have you aboard this project. Your resume is exactly in line with what we need. But at this present time, I'm sorry to say that I'm a little backed up in my work and have a major deadline to meet. So, you'll be working with our secretary, Whitney Swork, for a few days who is also a little behind," said Grant. He introduced Ginny to Whitney, and then left, not to be seen again.

Whitney handed Ginny stacks of papers and assignments. "Well Ginny, I'm going to need to you do a few tasks for me. I realize that you don't really know where anything is, but when

you finish this task just come on back to me and I'll let you know where to go for the next one."

As an excited Ginny became the mailroom runner and designated copier for the following two weeks, she slowly became discouraged. The fact that she had to ask for explicit instructions on how to carry out every assignment was a pain, and left her continually feeling an outsider.

Ginny's only real contact during those weeks was Whitney, who continually thanked her for "helping out, it is such a relief with all this craziness going on. All these conferences, and people going on vacation, and ... " The only skill from college she was utilizing with her time with Whitney was her ability to look attentive when she was mentally miles away. She ran into Grant on his way to a meeting, and after asking how she was doing, he apologized for "not getting you into the project yet. Maybe I'll be able to show you sometime soon at least what we have so far with the curriculum. But right now I have to dash to a meeting. Have a great afternoon!"

As a non-paid volunteer, Ginny found it hard to become part of the culture at NBCDA. Because she was not an official "employee," she was not required to do much of the training mandatory for the other summer interns, and therefore had not really met anyone her age. When the company picnic was held, Ginny did not feel compelled to go, and the fact that Ginny was absent went unrecognized by her co-workers. Ginny thought, "I am not really a part of the company. I make my own hours, and no one minds when I'm missing because it's not like I'm even doing a real job. Nobody even seems to really care that I'm around except Whitney, and that's just because I'm doing all the jobs she hates to do!"

Halfway through Ginny's second week at NBCDA, Grant realized that he had been neglecting her. He decided to try and make up for it by introducing her to the project, even though he was not at a stage to get her working on it.

"Ginny, I realize that you haven't even been introduced to the project yet. I really am sorry about that, but you know with all the deadlines I've been trying to meet... Let's go into my office so I can at least let you know what's going on behind the scenes."

"It's about time," Ginny thought. Almost all appeal and enthusiasm she had for the job had left her, and she was ready for something new besides being just an extra set of hands and legs.

Grant escorted Ginny into his office, which Ginny knew from observation was always either open or accessible to his immediate employees. Grant pointed to an extensive flowchart on the wall. "These are the tasks and goals for the project, which we come in and make adjustments to over the course of development. It serves as a good visual for where we are headed. We are almost to a new stage, which is where you will come in and compare these standards we came up with to the text book and the curriculum we have developed".

"I really am looking forward to working on that," Ginny hinted. Grant understood, but knew that he still could not commit to getting her started on it.

"Unfortunately we aren't quite ready for that yet. I've got to keep working on this other project of mine, but after this week I should be done," explained Grant as he walked back to his desk. "But I do have something for you to do, if you don't mind leaving Whitney's duties to her own handling. I have a grade-analysis project for you. Tomorrow morning just come in, and I'll get you started on it."

The next morning, Ginny headed to Grant's office only to find him missing. Whitney smiled, saying that Grant was out for the day because his first grandchild was delivered early. Ginny was fearful that she would have to endure another day of Whitney's tasks. Whitney, after spending an extended period of time talking about her own children and awkward descriptions of

each of their births, gives her good news. " ... Yes, Michael was quite a delivery. Which is why I had to stop having children. Sometimes the uterus just can't handle any more. Sad, as I would have loved to try and have one more girl. So make sure to take those pre-natal vitamins, Ginny. They are so *important*! Well, anyway, Grant left you instructions for a project he said he told you about. Here's some instructions he told me to give you. Good luck!" Ginny looked down at a half sheet of chicken scratch that Grant thought was legible and slowly walked back to her cubicle.

Ginny spent a good chunk of time trying to get a grip on what the project was asking, as well as what the paper even said. Though Ginny did not really understand fully all that Grant wanted of her, Ginny did not feel he was open to questions about the assignment. So Ginny took matters into her own hands, decided to go a few different directions with the project, and present them all to Grant to let him choose what was best. Still, she had no idea what the project was for or how serious this data presentation might be and struggled to feel her decisions were appropriate.

One day turned into a few, and while Grant was out of the office his employee's took advantage of being out of his watchful eye to spend an extra half-hour at lunch every day.

When Grant returned, Ginny finally finished his project and headed into the office to offer him the different presentation options. Grant greeted her warmly, and reviewed the charts. "It looks good Ginny. I prefer this layout over the other," he said as he pointed to the paper in her left hand, "and perhaps we can group these differently?" Grant then gave Ginny a new set of instructions to apply to the charts, requiring her to revamp half the project. This new direction left her disheartened at having to redo the project she thought she had done a good job on.

Contrary to Ginny's beliefs, Grant was thoroughly impressed by Ginny's work and realized that he had a few other important projects that she could accomplish well. While his

tasks still did not relate to the curriculum project she wanted to work on and for which she was specifically hired, these tasks did utilize skills that she possessed and were better carried out by her than anyone else in the company.

Ginny found Grant's spreadsheet tasks boring and thoroughly lost all motivation. Because of this, she took longer than needed to complete them and allowed herself to be easily distracted from her duty by web-surfing and cell phone text messaging.

Ginny began her nine weeks at NBCDA excited and ready to help, utilizing her skills as a developing physicist. But as the time went on and she found herself assigned tasks that anyone could complete, she grew discouraged and unmotivated. Grant tried his best to use her as he promised, but with unexpected deadlines and family situations, he was not able to assign her to the tasks he had originally wanted to. But in his mind Ginny was still used in a big way, and Grant felt that he encouraged her through her time at NBCDA.

Questions:

1. How would you have handled the situation if you were Ginny?
2. Evaluate Ginny's effectiveness as a follower, and why?
3. Explain the leadership theory that best describes Grant? What are his successes or failures in this?
4. What actions could Grant have taken to display "good leadership" according to each theory discussed in question 3?

Teaching Notes

1. OBJECTIVES OF CASE

Type of Case: Evaluative-helps students apply previously learned theories to a real life situation.
Requires the filtering of details in the case to determine relevant information.

Learning Objectives:

To develop competency in:

- Evaluating leader decisions based on theoretical concepts
- Situational analysis and critical thinking
- Application of leadership theories

Case Description: Ginny, an intern at New Brain Curriculum Development Agency, is having difficulties with her supervisor Grant, as he is not giving her projects she came on for, and seems too busy for her.

Author Objective: This situation opens the door for debate of the fault being on both the follower and the leader. It allows for many different interpretations of leadership/followership technique and application to different theories.

2. COURSE INFORMATION: SUITABILITY FOR USE

Intended Course: Application of leadership theories

Course Level: Undergraduate upper-level course

Position in Course: Anytime in Course after these topics/issues have been discussed:

- Motivation
- Communication
- Followership
- Empowerment
- Transformational Leadership

- Situational Leadership Grid
- Kelley's Follower Patterns
- Impression Management

Prerequisite: Foundations course

Proposed Session Plan: 75-minute class period

75-minute period

0-5 minutes	Introduction of case
5-15 minutes	Reading of case
15-20 minutes	Discussion of Question 1
20-30 minutes	Discussion of Question 2
30-45 minutes	Discussion of Question 3
45-55 minutes	Discussion of Question 4
55-60 minutes	Wrap up and conclusion
60-75 minutes	Introduction of next topic

50-minute period

Have students read case and take notes before coming to class.

0-5 minutes	Recap or summary of case
5-10 minutes	Discussion of Question 1
10-20 minutes	Discussion of Question 2
20-35 minutes	Discussion of Question 3
35-45 minutes	Discussion of Question 4
45-50 minutes	Wrap up and conclusion

3. CASE SUMMARY

Ginny, the new summer intern, was brought into NewBrain Curriculum Development Agency to help out specifically with the science curriculum being developed. Ginny's supervisor, Grant, was very behind in work and had to pass Ginny off to the secretary Whitney, with whom Ginny spent a few weeks running packages and losing motivation. Grant finally introduced Ginny to the project, which excited her once again, but then handed her a data-analysis task. When Ginny succeeded tremendously on this, Grant continued to feed her these tasks without giving her much feedback as to their use or her true success on the one before. Ginny became increasingly discouraged and unmotivated, while Grant viewed her as an asset to the company serving in that position.

4. KEY ISSUES

- Motivation
- Communication
- Followership
- Empowerment

5. KEY THEORIES

- Transformational Leadership
- Situational Leadership Grid
- Kelley's Follower Patterns
- Impression Management

6. THEORETICAL LINKS

Ginny started off excited and motivated in her job, but soon lost steam as she received little feedback on the job she completed, and felt that she was not an important member of the NCBDA team.

- Situational Leadership Theory (Northouse, 2004, pp 87-97)
(see attached diagram)

In 1969, Hersey and Blanchard created a situational leadership approach that took into account the leader's response to his/her subordinates depending on the specific situation. By acknowledging which situation is occurring, an effective leader can alter their behavior and approach as a counteraction. The theory is separated into two separate elements: follower development and leadership style. Depending on how the follower ranks on one grid determines the best leadership style to be used by the leader. There are four styles under this theory, each displaying a differing amount of supportive (relationship) or directive (task) behavior. They will be presented in order of low to high follower development, with the terms defined below:

-Directing:

- Follower: low competence, high commitment. (D1)
- Leader: high directive, low supportive behavior. (81)

-Coaching:

- Follower: low competence, low commitment. (D2)
- Leader: high directive, high supportive behavior. (82)

-Supporting:

- Follower: high competence, low commitment (D3)
- Leader: low directive, high supportive (83)

-Delegating:

- Follower: high competence, high commitment (D4)
- Leader: low directive, low supportive (84)

Competence refers to the capability of the follower to achieve the task or his/her knowledge about the situation in which he/she has been placed. **Commitment** describes the amount of motivation internalized by the follower in the specific situation. For the leaders, **directive** alludes to the amount of instruction and direction the follower needs in order to complete the task. The need for **supportive** behavior is the amount of feedback and encouragement that would best serve the follower.

The theory describes the highest level of follower achievement being D4, where the follower is no longer dependent on the leader. By the leader applying the appropriate style to the situation, the follower is thought to then progress forward, following the path from D1 to D4.

Ginny's transition through the grid follows D1 to D2, where she remains. While Whitney does respond appropriately to Ginny with S1, once Ginny progresses to D2 Grant responds with S3 and S4 leadership styles. Because these were inappropriate responses, Ginny therefore did not progress to the ideal stage (D4).

Along with receiving a lack of feedback, the jobs given to Ginny for completion were not relevant to the original task she was brought on for, which caused increasing discouragement for her.

- Kelley's Followership Patterns (Kelley, 1988, pp 193-204)

(see attached diagram)

Robert Kelley launches into the responsibilities of the follower in the basics of followership. He says, "What distinguishes an effective from an ineffective follower is enthusiastic, intelligent, and self-reliant participation ... in the pursuit of an organizational goal" (Kelley 1988). He argues that motivations and roles can differ: some followers may find their place being a support within the group, while others may feel the need to step out and lead in certain situations. One thing must be constant however, which is that followers must be motivated. A truly effective follower can derive motivation from within the self, be it from ambition or determination. Kelley identified four qualities mandatory for an effective follower:

1. *They manage themselves well.* A good follower able to think for oneself so that the leader can safely delegate out work and it will effectively get done. He/she does not feel powerless in their position and speaks up to disagree, but also appreciates the team and organization.
2. *They are committed to the organization and to a purpose, principle, or person outside themselves.* The commitment they present is often contagious, and serves as motivation to fight hard for their vision.
3. *They build their competence and focus their efforts for a maximum impact.* Effective followers take responsibility for their own skills and capabilities, and maximize those that are relevant to their job and organization. If someone else is better qualified for an assignment they will speak up, but are willing to take on extra responsibilities.

4. *They are courageous, honest, and credible.* These followers are willing to admit mistakes and share in successes. They take a stand for their ethical beliefs, and are considered knowledgeable and trustworthy.

Kelley asserts that followership is a role that requires many of the same characteristics of leadership, and while it is often believed that success only comes through leadership, it is in fact crucial to have these effective followers in any organization for it to truly succeed.

Looking at these different qualities, there are five followership patterns with which to categorize followers:

1. Sheep: Passive, Dependent. Lack initiative, will only do what is required of them.
2. Yes People: Active, Dependent. Are willing to work hard, but still look to the leader on how to complete tasks and proceed.
3. Alienated Followers: Passive, Independent. Often form solid opinions and are able to think critically, but resist participating further than necessary.
4. Survivors: Middle of the road. Do what they need to do to get by and succeed "just enough" to make the leader happy.
5. Effective Followers: Active, Independent. Critical thinkers and risk takers. Challenge decisions, and do not require constant leadership.

In the beginning, Ginny would be categorized as falling into the Yes People pattern. She was dependent on the direction of Grant, but was still seeking ways to make improvements. But as she gained knowledge and did not need as much guidance, her motivation faltered and she did enough to make the leader happy, placing her in the Survivor pattern.

Grant tries to be attentive to the needs of his followers, and create an inviting and goal-focused work environment. Too often, however, he often ends up neglecting Ginny because of other work-related tasks.

- Transformational Leadership (Northouse, 2004, pp 173-178)

Transformational Leadership, developed by Bass and presented by Northouse, connects leaders and followers in such a way that the leaders inspire their followers into a higher motivation. There are four specific elements to this theory:

- *Idealized influence* encompasses a leader who is looked up to by his/her followers, and serves as a role model for them. They are deeply respected by their followers, and openly "provide followers with a vision and a sense of mission" (Northouse, 2004, p. 175). This is the charismatic element of transformational leaders.
- *Inspirational motivation* depicts a leader who holds his/her followers to high levels of expectation and inspires them to be motivated towards the shared goal or vision. This is often brought about through symbols or emotional manipulation to get followers to step up and out of their own self-interest and build an "organization betterment" focus.
- *Intellectual stimulation* means leaders support and encourage followers to be "creative and innovative" as they "try new approaches and develop innovative ways of dealing with organizational issues" (Northouse, 2004 p. 177). It allows followers to engage in problem solving which may lead to improvements in the company.

- *Individualized Consideration* encompasses a leader who keeps an open line of communication with his/her followers, to provide a "supportive climate" in which the leader is open to listen to their needs and concerns. With that more comfortable relationship, followers are more likely to feel that not only will their concerns be heard and hopefully answered, but that they are a valued part of the organization.

Grant both succeeds and fails within this theory. He mostly succeeded with intellectual stimulation and attempts to master idealized influence. But when it comes to individualized consideration and inspirational motivation, Grant does not do a triumphant job.

- Leader-Member Exchange Theory (Northouse, 2004, pp 147-158)

The Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory takes a transactional leadership approach, analyzing the specific interactions between leader and follower. The theory as described by Northouse (2004), though having gone through several re-evaluations, has always maintained the concepts of two "general types of linkages" (p. 148), being titled the in-group, and the out-group. The placement of a subordinate in one of these groups depends on their relationship with the leader, such as how well they work together and get along. The specific characteristics of each group is discussed below:

- *In-group* - The in-group is often made up of subordinates who get along well with the leader in personality and other characteristics. In-group subordinates also are involved in furthering their job experiences, negotiating different responsibilities and going beyond their contracted

job. In return, the leader often goes beyond and is willing to do extra things to help and support the subordinate. In-group subordinates have more influence, and receive more concern from their leaders than out-group subordinates do. (Northouse, 2004)

- *Out-group* - The out-group subordinates usually don't seek out any type of extra responsibility or display interest in working beyond their job contract. Their usual procedure is to "come to work, do their job, and go home". (Northouse, 2004, p. 150)

Grant is seemingly too busy for short-term hires, leaving Ginny in the out-group.

However, with the long-term employees he seems willing to take the time to work them into the in-group (though it is not heavily emphasized in this case study).

The LMX theory requires leaders to strive to form high-quality relationships with all his/her subordinates to make them all feel as if they are apart of the in-group, and look for ways to build trust and respect. This leads to higher productivity and lower turnover. Graen and Uhl-Bein (1991) asserted that these leader-follower relationships must evolve through three different stages: the stranger phase, the acquaintance phase, and the mature partnership phase.

1. In the *stranger phase*, the relationship looks very much like that of an out-group member. The subordinate is very self-involved, and will do the job the contract requires. Interactions are very organizationally defined, and are of lower quality.
2. The *acquaintance phase* is initiated by the leader for the subordinate to step out of the stranger phase into a new level of interaction and responsibility. It serves as a

testing period to determine the subordinates dedication and motivation to take on new responsibility outside their job description. The quality of the exchanges improves, and the subordinate's focus is now becoming more group-centered.

3. Once a subordinate reaches the *mature partnership* phase, they have proven themselves capable of added responsibly. The leader-subordinate exchanges are of high quality, and there is a high level of trust and respect. Often leaders and subordinates depend on each other for favors, and are fully focused on the greater good of the organization.

Ginny never really moved beyond the stranger phase with Grant. Grant did improve the quality of assignments given to Ginny, testing to see if she could handle them, but the quality of their relationship never really improved.

Ginny is very anxious and ready to work on the assignment she was hired for. But she feels estranged from Grant and not comfortable confronting him on the subject. Because of this, she is assigned tasks she does not know the purpose of. Grant greatly appreciates the work and effort Ginny puts into these other projects, and feels that Ginny is the best person to complete these important tasks. Ginny does not know this, however, and feels that the tasks are just meaningless projects that she was assigned because they did not know what else to do with her.

- Communication in Leadership

Michael Hackman and Craig Johnson (1991) define leadership in this way:

"Leadership is human (symbolic) communication which modifies the attitudes and behaviors of others in order to meet group goals and needs" (p. 428)

They believe that the creation of effective leaders comes through effective communication skills. They are masters at interpreting environmental cues, and are open and receptive of feedback from others. They are aware of their own group's norms and culture, and seek to create a "trusting, cooperative work atmosphere" (Hackman, 1991, p. 429). Effective leaders also establish quality group relationships.

Another concept of this theory is the idea of impression management, or the thought that different behaviors communicate beliefs. Impression management requires matching communication behaviors to goals. The way a leader acts towards something or someone communicates to his/her followers how the leader feels about it, and in turn what the follower's own opinion should be. Effective leaders "know what they want to accomplish, what communication skills are needed to reach their goals, and how to put those behaviors into action" through emphasis of the goal in their own behavior (Hackman, 1991, p. 430). There is a fear that leaders can become insincere by playing up these certain roles, and followers will see through their passion as performance. This may be true enough, but the problem more so is the lack of awareness of the impressions we already make.

Hackman and Johnson assert there are three main communication skills that all effective leaders must possess:

1. Linking: monitoring the environment, creating a trusting climate and team building.
2. Envisioning: creating new agendas or visions out of previously existing elements.

3. Regulating: influencing others by developing credibility and power, using effective verbal/nonverbal communication, creating positive expectations, managing change, and negotiation.

(Hackman, 1991, p. 431)

Grant's use of impression management and attitudes toward Ginny suggest to her that she is not a priority, and that he is not open to her concerns. Grant does engage in linking when he perceives that Ginny is anxious to get working on the project she was hired on for. As for envisioning or regulating, neither really occurs between Grant and Ginny.

7. DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How would you have best handled the situation if in Ginny's place?
2. Evaluate Ginny's effectiveness as a follower.
3. Explain the leadership theory that best describes Grant. What are his successes or failures in this?
4. What actions could Grant have taken to display "good leadership" according to each theory discussed in question 3?

8. RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS

1. *How would you have handled the situation if in Ginny's place?*

This question is meant to get the students thinking about what elements of the situation are pertinent to Ginny making a decision, It allows them to become personally involved in the case study and voice their own leadership styles within an equal context.

Because it is a personal opinion question, a range of answers is to be expected. One viewpoint may be that the student would be assertive and discuss his or her discouragement with Grant in hopes of righting the situation. Through this confrontation one can hope that either Grant will realize the interns wants and get him/her started on the project, or that the intern will at least be able to understand that he/she is still valued where he/she is at and gain some encouragement from this. Opening the door of communication allows for clearer understandings for both parties, and can allow for a better environment in the future.

Another standpoint students may present is that Grant had a right to utilize Ginny as he wished, and it is her job as a follower requires self motivation and acceptance of her position as long as she is being used best for the greater good. This viewpoint is a good lead into the next question, which focuses on Ginny as a follower.

2. *Evaluate Ginny's effectiveness as a follower.*

There one main theory that can be applied to Ginny as a follower. Robert E. Kelley's (2004) describes the determinate of an effective follower laying within their motivations for following and their perceptions of the role.

- Ginny was not able to internalize motivation and got burnt out when she was not supplied motivation by Grant. Looking at the four qualities, Ginny was able to manage herself well, working off the small instruction she was given and complete the task.

- She was not really introduced to the vision until late in her internship and did not see her ability to help in it, so after awhile her focus turned self-serving rather than for the good of the organization.
- In the beginning, Ginny would be categorized as falling into the Yes People pattern of Followership. She was dependent on the direction of Grant, but was still seeking ways to make improvements. But as she gained knowledge and did not need as much guidance, her motivation faltered and she did enough to make the leader happy, placing her in the Survivor pattern.
- As for Ginny trying to use her skills for maximum impact, she came into the internship ready to work on the job she was hired for, knowing that she would really bring an important element. But as she was handed tasks that she felt anyone could have really done, she did not speak up to say so.
- Ginny did not show any dishonesty but where an effective follower may have talked to Grant about the projects he/she had been given, Ginny did not do so. Ginny did display credibility within the context of her skills and capacities.

3. *Explain the leadership theory that best describes Grant. What are his successes or failures in this?*

The instructor needs to expect various responses to which theory can describe Grant. Grant does not fully succeed at any theory, and so students may debate out which theory describes him as a better leader.

The transformational leadership theory presented by Northouse (2004) is an interesting one to compare Grant to. Grant appears to both succeed and fail at *idealized*

influence. Grant posts a flow chart in a place where all can see to show NBCDA's ultimate goal and where they are in the process. Even so, he has not developed respect amongst his employees, and they take advantage of his absence to extend their lunch period. While he does show Ginny what was going on with the curriculum project and present her with his vision for it, it takes him two weeks to do so. When he does give her work to do, he never explains what it is for and how she is participating in furthering the company in the vision, leaving Ginny feeling discouraged and somewhat resentful towards him and her situation.

Inspirational motivation. While Grant does hold Ginny to high expectations, she does not feel motivated to excel. She often takes longer on projects than she needs because she was not provided with the proper inspiration to be motivated in her work.

With *Intellectual stimulation*, Grant seems to almost fit this category, leaving Ginny with such few directions to allow her to create and shape the project as she thought best. Yet when she presents him with her product, he asks her to make so many changes, her own creative success is lost in the reformatting.

Certain things about Grant, such as his office being open and accessible and his openness with his full-year employees suggest his achievement at individualized consideration. Yet when it comes to Ginny, she is left feeling unnoticed, and is not willing to discuss her concerns with Grant.

Another theory that may be brought to attention is the situational leadership theory (SLT) discussed in Northouse (2004). This theory requires a look at Grants responses to Ginny's ever-changing placements on the grid. Grant often fails at matching his appropriate leadership style to

where Ginny falls on the grid. There may be discrepancies among the students as to where Ginny falls on the grid.

- Ginny enters NBCDA at D1 with high motivation but low knowledge of the workings of the company. Ginny does receive S1 leadership through Whitney who, while doing a good job directing her, gives her such a variety of tasks Ginny has to continually receive instruction as to how to carry them out.
- Ginny progresses quickly to the D2 stage, finding herself with low motivation and low direction. Grant then reacts with the S3 leadership style, showing her around to help her feel included and encouraged, but handing her a project with very little instruction.
- Ginny remains in D2 stage, not understanding the reason she has been given the task, what it will be used for, or how to complete it. Grant is pleased with Ginny's results, but does not really tell her so, and continues to hand her similar tasks, displaying S4 leadership.

A third theory that can be compared to Grant is the LMX theory (Northouse, 2004).

Ginny originally enters willing to work hard to enter into the in-group, accepting the menial tasks and projects which were not apart of why she was hired on. But with her being low on Grants priority list, Ginny and Grant never leaves the stranger phase, and Ginny loses motivation and succumbs to the out-group.

Fourth is communication theory between Grant and Ginny (Hackman, 1991). Grant's use of impression management and attitudes toward Ginny suggest to her that she is not a priority,

and that he is not open to her concerns. Grant does engage in linking when he perceives that Ginny is anxious to get working on the project she was hired on for, but does nothing about it.

4. *What actions could Grant have taken to display "good leadership" according to each theory discussed in question 3?*

Transformational Leadership:

(Northouse, 2004, pp 173-178)

- Idealized Influence: Grant could have cast the vision and goal to Ginny more effectively. Students may also bring up points about how Grant could better serve as a role model.
- Inspirational Motivation: Grant could have personally given Ginny more encouragement in the job she was doing, or provided symbols that let everyone know how the company was progressing on this assignment.
- Intellectual Stimulation: Grant's mistake in this came when he had Ginny totally revamp the project he had originally given her creative license to complete. He could have laid out some guidelines in the beginning for her to follow, but then he needed to let majority of her product remain.
- Individualized Consideration: While Grant did a fairly good job at this, Ginny obviously did not feel that she could approach Grant with her concerns. My Grant investing a little more in her experience in the company, Ginny may have felt more inclined to say something.

Situational Leadership:

(Northouse, 2004, pp 87-97)

Grant needed to be more receptive to Ginny's levels of direction and motivation and meet her where she was. While this happens during the 01 stage, Grant should have given her better instruction in 02 instead of assuming she knew what she was doing and what he was looking for. Grant needed to then realize that Ginny was still remaining in 02, and find other ways to motivate (such as feedback, show her what her projects were used for, etc.) instead of thinking she now knew everything he wanted, and was motivated to get it done.

LMX: (Northouse, 2004, pp 147-158)

Grant needed to show Ginny that while she was only apart of the company for a short amount of time, he was still invested and wanted her to excel as much as she could. By giving her more difficult projects, and then allowing her to handle those as she thought best (instead of babying her time and time again), she could have stepped into the acquaintance phase. There was most likely not enough time for her to win her way into the mature partnership phase.

Communication Theory: (Hackman, 1991, pp 428-431)

- Impression Management: By showing more interest in Ginny, Grant would have communicated that he truly thought her an important part of the company.
- Linking: If Grant had been more receptive to Ginny and had monitored her better, he may have realized her feelings towards the situation and been able to work something out. (Can connect this to Situational Leadership Theory).

- Envisioning: Grant could have posted and communicated steps and goals pointing to the vision, and how far the company had progressed in achieving those goals.
- Regulating: Students may give various examples of ways Grant could have developed credibility and power, created positive expectations and managed change.

10. TEACHING TIPS

Instructor Discussion Questions:

- Who was more at fault for Ginny's lack of motivation (Ginny or Grant)? Why?

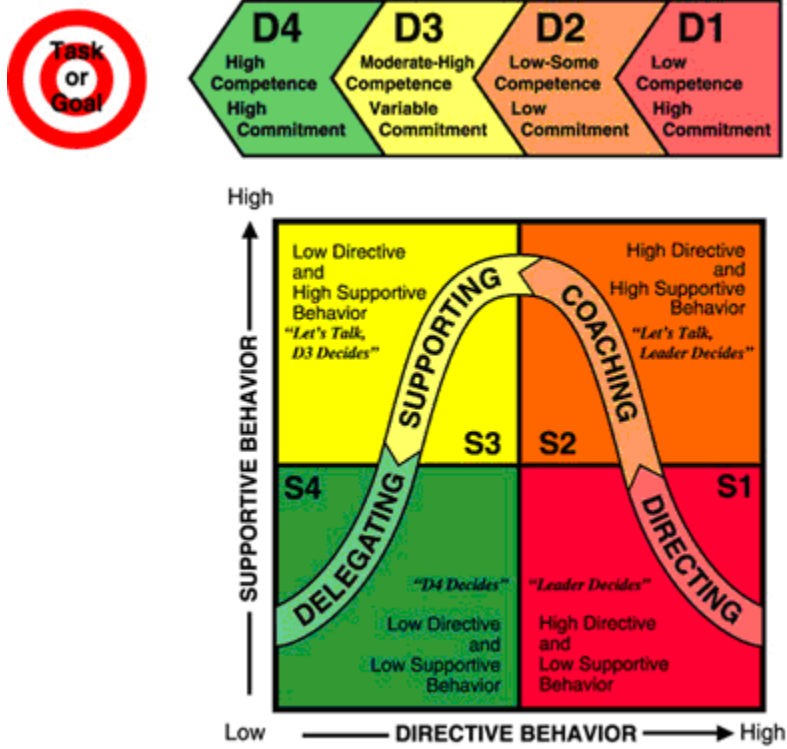
Instructor Materials:

- Situational Leadership Styles Grid - to be used when discussing the Situational Leadership theory and for reference in question 3.
- Phases in Leadership Making Table - to be used when discussing LMX theory and for reference in question 3.
- Followership Grid – to be used when discussing Followership Patterns and for reference in question 2.

Situational Leadership Styles

Developed by: Hersey and Blanchard

www.kenblanchard.com/img/pub/SSL_modelI2.jpg



Phases in Leadership Making

Developed by: Graen & Uhl-Bien

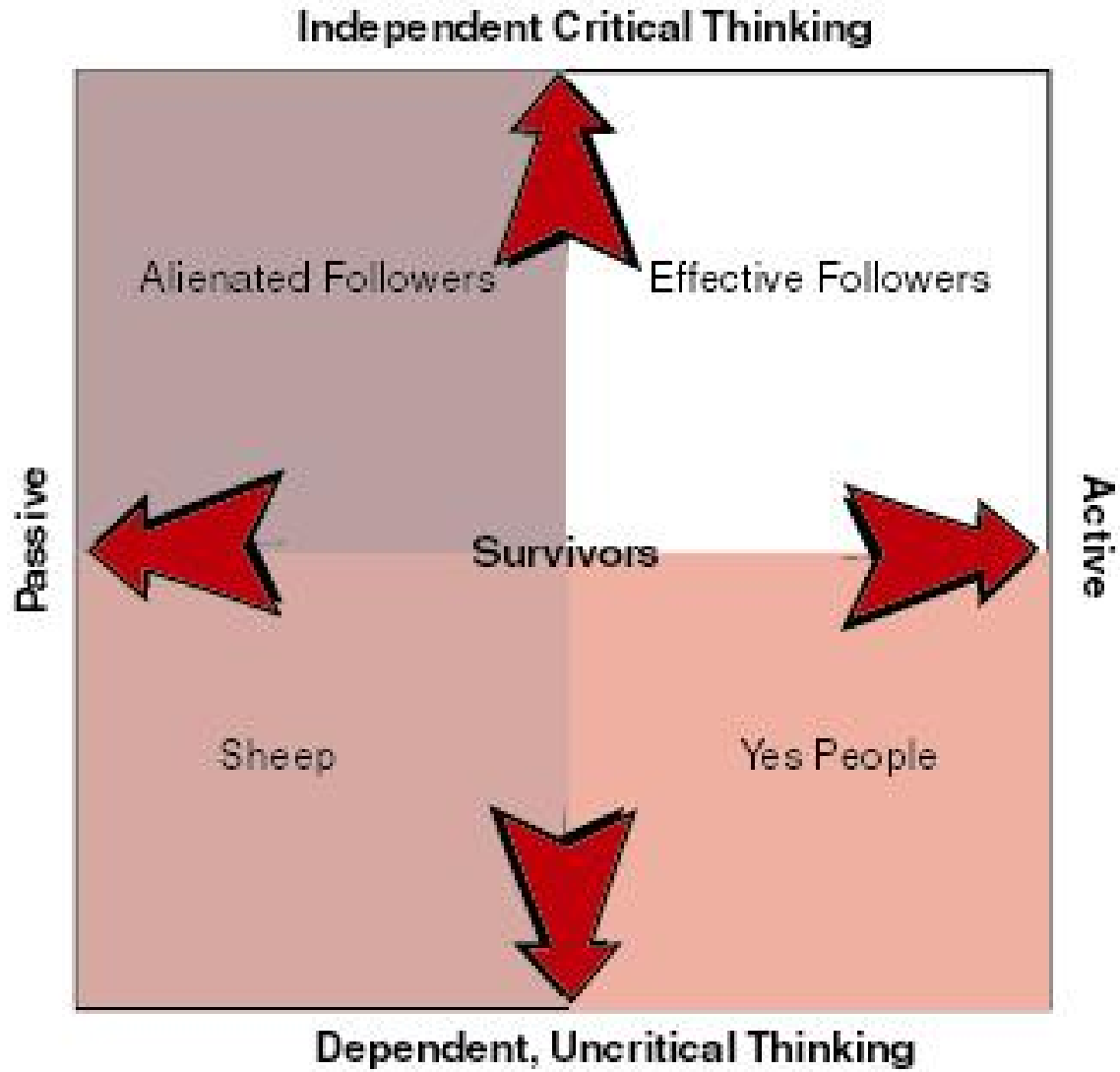
Northouse p. 152

	Phase 1	<u>Phase 2</u>	Phase 3
	<u>STRANGER</u>	<u>ACQUAINTANCE</u>	<u>PARTNER</u>
	Scripted	Tested	Negotiated
	One Way	Mixed	Reciprocal
Roles	Low quality	Medium quality	High quality
Influences	Self	Self/ Other	Group
Exchanges			
Interests			

Followership Patterns Grid

Developed by: Robert Kelley

workingresources.com



12. ANNOTIATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Northouse, P. (2004). *Leadership: Theory and Practice* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Northouse discusses the different parts that make up Transformational Leadership (Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individualized Consideration). Grant excels in two of these categories, but fails miserably in the other. By taking a look at the different parts of Grants leading styles, his failings and accomplishments can be pulled apart and analyzed, leaving room for argument as to how he could better himself as a leader.

The second theory brought up by Northouse is that of the Situational approach to leadership. There are two grids, one to be applied to the leader (The Four Leadership Styles) and the other to be compared to the follower (Development Level of Followers). Each can be compared and contrasted in different stages to both Grant and Ginny, looking at how Grant responds to Ginny, and if it is appropriate behavior depending on which stage she is in. Lastly, Leader Member Exchange theory (LMX) is addressed in Northouse. LMX theory really seeks to explain the interactions between the leader and the follower, and what is the hopeful goal of that relationship. In-group/out-group's are addressed, as well as the evolution of the relationship between the leader and follower (Stranger Phase, Acquaintance Phase, and Mature Phase). The progression in relationship between Grant and Ginny can be compared using these definitions.

Kelley, R. (1988). In praise of followers. In J. Wren (Ed.), *The leader's companion: Insights on leadership through the ages* (pp. 193-204) New York: Free Press.

Kelley brings to light the role of followers in various roles, and how their actions become constructively or destructively effective. Kelley asserts different traits an effective follower possesses, as well as how they best derive their motivation. By comparing these traits to Ginny the Intern her effectiveness as a follower can be confirmed or argued.

Hackman, M. and Johnson C. (1991). Leadership communication skills. In J. Wren (Ed.), The leader's companion: Insights on leadership through the ages (pp. 428-431) New York: Free Press.

Hackman and Johnson address many aspects of communication amongst leaders and their subordinates. The main pull from this section is the concept of leaders linking, envisioning, and regulating the connection between themselves and their followers. They also discuss how communication plays a vital role in effective leadership through being able to create a trusting atmosphere in the workplace. Using these requirements in comparison to Grant will be a good example for realizing where improvements could be made.

The Social and Economic Impact of the Civil War on the Vest Family
of Chesterfield County, Virginia

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History 490-02

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The Social and Economic Impact of the Civil War on the Vest Family
of Chesterfield County, Virginia

The conflict that raged across the American landscape from 1861 to 1865 destroyed the farmland, homesteads, and infrastructure of both Southern and Northern states during the American Civil War. Over 600,000 men had lost their lives. The sheer number of men lost in the conflict drained the populations of the states and their respective counties. For many of the citizens in the South, the war had depleted them economically. The wealth that they had accumulated over the course of the antebellum years had been wiped away during the conflict, including their status in society. Nowhere in the South did these incidents occur more than in south-central Virginia, primarily in the city of Richmond and its outlying counties and lands. Richmond had been the capital of the Confederate States of America and had been one of, if not the most important, industrial centers of the South. With places like Tredegar Iron Works churning out arms and munitions, Richmond was the lifeblood of the Confederate military effort. Another key stronghold for the Confederacy lay just 25 miles to the south of Richmond, the city of Petersburg, which was a key railroad junction that linked Richmond to the rest of the South. The lands that lay between these two cities are the lands of the county of Chesterfield.

Historians such as James McPherson and Shelby Foote have done numerous studies on the Civil War. However historians are changing how they study this period. Recently, historians like James Oakes have been looking at the social and economic ramifications of the Civil War. Even more so, historians like Charles V. Mauro have examined specific towns, cities, or even regions. They have suggested that Southerners who had made their way up the social ladder had generally fallen back down by the end of the war; if they were not economically wiped out, then

they were on the edge of financial ruin. These studies can be categorized as a history of the South or North, a certain state, a certain region within a state, and a specific city, town, or locale. Yet these studies fall short. Previous studies have not examined the history of a specific family before, during, and after the Civil War in either the North or South. This paper will examine the Vest family of Chesterfield County, Virginia from 1793 to 1908. Representing a micro-history, this study will focus on the Vest's beginnings and the hardships they endured during and after the Civil War. Using Charles Mauro's work of Fairfax County in the Civil War as a model, this paper will explore the impact that the Civil War had on the Vest family, both socially and economically. It will also examine the Vest family's path to upward mobility before the Civil War, the wealth they had accumulated, and their life after the Civil War. It will show that despite the years of successful economic gains, the Vest family, like so many others in the South, experienced severe economic hardship and loss of social status following the Civil War.

In the Antebellum South, there was a distinct and rigid social structure, and central Virginia was no exception. Perpetuated by the institution of slavery, this social order had four classes or levels within it. On the very bottom was the "mud-sill" class, named for a "mud-sill," which is a piece of metal that is situated outside the doors of houses where people would scrape the mud off of their boots so as not to track mud into the house. The "mud-sill" was generally the dirtiest thing around the house, hence why the lowest class was given this title. During the antebellum period, in the South, the African-Americans in bondage held this class. With slavery, poor whites could always fall back on the fact that they would never fall into the "mud-sill" class and would never be the pariah of Southern society. The slaves that were on the plantations of

Clover Hill, Physic Hill, and Eppington (all within Chesterfield County) were located in the “mud-sill” class of Chesterfield County society.¹

The next class in the social structure of the Antebellum South was the lower class whites, which included subsistence farmers or artisans living on a minimal income, barely making a profit. In Chesterfield County these citizens made up one third of the white population. A Chesterfield citizen in this class had an amount of land that ranged from 20 to 75 acres; the personal property of the lower class citizen was a range from \$25 to \$100. This class was the third level out of four in the social structure of the Old South.²

The next class in the social structure of the Antebellum South was the middle class whites. This class of whites was usually wealthier farmers and poorer merchants and professionals. These citizens were able to make enough money to cover their expenses and were able to afford more luxuries than the lower class citizens. These citizens had more land and higher values of personal property. In Chesterfield, the average amount of land that a citizen in this class would have was 234 acres, with the range of middle class farms being 100 to 250 acres. The personal property values of this middle third of the free population were substantially higher than the lower third of the population. The personal property values ranged from \$35 to \$1,836 with the average of the personal property values being \$643. It is quite obvious that the middle class had more money and more acreage than the lower class.³

Finally, the top third of the free population in Chesterfield County represented the upper class. Generally very wealthy individuals, these citizens were the planters and richer merchants and professionals. They had the biggest farms, homes, and personal property values; they

¹ Hammond, James H. “The ‘Mudsill’ Theory.” *PBS Online*, March 4, 1858.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h3439t.html> (accessed April 23, 2008).

² Jeffrey O’Dell. *Chesterfield County: Early Architecture and Historic Sites*. (Chesterfield, Virginia: Chesterfield County, 1983), 100.

³ *Ibid.*, 132, 178.

usually had tracts of land that were 400 acres or more and the average personal property value was \$1100. They also owned the plantations, such as Clover Hill plantation, Physic Hill plantation, and Eppington plantation.⁴

There was one major difference between the social structure in the Antebellum South and Chesterfield County before the Civil War: the proportion of people in the classes of society. It has been described by many historians that the social structure of the Antebellum South was in a pyramid shape.⁵ The aristocrats of society topped this pyramid shaped social structure. The next level on the pyramid housed the larger proportion of middle class whites, and the next level on the pyramid housed the even larger proportion of the lower class whites. Finally, the largest part of the social pyramid was the base. The base of the social pyramid was where the slaves or the “mud-sill” class was located. The social structure in Chesterfield County before the Civil War was different in the fact that the society could be described as a “top hat” shape.⁶ The bottom or the wide brim of the “top hat” shape is larger than the rest of the “top hat” and in Chesterfield that wide brim part would be the slaves or the “mud-sill” class. The rest of the “top hat” shape is within proportion of one another. The rest of Antebellum Chesterfield County society was evenly distributed in thirds between the lower class, middle class, and the upper class that made up the shaft of the “top hat”.⁷

The main aspect that Antebellum Chesterfield County society and the rest of the South had in common was the goal for upward mobility. The desire to move as far away from the “mud-sill” class as possible was the goal of southerners who were not in the upper echelon of society. These members of the elite portion of society usually did not have to worry about

⁴ Ibid. 178.

⁵ See Figure 1

⁶ See Figure 2

⁷ Ibid. 177,132,100.

falling down in the social structure due to the fact that they had enough money and capital to keep them there. For others in society they constantly struggled to move up in society by trying to gather more land and more personal property. The ability to achieve upward mobility was much easier for citizens before the Civil War. The enormous economic strain on citizens during the war reduced their ability to move up the social structure after the war due to the lack of money to purchase land and acquire more personal property. The Vest family of Chesterfield County, Virginia exhibits this aspect of upward mobility.

The Origins of Chesterfield County

Chesterfield County received its name from Philip Dormer Stanhope who was the fourth earl of Chesterfield. The lands that became Chesterfield were actually at first part of the county of Henrico. At first the main crop being grown in the farmlands of Chesterfield was tobacco. Chesterfield grew in the late 18th century both in prosperity and population. The big boom to Chesterfield occurred in this time of the late 1700s, early 1800s. During this time coal mining was becoming a major industry in the county as well as an established saw-milling industry. An example of the wealth generated by the coal industry is the fact that the owners of these mines immediately became a part of the upper echelon of Chesterfield County society. An example of this coal wealth was the Clover Hill plantation itself. Clover Hill plantation was built and prospered through coal money. The owner of the home, James Henry Cox discovered coal on the property, after which he started a mine company, and a railroad was even built to transport Clover Hill coal to Richmond and the Eastern Seaboard. The Cox family had enough money to

accumulate 527 acres under the estate. This is just one example of Chesterfield citizens attaining upward mobility and the growth within the county.⁸

The Vest Family⁹

The Vest family had been in the county of Chesterfield since 1705. In 1705 Chesterfield County did not exist yet and the lands of Chesterfield were actually in the county of Henrico, as stated earlier in the paper. The information surrounding the earlier members of the Vest family at this time is very hazy. The only information that is available is that a John Vest was born in what is now Chesterfield County in 1705. John Vest had nine children with the first child being born in 1738 and the last child being born in 1760. John Vest's third son James was born in 1745. The information surrounding the Vest family members is still just as hazy as the first. It is known that James Vest had at least one son named Henry Vest, however, his date of birth is unknown. The first accurate record in this line of the Vest family is found with Henry Vest and this is where the study will start to follow the Vest family.¹⁰

Henry Vest

The first account of Henry Vest is a land deed from 1793, in which Vest is the grantee. The grantor of the land deed is William Wyatt. Of course in this land deed the location of the land is stated. However the location of the land is vague because the landmarks given in some cases are actual trees and bushes. Some names of individuals bordering the tract of land are given but their property is still vague. The total amount of land is given, which makes it easy to

⁸ Frances Watson Clark. *Images of America: Chesterfield County*. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2006), 2.; Ibid. 7; Ibid. 76; Ibid. 77; Ibid. 47; O'Dell, *Chesterfield County*, 211.

⁹ See Figure 3

¹⁰ Chesterfield Historical Society, "John Vest and Family Tree"; Ibid.; Ibid.

see how much land is getting added to Henry Vest's original tract. Before the new tract of land is discussed it must be pointed out that it is unknown how much land Henry Vest had before the land purchase in 1793. The new tract of land that was purchased in 1793 from William Wyatt totaled 70 acres. Henry Vest's new tract of land was purchased using Virginia's old form of money, pound sterling. The new tract of land cost Henry Vest 90 pounds. Vest was a farmer, however it is not known as to what crops Henry Vest farmed.¹¹

A couple of years after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 Henry Vest made his next bid for upward mobility. In 1805 the rest of Chesterfield County was growing due to the growth of the coalmines in the western and northern parts of the county. Not only was Chesterfield County growing but Henry Vest was growing as well. In 1805 Henry purchased some more land. In this land deed of 1805 Henry Vest is once again the grantee and John Hatchett is the grantor. The total acreage that is sold to Henry Vest by John Hatchett is 21 acres. These 21 acres are described as being covered with woods, undergrowth, and waterways. Once again the old currency of Virginia is used in this transaction. Henry Vest paid Mr. Hatchett 31 pounds and 10 shillings for the new parcel of land. With this new purchase Henry Vest had 91 acres accumulated within his estate.¹²

Henry Vest was still not finished in trying to accumulate new lands and expanding his estate. However, his expansion was put on hold for a while due to the War of 1812. During this time, Henry Vest served his newly formed county. It is unclear as to the extent of his service or rather his combat actions during the war, but it is known that he served in the 23rd regiment of

¹¹ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Land Deed of 1793"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

¹² Eric Foner, *Give me liberty!: an American history*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 1:292.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Land Deed of 1805"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

the Virginia militia. After his time in the War of 1812 Henry Vest returned home to Chesterfield County. It was not long after his return that he purchased more land for his estate.¹³

Henry Vest purchased some more land in 1817. John Deaton of Chesterfield was the grantor in this land deed. The land discussed in this deed was more easily identifiable due to the location the land itself. Not only is the location of the land described in the deed easily identifiable but it also shows the location of the other lands purchased by Henry Vest earlier in his life. It can be said that the location of this parcel of land can make it available to determine the location of the other lands because all of these lands connect to one another. The new parcel of land lay within the fork of two roads. These two roads were the road leading to Goode's Bridge, and the road leading to Bevil's Bridge. Where this fork used to be (one road no longer exists) is now located within Pocahontas State Park, along with the vast majority of other original Vest family land. The parcel of land that Henry Vest bought in 1817 totaled 21 acres. Henry Vest paid John Deaton \$147.33 for the 21 acres. This new parcel of land brought the known total amount of land under Henry Vest to 112 acres. Henry Vest's house was also located in what is now Pocahontas State Park.¹⁴

In his life Henry Vest and his wife Frances Vest had eight children. In his will Henry speaks of his eight children and what each child would get. The will also speaks of his sister Martha and the house she lives in, which brings up another key clue as to the economic situation of the Vest family. In his will he states that his sister Martha Vest can continue to live in the house that she lives in until she passes and he even gives her the acre of land that the house sits on. The fact that Henry Vest is able to give Martha the right to continue to live in the said house shows his possession and ownership of the said house. With this house in mind it shows that

¹³ Chesterfield Historical Society, "Veterans Database"; Ibid.

¹⁴ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Land Deed of 1817"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

Henry Vest owned two houses during his life, his main house that he lived in and the house the Martha lived in. Later on in the document Henry Vest gives to his first son Solomon Vest the parcel of land that he bought in 1817 totaling 21 acres, which is the parcel of land that sat in the fork of the two roads. However there is one key difference mentioned in his will in 1821 and the land deed of 1817. This difference is the fact that Henry speaks of a house on that parcel in 1821 that was not there in 1817. Once again this shows the building of a house by Henry Vest on the property that was located in the fork of the two roads. With this house now spoken about it shows that Henry Vest had three houses under his control before his death in 1821. He also divided the remainder of his land up between his two other sons Spencer and Joseph Vest. This remaining land totaled at 96 acres and they were to receive possession of the main house after their mother Frances Vest passed away.¹⁵

How much wealth did Henry Vest accumulate throughout his life? Henry Vest had 112 acres under his name that is known about for sure. It was found in his will that he also had two houses under his possession. Within his will it is eluded to the fact that he had an orchard on the property in his main house that he sold fruit from for profit. The right to make profit from his orchard is given to his four youngest daughters who apparently still live at home and for them to live in the main house until they get married. Each of the four youngest daughters received a feather bed and the furniture to go with it. It is clear that Henry Vest had enough wealth to own a feather bed for each of his youngest daughters and the furniture to go with them. However, it is shown in his will that, like most farmers, Henry had accumulated some debts throughout his natural life. One of the first passages in the will he stated that his heirs are to sell his still (the single most expensive thing that he had in his possession) and as much livestock needed to cover

¹⁵ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Will of 1821"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

his debts. With this being said, it was not a big enough debt for all of his belongings to be sold or confiscated.¹⁶

To answer the question about how much wealth Henry Vest had accumulated throughout his life, one other economic item must be looked at and compared, and that is how much personal property he had and its value. At the time of his death the county ordered an estate appraisal of the remaining personal property that he had not passed on to his heirs. On the estate appraisal three pieces of bed furniture are listed as well as a loom, one parcel of books, one lot of carpenter tools, a still, kitchen furniture and many other different items. All of Henry Vest's remaining personal property after the inheritance was valued at \$189.55.¹⁷

Now that the question of how much wealth Henry Vest accumulated during his life is answered, the numbers given will allow the Vest family to be placed within the Antebellum Chesterfield County social structure at the time of the death of Henry Vest around 1820. As mentioned earlier in the study the social structure in Chesterfield County was like the rest of the Antebellum South in the number of levels or classes. There were four classes within the social structure. Each class had its own amount of land and personal property that distinguished it from the other classes. Where did Henry Vest and the Vest family in 1820 fit in the social structure? Henry Vest had accumulated 112 known acres and his personal property was valued at \$189.55. By comparing these numbers to the numbers given earlier on in the study the Vest family can be placed within the social structure of Chesterfield County. With the total acreage being at 112 acres and the personal property value being at \$189.55, the Vest family would fit into the middle

¹⁶ Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

¹⁷ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Estate Appraisal of 1821"; Ibid.; Ibid.

class of Chesterfield. The 112 acres fits within the range of 100 to 250 acres and the personal property value of \$189.55 fits into the range of \$35 to \$1,836.¹⁸

Upward mobility was a key part of Antebellum Southern society. Trying to move as far away from the “mud-sill” class and as far up the social ladder as possible was the goal of many southern individuals and families. There are a couple of ways for southern individuals and families to achieve upward mobility and one important one was the accumulation of more land. Henry Vest accumulated 112 known acres in 24 years over three different purchases. These purchases alone are enough to move the Vest family into the middle class of Chesterfield County. Not to mention, the personal property value of Henry Vest after passage of goods to heirs was enough to move the Vest family into the middle class as well. The gathering of more land served both of the major aspects of social and economic well being. The agricultural techniques of that era were not as advanced as they are today. Back then the constant growing of crops on the same parcel of land depleted the soil tremendously. With the soil being depleted the farmers of the era were constantly on the search for more land to farm. By buying and attaining more land the farmers were able to make more money, and in turn that extra money coming into the farmers boosted them and their families economically. This extra money allowed them to move up the social ladder on money alone. On the social side of things, the purchasing of more land also boosted the social position of the farmers as well. With more land in the farmers’ hands came more power. In the old days of American society, and especially in the old Southern society, more land meant more power. This is why the plantation owners in the South generally

¹⁸ Ibid.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, “Henry Vest Will of 1821”; O’Dell, *Chesterfield County*, 132.

had the most power, not to mention that their income and amount of money helped them out as well. Henry Vest had definitely achieved the common goal of upward mobility for his family.¹⁹

Over the course of his life, Henry Vest had eight children. His youngest son and his youngest child out of all of them was Joseph Vest, who was born in 1808. In the will of Henry Vest, his two youngest sons Spencer and Joseph received the remaining 96 acres of his estate and it would be up to them as to who would receive the ownership of the house after their mother passed away. Joseph Vest ended up receiving all of the 96 acres and the house because his brother Spencer, at an unknown date, moved to Jackson County, Missouri to try to start a life of his own. When his brother Spencer moved to Missouri Spencer's rights to the land went to Joseph. It was stated in Henry's will that the rights and ownership of the land and the house would not be passed on to Spencer and Joseph until after their mother passed or they were 21 years old. It is unclear as to which happened first, his mother's passing away or his turning 21 years old, but most likely around the year 1829; Joseph Vest had 96 acres under his possession. This was not too bad for a young farmer at his age.²⁰

It is important so that a comparison can be brought up so that the line of the Vest family that this study is following can be compared to the other lines of the Vest family. Philip Vest was the uncle to Henry Vest and the great uncle to Joseph Vest. Philip Vest passed away in 1834 and by the same year Joseph Vest had already been married for four years to Nancy Wyatt and already had his second child, his first son John Vest. In 1834 Philip Vest passed away. In his will he spoke of many different items. Philip spoke of feather beds, looms, chairs, and livestock.

¹⁹ Charles Mauro. *The Civil War in Fairfax County: Civilians and Soldiers*. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2006), 16.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Will of 1821"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Estate Appraisal of 1821".

²⁰ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Will of 1821"; Chesterfield Historical Society, "Vest & Fergusson Family Cemetery"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Will of 1821"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Land Deed of 1858".

He even spoke of a 100-acre parcel of land at one time and he spoke of three other individual parcels of land of significant size although the actual acreage is not mentioned. However there was one item or rather a group of items that the line of the Vest family that is being followed in this study did not have up to this point and that is slaves. In his will Philip Vest spoke of ten slaves. This fact alone makes him and his immediate family very wealthy, not only in terms of Chesterfield County but for the rest of the South as well.²¹

The average slaveholder in the South held five slaves. In Virginia alone the average slaveholder did not have more than ten slaves in bondage. When students of American history and more importantly Southern history think about the wealthiest people in the South they immediately think about the plantation owners in the deep southern states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. However, half of the wealthy slaveholders in the state of South Carolina held ten slaves or fewer. These facts show that Philip Vest was very wealthy for the South in general as well as in Chesterfield County. Even with only 100 acres being explicitly mentioned in his will which would constitute this line of the Vest family to be in the middle class, with ten slaves being in the possession of Philip Vest, it is a little different. With Philip Vest having and eventually passing on ten slaves to his immediate family automatically propels this line of the Vest family into the upper class of Chesterfield County society. This being said, it is without question that Philip Vest had achieved the southern goal of upward mobility. His ability to have enough money to own ten slaves is a tremendous economic and social achievement for the Antebellum South and the Antebellum Chesterfield County. These two lines of the Vest family, the one under Henry Vest and the one under Philip Vest achieved upward mobility in two different ways. Henry Vest achieved upward mobility by purchasing more

²¹ Chesterfield Historical Society, "Vest & Fergusson Family Cemetery"; Chesterfield Historical Society, "John Vest and Family Tree"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Philip H. Vest Will of 1834"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

farmland. Philip Vest achieved upward mobility by purchasing the amount of slaves that he did, no matter how much land he attained as well. The interesting part is that by purchasing the high amount of slaves Philip Vest moved into the upper class of Chesterfield society. Henry Vest on the other hand purchased more land and not any slaves, as stated before he did achieve upward mobility, however, it was only to the middle class.²²

Joseph Vest

Focusing back on the main line of the Vest family, Joseph Vest will be examined. It was stated earlier that by 1834 Joseph Vest had been married and even had his second child. Joseph and his wife Nancy would eventually have nine children. The next document from the life of Joseph Vest was from 1850, which was the same year as the Compromise of 1850 that tried to ebb the sectional crisis in America. In this document it is mentioned that Peter Jackson owed Joseph Vest some money due to a debt. The total debt that Mr. Jackson owed Joseph was \$120.00. Apparently Peter Jackson did not have enough money at the time to pay Joseph so Mr. Jackson actually gave Joseph two slaves to cover his debt. Joseph Vest accepted these two slaves for the coverage of the debt. With the acceptance and the addition of these two slaves to the Vest family it immediately moved into the small slaveholder class among the classes of slavery. The small slaveholding class was characterized by the holding of one or two slaves. These two slaves still did not put Joseph Vest on the same level with his great uncle and cousins however it did put him on the same level of the common slaveholders in the South. This movement can be seen as a small achievement of upward mobility.²³

²² James Oakes. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1982), 39.; Ibid.; Ibid.

²³ Chesterfield Historical Society, "Vest & Fergusson Family Cemetery"; Ibid.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Transfer of Property of 1850"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, 52.; Ibid.

The next document from the life of Joseph Vest came in 1856. In between these two documents an important act was passed in 1854, which was the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This document from the Vest family is another land deed except in this land deed Joseph Vest is one of the grantors. In this one document a group of people are selling a group of parcels to Jackson Ferguson. The acreage of all the parcels combine to make 87 acres total. Out of the 87 acres, the biggest parcel that came from Joseph Vest was 55 acres. The entire 87 acres were sold for \$237.50. With 55 acres of Joseph's land being sold off, it dropped his known total of acreage down to 41 acres. It must be stressed that due to the lack of documents it is unknown how much land Joseph Vest did actually own. It appears through other documents that his total acreage was never as low as 41 acres.²⁴

The next document from the life of Joseph Vest is from 1859, which was the same year as John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. This Vest document is also a land deed. This document is a little different in the fact that the land was apparently involved in a dispute between Joseph Vest and a group of other neighbors. The land involved is awarded to Joseph Vest after the Circuit Court of Chesterfield County awarded it to him. The total acreage that was given to Joseph was 30 acres. These 30 acres brought the known total acreage of Joseph Vest to 71 acres. This document was the last document from Joseph Vest before the Civil War broke out in 1861.²⁵

Where does Joseph Vest fit into Chesterfield County society? His total acreage before the Civil War was at 71 acres. It is unknown as to his personal property because there had not been an estate appraisal of his personal property yet. So for the sake of showing where the Vest

²⁴ Foner, "*Give me liberty!*," 477.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Land Deed of 1856"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

²⁵ Foner, "*Give me liberty!*," 491.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Land Deed of 1859"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

family was in Chesterfield County society before the Civil War, the two main parts of information that will be used for the placement will be the total acreage and the possession of the two slaves. The total known acreage of 71 acres would put the Vest family in the lower class of Chesterfield society. However there is the fact that more lands under the possession of Joseph Vest are mentioned within other documents. Even though there are some other lands that are not specifically mentioned there is the possession of the two slaves. In Chesterfield County the average individual who owned one or two slaves would be in the middle class. With this being said the Vest family still remained in the middle class before the Civil War. It must be mentioned here as well that later documents allude to the fact that Joseph Vest had more than 71 acres and warrants the placement of the Vest family to still be within the middle class of Chesterfield society.²⁶

Civil War

Of these nine children three went to serve into the Civil War. All three of these children would join the Confederacy after they had turned twenty years old. It must be pointed out here that children were more than just beings that carried on the family name and even carried on the human race. Children back before the modern era were economically important to the family. This idea primarily holds true to the farms. Farmers especially had many children throughout their lives. These children would help out on the farm as soon as they were physically able to do so. The most important job for the children and the farmers was to harvest the crops. If the farmer did not have enough hands, i.e. enough children, then the harvest would not be able to be as plentiful or even get done. If there was no harvest or not a good and plentiful one then the farmer fell into debt and was not able to be economically successful. On the other side of this

²⁶ O'Dell, *Chesterfield County*, 132.

spectrum, if the farmer had enough hands and was able to make a profit from the harvest then the farmer and his family could be economically successful. To go even further, if the farmer was able to be economically successful then he would most likely be able to achieve upward mobility and move higher within the social structure. It was extremely detrimental that three of the nine children of the Vest family would enter the service of the Confederacy. It was so detrimental because the missing hands on the farm would create an economic burden on the Vest family.²⁷

The three children that would serve in the Confederate military were Robert Vest, Chastine Vest, and Tarleton Vest. All of these men would enter the Confederate Army and all would serve in the 9th Virginia infantry, company C. This unit would join the Army of Northern Virginia. Company C of the 9th Virginia would become known as the “Chesterfield Yellow Jackets” and would be organized on May 27, 1861 at Chesterfield County Court House. The first Vest that would join the 9th Virginia was Robert Vest. After the entire 9th Virginia was formed the unit was sent to Hampton Roads to protect the naval bases located there and also to protect the waterways that lead to Richmond, the capitol of the Confederate States of America.²⁸

As the 9th Virginia sat in Hampton Roads, almost an entire year passed by. It was 1862 and the second Vest family member would join the war. When the unit was reorganized on March 18, 1862 Chastine Vest was there for service. This second missing pair of hands from the Vest family farm undoubtedly put a burden on the rest of the family. Shortly after Chastine’s arrival to the unit, it witnessed the first combat action. They participated in the Battle of Seven Pines and the Seven Days’ Battles. Shortly after these actions the first Vest that entered the Confederate Army fell ill. On July 2, 1862 Robert Vest was sent to Chimborazo Medical

²⁷ Chesterfield Historical Society, “Vest & Fergusson Family Cemetery”; Benjamin Trask. *9th Virginia Infantry*, 2nd ed. (Lynchburg, Virginia: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1984), 96.

²⁸ Trask, *9th Virginia*, 96.; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, 1; *Ibid.*, 4.

Hospital in Richmond. Ten days later on July 12, 1862 Robert Vest died from what was simply called a fever.²⁹

This death within the family definitely sent shockwaves throughout the Vest household. The emotional loss of a loved one would have been tremendous. The economic impact of the death of Robert Vest would also have been tremendous. With his death went another pair of hands. Permanently being down a set of hands would have seriously crippled the output of the Vest farm. A decreased output by the Vest farm meant that it would be even harder to remain economically stable. The difficulty to remain economically stable would have compounded the issue of staying in their place in the social structure where the previous achievements in upward mobility placed them.

The year 1863 brought more hostilities to Americans. There was only one Vest family member still in the war, Chastine Vest. After his brother's death, he still remained with company C of the 9th Virginia. The 9th Virginia moved along with the Army of Northern Virginia all over the Eastern Theater following victory after victory. During this year the Army of Northern Virginia under the command of Robert E. Lee invaded the North for the second time in as many years. The Army of the Potomac under George Meade followed Lee and the two armies met at Gettysburg. The Battle of Gettysburg was extremely important in terms of military strategy and it was even more important to the Vest family of Chesterfield County. On July 3, 1863 the battle entered its third day. Chastine's unit was called upon to be part of the assault known now as Pickett's Charge. During this charge across the open fields in front of the Federal lines the Confederates were subject to artillery fire and rifle fire. Somewhere during the course of the assault Chastine was hit. Chastine Vest was wounded severely in the leg. This wound was so severe that Chastine missed two months with his regiment. This wound was significant

²⁹ Ibid., 96.; Ibid.; Ibid., 13; Ibid., 96.; Ibid.

because it threatened his ability to carry on his occupation should he survive the war. A disabled leg would severely dampen his ability to be an effective farmer.³⁰

Upon his return to the unit, Chastine would carry on with the rest of his fellow soldiers in the 9th Virginia. His return in late 1863 would usher in the emergence of another Vest into the Confederate ranks. In 1864 the younger brother of Chastine Vest would enter the war and join company C of the 9th Virginia. Tarleton Vest would join the war on July 7, 1864. This would be the third and final Vest from this line of the Vest family that would enter the Civil War. With three out of the five males gone from the Vest family household it would make it even more difficult to complete a good and bountiful harvest. It would have been hard for the family to maintain its economic situation even with one male missing, much less three males. It is unclear due to the lack of records and information as to just how hard it was during the war for the Vest family at home. It seems beyond a reasonable doubt that just as the Vest brothers struggled on the battlefields the Vest family members at home would struggle as well.³¹

The final year of the Civil War would be even worse for the Vest family and its neighbors of Chesterfield County. As the Army of the Potomac moved closer upon Richmond and Petersburg the Confederate Army under Robert E. Lee would fall into these cities and the lands of Chesterfield. The main damage coming to the county came from the Siege of Petersburg to the county's southeast. As both armies moved through farmlands were destroyed, livestock taken, merchandise stolen, and the infrastructure was damaged. It was here following the retreat of Lee from Petersburg that the two Vest brothers would see their Civil War combat come to an end. At the Battle of Five Forks the 9th Virginia was sacrificed to slow the Federal advance while the rest of Lee's army retreated to Sayler's Creek and eventually Appomattox. As

³⁰ Ibid., 23.; Ibid., 24.; Ibid., 25.; Chastine Vest Confederate Muster Roll, July 1863 – August 1863, Library of Virginia, r. 486.

³¹ Trask, *9th Virginia*, 96.

the Federals surrounded the 9th Virginia only a handful of men escaped and the two Vest brothers were not among them. Upon their capture at Five Forks the two men being so close to home after all these years of conflict were actually sent to a prisoner of war camp at Point Lookout, Maryland. Both of these men were released from Point Lookout on June 21, 1865 and both men returned home to Chesterfield County.³²

When the Vest brothers returned home they found their homes to be in the same condition as much of the state of Virginia. Virginia was the home to the majority of the battles fought in the Eastern Theater and the towns, cities, and lands showed it. According to Charles Mauro, “those civilians who returned to Fairfax County after the war were as depressed as the land they found waiting for them.”³³ The same could be said about the lands of Chesterfield County. Retreating and advancing armies depleted and destroyed the farmlands within Chesterfield. The soldiers within these armies even confiscated livestock for food and on some occasions they even confiscated families’ belongings. Confederates returning home had not only lost the war, but they had lost their loved ones and most of their personal property. This devastation applied to the Vest family; they had lost the war, they had lost a son, and were on the verge of losing their property.³⁴

Following the Civil War, the Vest family tried to settle their economic difficulties incurred due to the war and get back to life, however it would be totally different from the life before the Civil War. Upon returning home the two Vest brothers tried to move on with their lives. Tarleton got married in 1865 to Susan Ferguson and Chastine got married the following year in 1866 to Columbia Condrey. As for Joseph Vest he tried to maintain the family’s position in the social structure of the new Chesterfield County. It is obvious that the Civil War threatened

³² Ibid., 33.; Ibid., 38.; Ibid., 40.; Ibid.; Ibid., 96.

³³ Mauro, *The Civil War in Fairfax*, 125.

³⁴ Ibid.

the social and economic position of the Vest family because the two slaves were no longer around. This loss of what they considered as property threatened the economic and social position of the Vest family, and the same can be said for the rest of the slaveholders in Chesterfield and the South as a whole. Another clue to the economic burden of the Civil War shows itself in the next document in the life of Joseph Vest.³⁵

Years before this document from the Vest family emerged, Virginia was readmitted to the Union in 1870. This document came after Virginia's readmission to the Union in the year 1876 and it was another land deed; however this land deed was drastically different from the land deeds in the Vest family history before the Civil War. This land deed was actually a deed to Joseph's youngest son-in-law George Fergusson. In this document Joseph gives his house and its 100 acres to George Fergusson. He also gives George Fergusson all of the farm utensils, all of his hogs, and many other items. It is presented in later documents that Joseph Vest also gave land to Chastine Vest. The amount of land given to Chastine Vest is unknown, however, it was at least over 120 acres (this number will be explained later on in the study). It is also expressly written in the document that George Fergusson will pay all of the taxes on the property instead of Joseph Vest. This inability to pay the taxes on the property shows that the Civil War had put such an economic burden on the Vest family that Joseph Vest was unable to purchase new lands and eventually could not even pay the taxes on his own land. Joseph was only able to barely maintain the family's social position within Chesterfield County.³⁶

The next document from Joseph Vest was the last during his life. In 1877 Joseph Vest died. The document from 1877 is the court ordered estate appraisal of Joseph Vest. In the

³⁵ Chesterfield Historical Society, "Vest & Fergusson Family Cemetery".

³⁶ Foner, "*Give me liberty!*," 583.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Land Deed of 1876"; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1880"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1896".

document it labels different items of Joseph's personal property. Just like the previous estate appraisal of Henry Vest all of these items have been given values and added up. In 1877 at the time of his death Joseph Vest had the personal property value of \$222.25. With this being said it can be seen that Joseph Vest maintained the position of the Vest family in the middle class of the Chesterfield County society. With this stagnation in the middle class of Chesterfield society it can be said that the upward mobility achieved by Henry Vest stopped with Joseph Vest due to the economic burden of the Civil War.³⁷

Chastine Vest

The economic and social burden of the Civil War on the Vest family did not stop with the death of Joseph Vest. The continuance of the burden can be seen in the life of Joseph's son Chastine Vest. It is apparent that Joseph gave his son-in-law George Fergusson a little over 120 acres. It can be assumed that Joseph Vest gave these lands to his son-in-law George Fergusson for one major reason. The reason that Joseph gave land to George was that Joseph could not afford to pay the taxes on his land anymore. This reason would especially fall into line with what was stated in the 1876 land deed of Joseph Vest that was George was to pay the taxes on Joseph Vest's remaining lands.³⁸

After the death of his father Chastine Vest tries to continue where his grandfather Henry Vest left off. He tried to continue the goal of upward mobility for his family by purchasing land. In 1880 Chastine Vest purchased 120 acres from Winston and Mary Traylor. Chastine Vest paid \$300.00 for the land. This brought the known total acreage of land owned by Chastine Vest to be just over 120 acres. By conducting this purchase, Chastine Vest was trying to keep his family

³⁷ Chesterfield Historical Society, "Vest & Fergusson Family Cemetery"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Estate Appraisal of 1877"; Ibid.

³⁸ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Estate Appraisal of 1876".

within the middle class of Chesterfield County. The effects of the Civil War would seriously hamper his attempt for upward mobility due to the wound that he received during Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg.³⁹

It is evident that the severe leg wound that Chastine sustained at Gettysburg hampered his lifelong occupation of farming. A farmer even to this day is extremely dependent on his body. If a farmer cannot remain active and do the strenuous labor involved with farming then it is extremely hard to make a profit and a living off the land. This inability to perform his livelihood is evident in the actions of Chastine Vest in 1896, the same year as the historic Supreme Court case of Plessy vs. Ferguson, which greatly impacted Southern society for decades to come. In 1896 Chastine Vest had to sell off the land that he had just purchased in 1880. When he bought the 120 acres in 1880 he paid \$300.00 for it. When he sold the 120 acres in 1896 he received only \$275.00 for it. The selling of land brought Chastine's total amount of acreage down to just a few acres. This was just barely enough land for Chastine to live his life.⁴⁰

If there was any more proof needed to show just how much of an economic and social burden the Civil War had become to the Vest family, it came in 1908. In 1902 the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act that stated that Virginia veterans of the Confederate Army could apply for pension. When veterans applied they had numerous pages to the application that they had to fill out which stated why they needed help from the government and other various types of information. On May 23, 1908, Chastine Vest applied for pension under the Act of 1902. On this document he was asked what his occupation was and how long had he had been in that line of work. His answer was of course farming and that he had been farming all of his life.

³⁹ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1880"; Ibid.

⁴⁰ Eric Foner, *Give me liberty!: an American history*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 2:652.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1896"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1880"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1896".

Another question on the application was how much income he had coming in from his occupation. Chastine's answer was that he was only making enough money to live. Later on in the application a physician had to label what caused the disability and if the disability was severe enough to impair the normal occupation of the applying veteran. In Chastine's case, the doctor stated that his inability to carry on his occupation was due to his injury he sustained at the Battle of Gettysburg and that Chastine was severely impaired due to his disability. Under the Act of 1902 Chastine Vest was awarded \$36.00 annually for income.⁴¹

By 1908 Chastine Vest was only living on a few acres and was receiving only \$36.00 from the government annually. According to the social structure of Chesterfield County, Chastine and the Vest family had fallen down into the lower class of society. It must be stressed here that the lower class of society in Chesterfield at the end of the 19th century was different from the lower class of society in the 1820s and the 1850s. With the end of the Civil War came the end to the institution of slavery. When slavery ended the "mud-sill" class that was reserved for the slaves merged with the lower class that was for the lowest whites before the war. When the Vest family fell from the middle class by the end of the 19th century it had fallen into the new "mud-sill" class that had emerged due to the Civil War.⁴²

Conclusions

The Vest family had come full circle by the end of the 19th century. In the beginning in the year 1793 Henry Vest was starting to achieve the ever-present goal of upward mobility. He had begun to move the Vest family up the social ladder in Chesterfield County society. He was moving the family further away from the "mud-sill" class that every southerner feared of being

⁴¹ Chastine Vest Confederate Pension Record, May 23, 1908, Library of Virginia, r. 85, f.623.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

in. Henry's ability to gain economic power by purchasing land and making money off his new land dually helped the family's position in Chesterfield society and the amount of wealth the family was accumulating. By the time of his death in 1821 Henry Vest had accumulated a known total of 112 acres and his personal property was valued at \$189.55. Joseph Vest picked up where his father left off at the time of his death. Joseph Vest first received to slaves to cover a debt. This acquisition alone secured the position of the Vest family in the middle class of Chesterfield society.

By the time that the Civil War broke out Joseph Vest had a known total of 71 acres. With these two factors going for Joseph Vest the social and economic position of the Vest family was firmly secured. Even though the main line of the Vest family attained a secure social and economic position within Chesterfield it did not attain the same position that the other line of the Vest family under Philip Vest had achieved. With this being said it must be reiterated that the main line of the Vest family had a solid social and economic position within Chesterfield County.⁴³

Following the Civil War the Vest family was left reeling. The loss of farm workers during the war while they were off fighting put an economic strain on the Vest family farm. The actual loss of a son due to the war put a permanent economic strain on the Vest family due to this loss of a farm worker. The injury sustained by Chastine Vest at the Battle of Gettysburg severely hampered his ability to be a prosperous farmer. The economic burden of the Civil War was shown in the fact that Joseph Vest was not able to purchase any more land following the Civil War. It became even clearer when he gave his house and a parcel of the land to his son-in-law and Joseph required that his son-in-law pay the taxes on the property for as long as Joseph

⁴³ Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Henry Vest Estate Appraisal of 1821"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Transfer of Property of 1850".

continued to live. Chastine Vest tried to stop the economic strain that had been place upon his family due to the Civil War. Chastine immediately purchased land after his father's death, only to sell the land a few years later. This inability to keep the land and to become a prosperous farmer can be directly linked to the Civil War. The injury that Chastine sustained during the Civil War prevented him from excelling at his livelihood and keep the Vest family in a solid social and economic position within the middle class. The Vest family actually fell to the lower class due to the injury sustained by Chastine during his time in the Confederate Army.⁴⁴

The social and economic impact of the Civil War on the Vest family of Chesterfield County was enormous and it was negative. Before the War the Vest family was achieving upward mobility. It was moving up the Antebellum Chesterfield County social ladder. The Vests had grown economically so that they were able to support its position in the middle class of the social structure. However the Civil War changed all of these positive movements. Following the War the Vest family only regressed further and further down. The economic strain generated by the War reduced its ability to purchase more land to secure its social position in the middle class. Without this economic foundation the Vest family slowly slid back down the social ladder. By the end of the 1800s, just a century from the first upward movement of the Vest family with Henry Vest, it had fallen back into the lowest social class of Chesterfield and was economically unstable. The Civil War produced a negative impact on the Vest family so large that it was unable to reverse it even forty years after the end of hostilities. This became apparent when Chastine Vest had to sell a majority of his lands and live off of government funding.

⁴⁴ Trask, *9th Virginia*, 96.; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Joseph Vest Land Deed of 1876"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1880"; Chesterfield Circuit Court Clerk, "Chastine Vest Land Deed of 1896;" Chastine Vest Confederate Pension Record, May 23, 1908, Library of Virginia, r. 85, f.623.

This study is important and significant to the research that has been done on the American South. The study of the Vest family can be viewed and used as a microcosm for further studies. By focusing on a particular family within the South, the social and economic impact can be seen on a micro-level. Studies in the past have focused on key leaders, communities, states, the country itself, and society as a whole. These older studies do not have the ability give scholars of history direct examples or rather specific examples of just how great the impact of the Civil War was on Southern families. This study allows scholars and readers alike to see clearly the impact of the War on the Southern families. The example of the Vest family illustrates a clear picture and affirms theories as to the severity of the impact of the American Civil War on individual Southern families.

Figure 1:

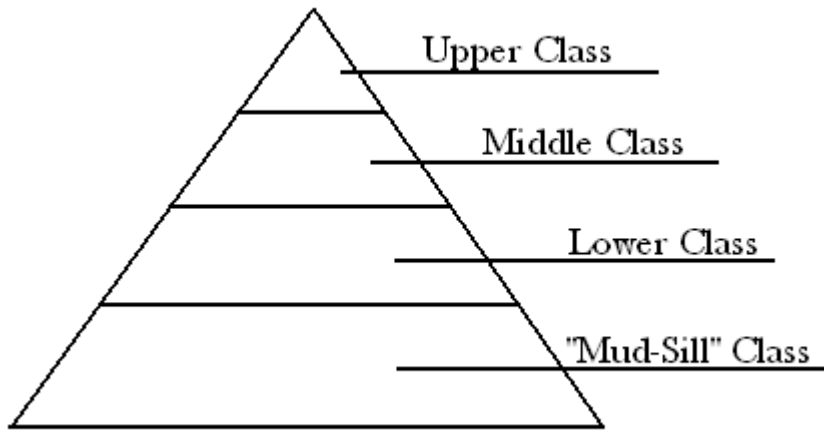


Figure 2:

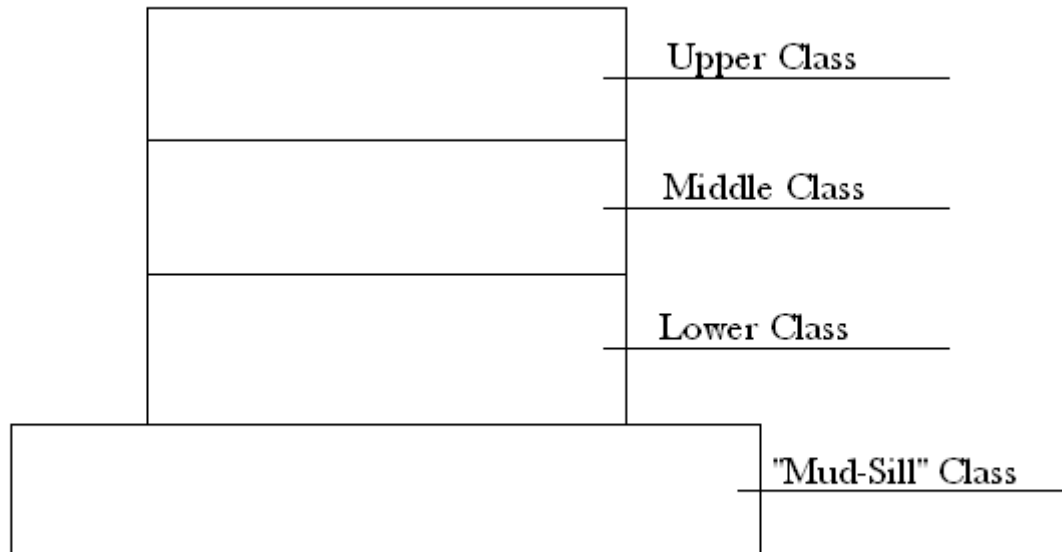
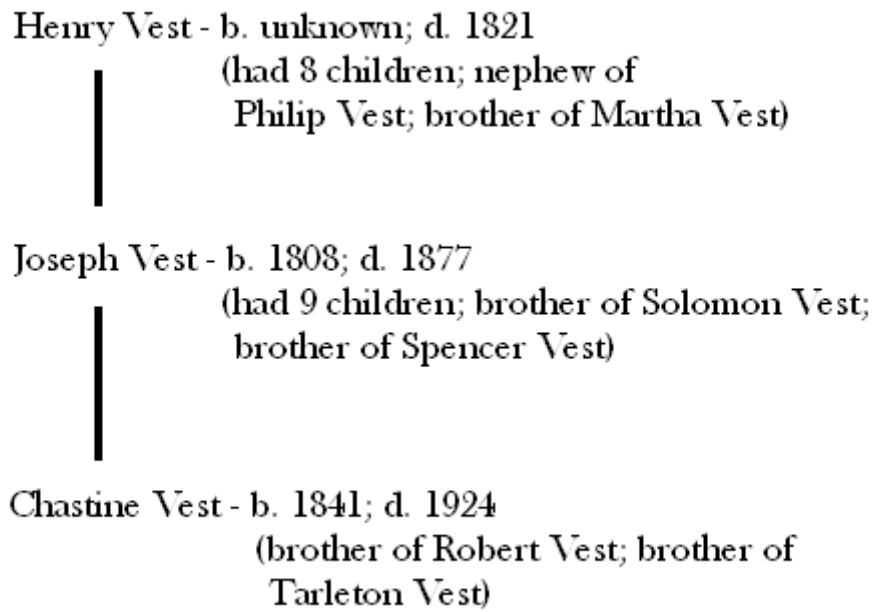


Figure 3:



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