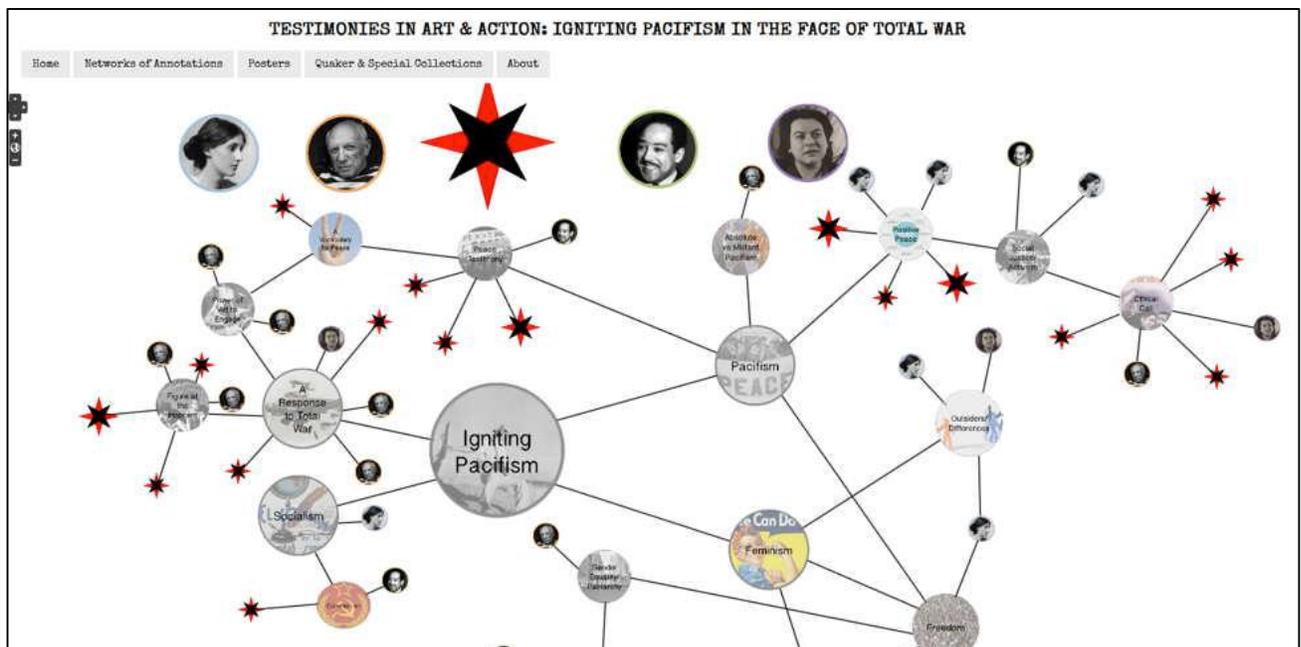


RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Changing the Subject: Archives, Technology, and Radical Counter-Narratives of Peace

By J. Ashley Foster, Sarah M. Horowitz, and Laurie Allen



MARCELO JUAREGUI-VOLPE'S PROJECT WAS TO CREATE THIS MIND-MAP ON OMEKA AND ADD THE QUAKER CONNECTIONS

What, in any case, is a socialist feminist criticism? The answer is a simple one. It wants to change the subject. The critic is committed to social change in her workplace, the university, as well as to political activism in the world.

— Jane Marcus, *Art and Anger: Reading Like a Woman*

Thinking peace in a time of war with undergraduates is a radical endeavor. It asks young writers to question their fundamental assumptions about human nature, the construction of society, and the way in which we (as global citizens) conduct our politics in world affairs today. As Paul Saint-Amour has shown in *Tense Future*, we are trapped in a “perpetual interwar,” where Saint-Amour uses “*inter + war* to denote not only ‘between wars’ but also ‘in the midst of war’” (306). He shows that the totalizing discourse of war has infiltrated every part of the social order, including notions of past and future: there is nothing *outside* of the war.¹ Susan Sontag, in *Regarding the Pain of Others*, asks incredulously, “Who believes today that war can be abolished?” She then answers with the declaration: “No one, not even pacifists” (5). Students often chime in with assent and agreement to this notion; the idea of peace, while lovely, is not practical. Seriously considering peace unsettles them. As pacifists have often reminded us, establishing a true, sustainable peace necessitates a radical and progressive restructuring of society, where the imagined peace requires being built upon a social intersectionality of feminism, socialism, human rights, social justice, racial equality, and an even distribution of power throughout the globe. Radical pacifist beliefs are often accompanied by anti-racist, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist beliefs, and argue for racial, gender, economic, and social equality. This world model demands a radical restructuring of our current lives and practices, and, the militant metanarrative of history tells us, is impossible. The difference between what should be and what is, is so great, such a rupture from the present, that it is potentially alienating to students.

As countless authors have shown, the story of a dominant “Western” history is one of battles won and lost, the lives of great men, and the inevitability, if not grandeur, of war. However, archives of the modernist era provide a counter-narrative of movements and people who worked rigorously for peace and equality during times of war, who argue that war is a *choice*, not a necessity of existence. It was a time of avid mobilization, but it also marked a flourishing pacifist global momentum, with the peace movement in Britain hitting its apex in the 1930s, women’s movements against fascism and war organizing internationally, the Harlem Renaissance fighting racism in the United States, and the Indian National Congress non-violently protesting British Imperialism. The international organization for peace is a counter-narrative that has been consistently, and the feminist critic suspects systematically, written out of the dominant story of Western history, and can be reconstructed and retraced through the recovery of what J. Ashley Foster calls here the “peace archive.”²

Including students in this mission, introducing them to radical archives of what has elsewhere been called “pacifisms past,”³ radicalizes the classroom and allows undergraduates to become critical contributors to constructing counter-narratives of peace.

This article argues that performing the recovery of pacifist art and actions through archival research of the modernist era encourages students to engage in radical ethical inquiry. This article is based on four sections of the Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art freshman Writing Seminar, designed and taught by Visiting Assistant Professor of Writing and Fellow in the Writing Program J. Ashley Foster at Haverford College, and walks the reader through the construction of a student digital humanities and special collections exhibition, *Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War*. This exhibition ran from October 6 to December 11, 2015 in Haverford College’s Magill Library and involved extensive collaboration between Haverford’s library staff and students. In synergistic cooperation with Foster, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts & Head of Quaker and Special Collections Sarah Horowitz, and then Coordinator for Digital Scholarship and Services Laurie Allen (who has since moved to Penn Libraries) worked to help shape the course assignments and ensuing exhibition. The exhibition placed archival materials in conversation with the major modernist pacifist documentary projects of Langston Hughes’ Spanish Civil War poetry and dispatches, Muriel Rukeyser’s “Mediterranean,” Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*, and Virginia Woolf’s *Three Guineas*. This undertaking was driven by the questions, “How does one respond ethically to total war?” and “How can archival and special collections research do the works of peace?” Built around the work of these classes and materials from Haverford’s Quaker & Special Collections, *Testimonies in Art & Action* allowed students to deeply interrogate a variety of pacifisms and become producers of a critical discourse that challenges the status quo position that violence is perpetually necessary and the most important aspect of world history.

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Palimpsest Texts

Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War grew out of J. Ashley Foster’s Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art Writing Seminar, taught at Haverford College, Spring and Fall 2015.⁴ This freshman class, which fulfilled the writing seminar requirement, was structured around five main, what Foster calls, modernist pacifist documentary projects⁵: Langston Hughes’ Spanish Civil War poems and dispatches, Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*, Muriel Rukeyser’s “Mediterranean,” Virginia Woolf’s *Three Guineas*,

and the Quaker relief effort for the Spanish Civil War. These projects document the pacifist artistic responses to total war and the history and experiences of the author, creator, or those on the ground in Spain during the Civil War of 1936-1939. As the collaboratively-written and edited catalogue describes, all of the main works contain:

...many layers of composition and compilation. For example, [Woolf's] *Three Guineas*, which Jane Marcus has called a "part of a major documentary project" [(xlv)] and an "interactive" [(xlv)] text, was compiled based upon three reading notebooks that included letters, newspaper articles, and typed-out excerpts. Muriel Rukeyser's poem "Mediterranean" is part of a much larger series of writings on Spain, which includes the novel *Savage Coast*, news articles, and prosaic-philosophical meditations. Pablo Picasso's great mural *Guernica* has been documented by his partner, the surrealist photographer Dora Maar, allowing us to study various stages of creation. Langston Hughes' Spanish Civil War dispatches are in conversation with his poetry, creating an intricate dialogue of his time in Spain, encounter with total war, and anti-fascist beliefs.

The Quaker relief effort can also be followed through reports, letters, photographs, fundraising pamphlets, and meeting minutes, many of which adopt modernist concerns and aesthetic techniques to conduct their mission.

The nature of the course material itself, then, focused on the activists who responded to the Spanish Civil War, is radical. All of the course texts offer a divergent and multifaceted view of pacifisms that intersect with other major social causes. Woolf's blend of socialism and feminism converges into a radical pacifism that seeks to reform education, equalize society, and eradicate war in *Three Guineas*. Picasso's anti-fascism, communism, anarchist traces, and pacifism blend into a fearful protest of total war in Spain. Hughes points out that peace must be based on racial equality and shows how his anti-racism, anti-fascism, and communism intersect to imagine a world with social equality. Rukeyser's militant pacifism, and support of a violent fight against fascism, unites with her socialist sympathies to render an ambivalent call for revolution that is juxtaposed with her longing for peace. The Quaker relief in Spain witnessed a peace testimony that adopted a social justice dimension.⁶ All of these modernist pacifist

documentary configurations imagine a peace that necessitates massive social reform and are therefore radical.

The fact that this radicalism can be traced and studied through layers of composition and compilation makes these materials vital in the writing classroom. The existence of contextual historical archives for these projects provides students with the opportunity to trace the creation of the works, emphasizing the importance of rethinking, revision, and the evolution of ideas. For example, students used the digital archive of Virginia Woolf's reading notebooks for *Three Guineas* to better understand the way in which Woolf was responding to a militant, patriarchal cultural climate. Laurie Allen and Foster created a series of digital humanities projects that would reflect this palimpsest, intertextual, and hypertextual way of reading. Foster named them "digital annotations." Drawing upon the digital archives of Picasso's stages of *Guernica* and Woolf's reading notebooks for *Three Guineas*, students were asked to study these online resources next to the final versions and construct arguments based on how these archives illuminate elements of the final works. What do you learn from studying these archives next to the "finished" compositions, the students were asked? How can you trace the pacifism, feminism, communism, anti-fascism, and other forms of

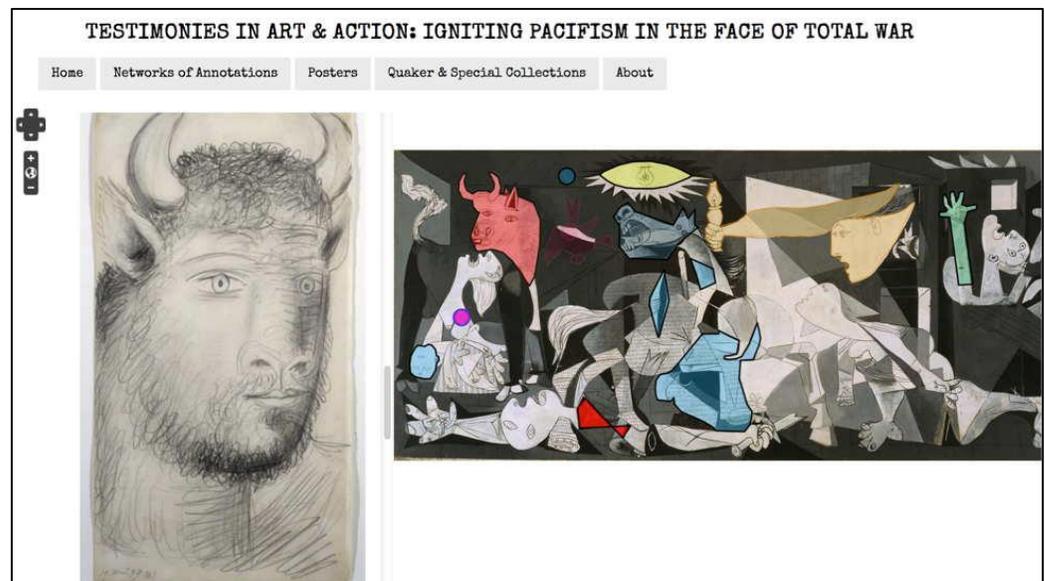


FIGURE 1: MADISON ARNOLD-SCERBO USES STAGES OF THE BULL TO ESTABLISH HER READING OF GUERNICA.

political intersectionality throughout the stages of the text?

Using Omeka's Neatline, students digitally "annotated" and embedded the sources and stages of creation in the "final" versions of the texts and paintings themselves. This collage-like visual juxtaposition of the layers of creation alongside the finished product added variegated elements to the analysis of the text. Through these annotations, the students learned about researching, archival exploration, close reading, and analysis. The hands-on work of excavating and exploring the texts in their historical context

and stages of creation allowed students to see the relationships among activism and writing, ethics and cultural production, by showing students how these artistic and civic works interacted within their current cultural moment. It also facilitated the creation of a visual argument that made apparent the palimpsest nature of the main texts.

Superimposing the stages of *Guernica* over the final painting allowed students to trace the politics in and pacifist genesis of Picasso's great mural. Responding to the brutal bombing of Basque civilians in the

Hannah Krapes, examining the studies of the dead child

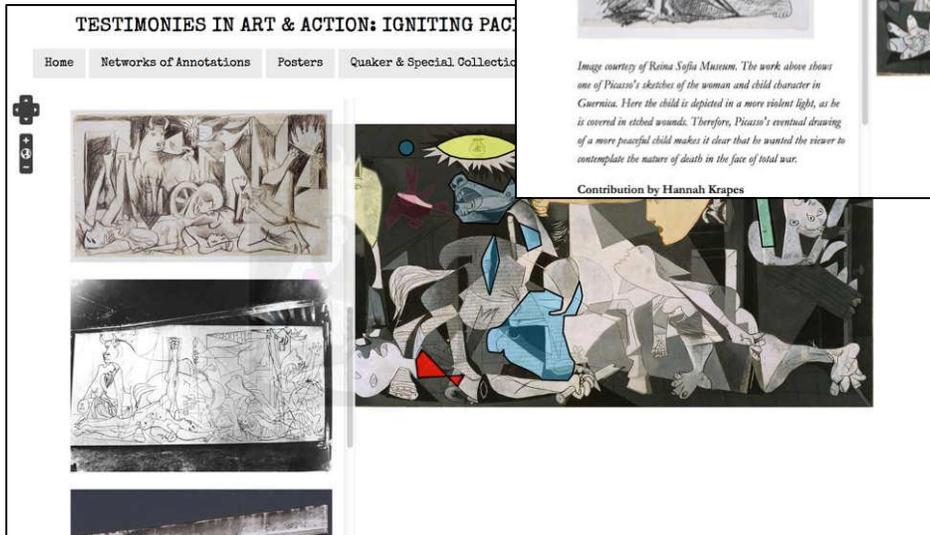


FIGURE 2: JOSHUA HILSCHER EXPLORES THE PRESENCE OF THE LIGHT BULB THROUGH THE STAGES OF GUERNICA.

town of Guernica by fascist forces during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the painting represents the convergence of Picasso's communism, anti-fascism, and pacifism. Madison Arnold-Scerbo⁷ traced the evolution of the bull through Picasso's studies, showing that the bull became progressively more "menacing," maintaining that "the contrast between the seemingly healthy bull and the death and devastation of the other figures clearly indicates a sympathetic feeling toward the victims and animosity towards the Nationalists." [see figure 1]

Another student, Joshua Hilscher, shows that the lightbulb in *Guernica* carries with it a critique of technology [see figure 2]. Arguing that although the light bulb was added to the mural late in the stages of creation, "the space was always reserved for politically-charged symbolism, first as a clenched fist, signifying a leftist salute, followed by a hand grasping a carrot, signifying a primitivist association of idyllic agriculture and simplicity." However, the light bulb has "an intrusive character, [. . .] One may imagine the waning lamentations of the dying peasantry, believing that technology only intruded their timeless lifestyle to inflict trauma."



held by the wailing mother, illustrates that reading Picasso's studies next to the painting reinforces the pacifism inherent in the mural. She writes, "Here the child is depicted in a more violent light, as he is covered in etched wounds. Therefore, Picasso's eventual drawing of a more peaceful child makes it clear that he wanted the viewer to contemplate the nature of death in the face of total war."

[see figure 3] This analysis is conducted within the context of a larger argument that responds to a class prompt that subverts Picasso's claim that "painting is not done to decorate apartments. It is an instrument of war."⁸ The class prompt instead asked: "How is Picasso's *Guernica* an 'instrument' of peace?" Ultimately, Krapes argues, "Picasso's depiction of a dead child as a response to inhumane violence can be considered an 'instrument for peace', as it renounces the validity of blindly dropping bombs." From these examples, it becomes clear that students used the stages of *Guernica* to further understand the painting's relationship to, and intersectionality of, anti-fascism, communism and anarchism, and pacifism.

Excavating the layers of *Three Guineas* (1938) through identifying parallels between the text and the reading notebooks⁹ Woolf kept before and during the writing of the text allows students to illuminate the ways in which Woolf used *Three Guineas* to combat patriarchy and the war-making system. These notebooks contain typed out excerpts of meaningful quotes and passages, letters, newspaper clippings, ephemera from the 1930s, and other items. A rich engagement of the intersectionality among Woolf's feminism, socialism, and pacifism—a trifold

FIGURE 3: HANNAH KRAPES PROVIDES A PACIFIST UNDERSTANDING OF GUERNICA THROUGH EXAMINING THE STUDIES.

relationship that Jane Marcus points out in the introduction of the classes' addition of the text—unfolds in the students' annotations. Hanae Togami uses a quote from a newspaper clipping about the necessity of the armed forces in cultivating "manly qualities," to "deconstruct" the notion of the biological necessity of war. She writes, "Woolf deconstructs this concept contending that violent tendencies are not biological but stem from an education system that supports hostile competition; because women are not educated in formal settings, they cannot understand such tendencies (TG 2006 40)." Here, Togami gestures towards the way in which Woolf's feminism and her call for education reform converge. Praxedes Quintana uses the scrapbooks to expose Woolf's historical materialism and deep engagement with women's financial independence, noting the inclusion of "Philip Mairet's words about women's supposed 'love economic dependence' on a male. Through the assumption that women enjoy the societally infantilized image of themselves, men are justified in their goals of keeping women under their thumbs financially." Quintana exposes the specious argument that women want to rely monetarily on men, and works through how this argument is part of a Freudian "infantile fixation." Emily Kingsley shows how Woolf's feminism converges with her pacifism by building an argument that illuminates how men are "trapped" "within a fortress of their own creation." She then goes on to argue that, "Woolf empowers women to advance the anti-war cause by means of their outsider status—that 'freedom from unreal loyalties' which sets them apart from men (Three 1938 146)." Students, through this engagement of archival, textual, and artistic material, become able to trace the interaction between politics and aesthetics, and explore the intersectionality of socialism, feminism, anti-fascism, communism, and pacifism.

Building a Peace Archive and Exhibition

On a parallel and complementary tract to the work with digital archives, the students also worked with original primary sources. The interface between the hands-on archival work the students undertook and the digital humanities project lead to the launching of *Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War*. Quaker & Special Collections houses peace pamphlets, ephemera, letters, journals, and memos from the Aid Spain campaign, to which both the British and American Quakers were significant contributors. When planning for the class, Sarah Horowitz and Foster discussed the materials available and their relationship to themes of the class; they wanted students to have hands-on experience with original primary sources in addition to their engagement with the digitized archival material discussed above. Horowitz planned a class in Quaker & Special Collections in which students were introduced to using archival materials and were asked to think holistically about them: not just what could be gleaned from the text, but from their material nature; not only their place in the archive but also how they interacted with the literature students had been reading. Students selected an item to further explore.

Early in the Spring semester of 2015, Foster met with the Librarian of the College, Terry Snyder, and asked if she could display the student digital humanities projects for a day. Inspired by City College's digital art pop-up exhibition *Bring Your Own Beamer*,¹⁰ Foster wanted to project student work on the walls. Snyder suggested turning the display into a standing exhibition where the students could also curate and exhibit the College's pertinent archival material expanding the scope of Foster's vision immensely, and *Testimonies in Art & Action* was born. It became a multi-modal exhibition based on the guiding class questions, *what is an ethical response to total war? And, how can archives do the works of peace?*¹¹ Student digital humanities projects were cast onto the walls with huge projections alongside archival materials such as peace posters from the 1930s, ephemera, and reproductions of materials from other archives. Seven-foot vinyl decals from *Guernica* completed the effect.

The two Spring sections of the Peace Testimonies Writing Seminar worked diligently alongside Horowitz and Quaker & Special Collections staff to uncover intriguing materials. Each student, 24 in total, was responsible for choosing one item for the exhibition and writing an exhibit label which would be displayed with the item. While the label had a practical function in the exhibit production, it also gave students the opportunity to write for a public audience and required them to practice the difficult skill of writing concisely. Once each contributor had written their label, teams of student volunteers fact-checked, edited, and collaborated on the creation of the final texts for the exhibit.

Working with these materials allowed students to engage the practices of archival recovery, and illuminated how the archives contain lost stories, waiting to be uncovered and retold. Students chose a variety of items and worked across media and genres. Large 1930s peace posters were framed and hung alongside the digital projections and vinyl decals. Fundraising pamphlets, journals, letters, memos, and reports were identified, studied, and exhibited in three cases that stand in the gallery space. Students from the Fall 2015 semester, 23 in total, joined the Spring semester's work in September, and were likewise asked to choose an item to display. On December 2, Horowitz re-organized the gallery cases and, in a pop-up format, hung new posters to allow the second semester's work to be featured and included in the conversation.

This work empowered students to not only continue their interrogation of varieties of pacifism, but also to create connections among art, literature, and the activism of the Quakers. Many of the students used the Peace Studies term "positive peace" (introduced and formulated in Jean Mill's writings on Virginia Woolf) to conceive of an activist pacifism that sought to construct a world that can sustain peace. Yutong Li, writing a label for an undated poster that says "Demand New World Conference," brings together the notions of activist pacifism, Quaker relief efforts, positive peace, and the literary conversations of the 1930s. She notes that, "this poster, calling for a coordinated international effort in peace-building in place of force to deter war, sheds light on early explorations of what peace

studies now call 'positive peace.'" Connecting the discourse to Woolf and the Quakers, Li argues that, "In accordance with the Quaker effort to foster conditions for peace, contemporaneous pacifist writers such as Virginia Woolf wrote about the role of socio-economic injustices (specifically financial and gender inequality) in the perpetuation of war . . . transforming pacifist activism from passive resistance of unethical wars to active promotion of peace." Li situates the modernist pacifist effort within a larger history of pacifism, and locates an important trend of the convergence of social justice and activist pacifism while drawing parallels between the activism and art of the interwar era.

Writing about another poster called "Conscription," Sydney Dorman interrogates larger ethical questions through the praxis of close reading. Maintaining that "the poster exposes war's terrible nature with violent language," Dorman avers "the causalities of total war beg the question, 'How do we end war?'" Taking on this ethical mantle, Dorman offers one possible perspective, "For the Quaker community, the answer could be found within the creation of peaceful condition, complete reconciliation, and abstinence from fighting—thus conquering total war with total peace." The hands-on engagement with archival materials, and the process of composing her label, facilitated Dorman's construction of a counter-narrative, one that challenges "total war" with "total peace." [see figure 4]

Engaging with primary documents also facilitated bringing students into ongoing discussions within academic fields. The debate surrounding the authenticity of Robert Capa's famous photograph, "Spanish Civil War, near Cerro Muriano, Córdoba front," most often referred to as "Falling Soldier," has raised important questions concerning the relationship between photography and truth. Christin Bowen maintains, however, that "Allegations that this photograph was staged...do not take away from its pacifist message... 'Falling Soldier' evokes an ethical call for peace by creating a sense of intimacy between the observer and subject during a dying man's last moments." The important lesson of this image is the way "the world was able to bear witness to the brutality of the war and feel affected by a far away conflict."

Estampas de la Revolución Española, 19 julio de 1936, which features a collection of watercolors turned into stamps printed to raise money for the anti-fascist cause, allowed students to additionally explore the way in which representing war can glorify it. Sharim Jones points out that the picture *Guerrillera* "engenders positive feelings toward the cause of the Spanish people in fighting against the Fascist insurgents in Spain; it emphasizes the vivacious humanity of the Spaniards through endearing narratives and colorful imagery. Paradoxically, this painting screams for freedom in tones of war," thus drawing attention to the iterative cycles between art and war.

Working on this exhibition, students came together to recover pacifist histories and construct counter-narratives of peace. Some contributors accomplished this by wading into ongoing debates in the disciplines, some found significant

intersections among the authors, artists, and activists in our exhibition, some developed their own critical conversation and research questions that they pursued for the duration of

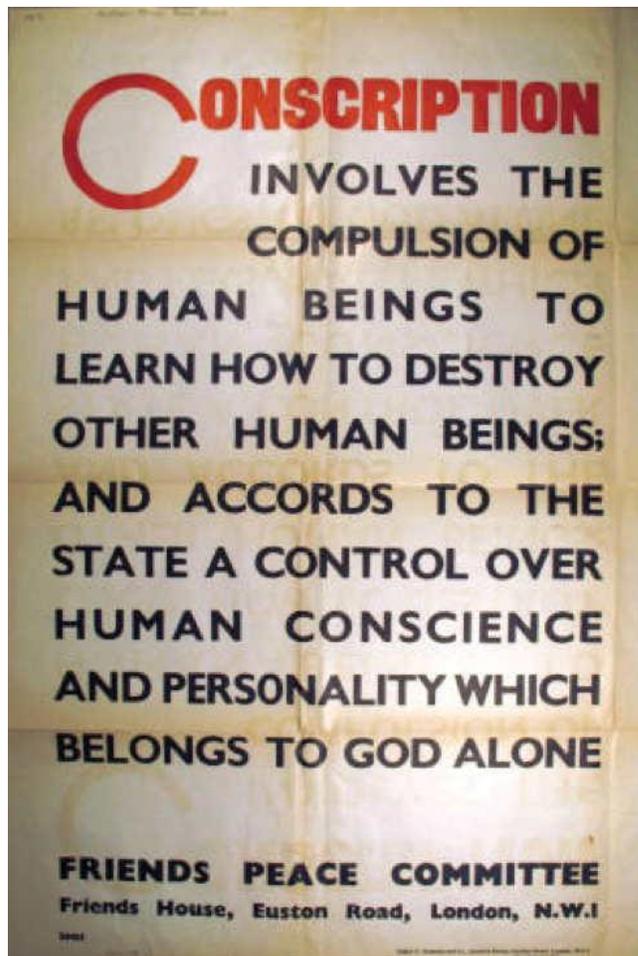


FIGURE 4: SYDNEY DORMAN OFFERS AN ANALYSIS OF THIS POSTER, "CHALLENG[ING] 'TOTAL WAR' WITH 'TOTAL PEACE'"

the semester, and some asked overarching, and admittedly overwhelming, ethical questions. The juxtaposition of student digital-humanities projects alongside student-curated special collections materials allowed students to engage with a multitude of sources, conduct archival research, and work hands-on with primary documents. Despite all the exhilarating moments, and despite the astounding quality and consistency of the work, there were some challenges. We would like to take a moment to mention some of the challenges we encountered, and would also like to imagine ways in which interwar and pacifist archival recovery can be conducted in institutions that lack the resources available at Haverford College.

Challenges and Translatability

As one might imagine, the biggest challenge involved in launching the exhibition as part of the course was time. Not only was the organization, creation, and execution of

materials a consuming (though joyful and exhilarating) endeavor, but balancing these tasks within a course syllabus required a great deal of pedagogical acrobatics. The creation of the exhibition materials served important learning goals; however, students still needed to produce three formal papers of various lengths and practice thesis writing and structural skills for longer, sustained arguments. The digital projects and exhibition labels amounted to a fourth “paper” when put together. Haverford’s tutorial practice, where students share papers, engage in peer-review, and meet in small groups with the professor to critique each other’s work, also added an additional consideration for the timeline of assignments. Because students meet with the professor at intervals over the course of a week, and then need time for revision, this necessitated that while formal papers were “under review,” students were writing and producing annotations and other materials. Though this kind of multi-tasking and juggling multiple projects is an essential skill to develop for most workplaces, a small group of students felt their energies were too divided between projects and would have preferred to work on one thing at a time.

Additionally, it was harder to integrate the Fall semester’s sections into the series of events than we had imagined. The Spring semester sections were part of the process from the beginning and were essential in creating the vision of the exhibition. This group of students, having had a real stake in the building of the terms of the exhibition, reflected great pride and investment in it. Their work was the most predominantly featured, and they collaboratively co-authored the initial curatorial statement and labels. While most of the Fall classes, all first-semester freshman, connected with the importance of the discourse and the kind of contribution they were making to the community, a few did not emotionally relate to their part in the process. All students contributed, and contributed well—we were very proud of all of them and their work, but a small handful from the Fall class failed to see how the exhibition, the digital projects, and the surrounding events benefitted them or their immediate community. Having joined in the middle of the process, all of them did not have the same level of ownership and realization of the vision the Spring semester’s sections did. It was potentially overwhelming for first-semester freshman to walk into an undertaking of this scale without witnessing the full evolution and unfolding of the construction. These considerations stated, the net benefit of the exhibition was enormous, and all the students, even if they could not recognize how special their own work was, made a great contribution to the discourses of modernist, peace, and Quaker studies. As the next section will address, the exhibition allowed students to become critical participants in discussions of war and peace, writing and activism, and art and ethics. Using the archives radicalized the students to find their own scholarly voices and create intersections among social justice movements.

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intersections among social justice movements.

Haverford College, a small, private liberal arts institution, has enormous resources and networks of support for faculty and students. This undertaking would not have been possible without encouragement from the library, funding from the library and other sections of the College, and the expertise of the special collections and digital scholarship teams. How might faculty at institutions that do not have such resources, or which do not have rich holdings of original primary sources, incorporate archives and special collections materials in their own classrooms? There are many special collections of materials available online, some of them radical activist “peace archives.” In the previous sections of this article, we described how students used the online repositories of the Monk’s House Papers (Virginia Woolf’s Reading Notebooks for *Three Guineas*) and the stages of *Guernica* housed by the Reina Sofia. The TriCollege Libraries, a consortium of Haverford, Bryn Mawr, and Swarthmore Colleges, has likewise digitized many of its Quaker and peace-related holdings. For the radical teacher, significantly, the Warwick Digital Collections has opened a vast amount of resources to international scholars and students that are radical in nature. The King Center has publicized Martin Luther King, Jr.’s papers in a dynamic and interactive way, where users can scroll over a collage of his papers, gain information, and then click on a specific piece for the full item.

While the digital humanities components of this class and exhibition benefitted from the expertise of Allen and the library infrastructure, Omeka is a freely available software, and social media sites, such as Tumblr and Pinterest, can be used to similar effect.¹² Radical teachers should also not discount their local archives, historical societies, and other holders of primary source materials. Because finding aids are often written in the context of the dominant historical discourse, peace archives may not be easily discoverable. Collaborating with an archivist or librarian may uncover a treasure-trove of materials in unexpected places; even colleges that collect only their own history may have materials related to student reactions to the Vietnam War, for instance. Teachers can also encourage students to read against the grain and in between the lines of materials that might not seem radical on the surface. In short, the radical teacher can find many potential sites of connection for students to utilize archives, allowing students to develop political and cultural contexts around studying art, literature, and activism.

Changing the Subject

The creation of *Testimonies in Art & Action* turned students into contributors and authors of a critical discourse concerning war and peace. The organization, series of events, and construction of materials surrounding this exhibition allowed students to collaborate alongside Foster, the library staff, with each other, and distinguished scholars in the fields of modernist, peace, and Quaker studies. The

opening of *Testimonies in Art & Action* was preceded by a panel presentation entitled “*Three Guineas, Pacifist Activism, and the Event of Total War,*” featuring distinguished scholars Jessica Berman, Farah Mendlesohn, Jean Mills, and Paul Saint-Amour. These four scholars also conducted class visits and spent time with students outside of class, and offered students the opportunity to be exposed to and in direct conversation with significant contributors to fields that think through war and peace, ethics, and responses to total war. In addition, at the events surrounding the exhibition over two semesters, students conversed with members of the community at laptop stations, giving them the opportunity to articulate what they had completed, to explain to those outside the class the significance of their projects, and to engage in direct academic conversation.

In the brainstorming for the exhibition, students came up with the idea of creating a “mind-map” that showed how the authors, artists, and activists we studied were linked through ideological intersectionality. Locating the major themes of the class and the texts, students then connected these themes—which included concepts such as “socialism,” “communism,” “feminism,” “racial equality,” “ethical call,” and so on—to the students’ annotations, not only connecting the authors and artists to each other, but situating their own work within the middle of this discussion. Four students then collaborated to construct the actual map: Mairéad Ferry, Marcelo Juaregui-Volpe, Sophie McGlynn, and Jiaming (Rosalind) Xu. This map became Juaregui-Volpe’s main project as a summer worker—he took the original file and converted it to Neatline, adding the connection of the different idea bubbles to the student labels written on the Quaker relief work and special collections material, thus further identifying connections among the 1930s activists and the students’ scholarship. [see figure 5]

Five other students volunteered to help shape the vision for and worked on launching *Testimonies in Art & Action* over the summer. Christina Bowen, Adetomiwa Famodu, Ann-Victoria Isaac, Sophie McGlynn, and Ian Wheeler all brought creative vision to our undertaking and were essential contributors. Each found their niche in working with the materials; Famodu and Isaac helped generate the initial curatorial statement and materials; Wheeler took responsibility for editing, combining, and collating the labels; Bowen became very invested in the layout and design of the walls to the extent that she did the initial layout and learned to use an architecture program to map the materials; McGlynn compiled proposals, conceptually mapped the annotations to create videos for the large

projections, and added copy. As news headlines about the Syrian refugee crisis announced that we were witnessing the biggest refugee crisis since World War II, the students demanded that we bring the exhibition into the present day. They made the argument that we were ethically obliged to include current materials concerning total war, and Bowen undertook a compilation of news articles that documented current humanitarian crises occurring throughout the globe. We used these news articles to tie the exhibition to our current cultural moment by placing QR codes and labels that drew a parallel between the 1930s and the present on each wall and a map of current global crises on the last wall.

Working with the materials at Haverford, and connecting these archives to Picasso, Woolf, Rukeyser, and Hughes as well as the present day allowed students to operate in a networked structure of intersections and connections, linking a number of progressive and activist discourses, all while theorizing disparate modes of pacifism. Not only did they connect their work to the authors, with the digital humanities projects they hyperlinked to each other’s work and developed clusters of themes that interlinked to other clusters. This interlinking created an elaborate web of activism in which the students became an essential part.

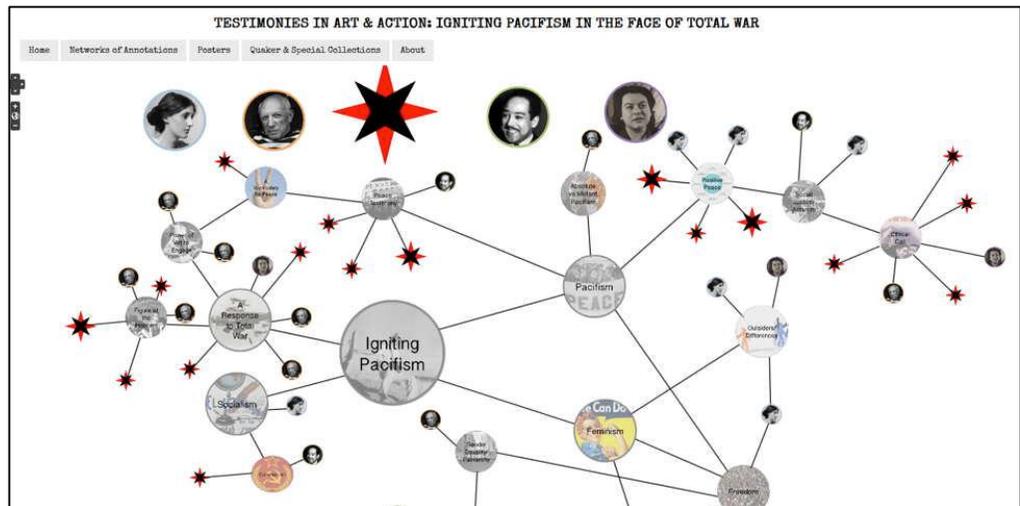


FIGURE 5: MARCELO JUAREGUI-VOLPE’S PROJECT WAS TO CREATE THIS MIND-MAP ON OMEKA AND ADD THE QUAKER CONNECTIONS.

Putting Muriel Rukeyser in dialogue with the Quaker relief work and Woolf (though the allusion to “gender equality”), Jiaming (Rosalind) Xu also situates Rukeyser historically:

By staying emotionally connected with the Spanish people, Rukeyser actualized the call of unity from Quaker Peace Testimonies and actively contributed to peace.

Furthermore, though Rukeyser escaped the Spanish Civil war, she hadn’t escaped the possibility of another, bigger war . . . some persisting social conflicts . . . that include fascism fighting against peace, patriarchy struggling against gender equality and class conflicts . . . might evolve into war, the ultimate manifestation of

conflicts. . . . The only way to achieve peace, indeed, was to resolve these underlying social conflicts.

Here, we can see the connection that Xu makes among “persisting social conflicts” and war, issuing a powerful call to “resolve these underlying social conflicts.”

Using the peace studies notion of “positive peace,” in interrogating a Quaker poster, Sophie McGlynn connects special collections material to Hughes, Rukeyser, and Woolf. She writes:

Can peace ever be stable when injustice exists, and is just violence even possible? This poster, created by the London Quaker Friends in 1938, propels us to the heart of such questions by instantly equating peace and justice. Yet the Quakers were not alone in making this association. Virginia Woolf connects these ideas by setting women’s rights (justice) as a precondition for preventing war (peace). Langston Hughes argues the inextricability of communism (which he views as the path to peace) and racial equality (justice). Muriel Rukeyser shows that giving war victims a voice (justice) is an ethical undertaking in her quest for peace in Spain. Like the Quakers, these authors all worked within a field now called “positive peace”: exploring how to construct a world not only free of war, but where societies and institutions actively promote justice for all, thus generating a lasting peace.

Taking on the large ethical question of what a sustainable peace looks like, this label creates an intricate intersectionality amongst various modes of justice (“women’s rights,” “racial equality,” and “giving war victims a voice”) and peace. This label shows both the convergences and divergences of the disparate pacifisms put forth by the course materials.

This convergence and divergence of pacifisms is likewise discussed by the materials that Isaac constructed for the pop-up exhibition. Isaac’s poignant summation of each thinker’s pacifism originated with her in-class presentation, given on the last day of class. Isaac imparts:

- Pacifisms are anti-war views that are needed because of the repercussions of wars on individuals, as Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica* teaches us.
- Pacifism is the dependence of local pacifism on global pacifism, as Virginia Woolf teaches us.
- Pacifism is an anti-war view that derives or is conveyed in a child’s innocence, as Aurora de Albornoz teaches us.
- Pacifism does not mean that one needs to forget about the wars of the past. Forgive these wars, yes but one should absolutely NOT forget them, as Scott Hightower teaches us.
- Pacifism includes a subset called semi-pacifism, which means that one can express pacifist views but also believe that people need to fight for these

pacifist views. Hence, a semi-pacifist is said to partially believe in pacifist views (debatable), as Rukeyser teaches us.

- Pacifism goes beyond war; it also involves issues such as oppression and discrimination, as Hughes teaches us.

From these examples, we can see that work with the archives, digging into the politics of artists, activists, and writers, and finding conceptual intersections between course materials and the students’ work itself allows students to become creators of a critical discourse. These students all fully engaged radical pacifist philosophies and generated a network of conceptual thought that challenges the notions of patriarchy, capitalism, and racism. These students’ work shows that a lasting peace must be built on racial, gender, and social equality, social justice, and human rights. In thinking through the ethics of war and peace, students all contributed to ‘changing the subject’ (to invoke the epigraph above) from war to peace. Instead of averring that the only way to respond to total war is with more war, these students started thinking about different modes of pacifist intervention. They all considered ways to *ignite pacifism in the face of total war*.

Acknowledgements:

The authors would like to acknowledge our gratitude to Terry Snyder, Librarian of the College, who expanded our vision and made the exhibition possible. Our appreciation goes to Kimberly Benston, Debora Sherman, and Kristin Lindgren for their support of this project. We would also like to acknowledge the influence of Jane Marcus on this project, whose radical feminist, socialist, pacifist pedagogy is always already present in our teachings. Thank you to the students of both semesters of the Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art Writing Seminar for their excellent contributions and commitment to the project. Listed by course section and alphabetical order, they are: *Section 1, Spring*: Madison Arnold-Scerbo, Alexandra Belfi, Miranda Bucky, Rosie Cohen, William Edwards, Adetomiwa Famodu, Joshua Hilscher, Emily Kingsley, Molly Lausten, Sophie McGlynn, Jiaming (Rosalind) Xu, Benjamin Yellin; *Section 2, Spring*: Christina Bowen, Charlotte Colantti, Mairéad Ferry, Ann-Victoria, Isaac Marcelo Jauregui-Volpe, Callie Kennedy, Devin Louis, Richard Phillips, Praxedes Quintana, Chelsea Richardson, Caroline Steliotes, Ian Wheeler; *Section 1, Fall*: Allie Corcoran, Syndey Dorman, Micaela Gold, Tommy Ie, Sharim Jones, Olivia Legaspi, Tomas Alejandro Manuel Ebro Matias, Kevin “The Rock” Medansky, Georgia Meyer, Riddhi Panchal, Teruha Stergios, Hanae Togami; *Section 2, Fall*: Paul Brucia Breitenfeld, Emily Dombrovskaya, Kaitlyn Guild, Batia Katz, Hannah Krapes, Yutong Li, Ethan Lyne, Lynnet Odhiambo, Justin Otter, Katie Safter, Lena Yeakey.

Acknowledgements as specified in the exhibition catalogue:

Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War was made possible by the generous contributions of many. The “Peace Testimonies in Literature & Art” Writing Seminars would like to express gratitude to

the Haverford College Libraries. We would like to offer our appreciation for the Ethical Inquiry Course Development Fund awarded by the Office of the Provost, which allowed us to develop our digital platforms. We are grateful to the John B. Hurford '60 Center for the Arts and Humanities, the Distinguished Visitors Program, and the Center for Peace and Global Citizenship for their sponsorship and assistance. Many thanks go to the Writing Program, the Concentration in Peace, Justice & Human Rights, the Quaker Affairs Office, and administration at Haverford College for their contributions and support of this endeavor. Our appreciation also goes to the Society of Authors in Great Britain and Southern Connecticut State University for providing access to the digital archives of the *Three Guineas Reading Notebooks*, to the Library of the Religious Society of Friends at Friends House in London, to the archives of the American Friends Service Committee at Cherry Street in Philadelphia, and to the Royal Albert Hall Archives in London for allowing us to reproduce their archival images in the collage and on the walls.

A big thank you to students Christina Bowen, Adetomiwa Famodu, Ann-Victoria Isaac, Sophie McGlynn, Marcelo Jauregui-Volpe, and Ian Wheeler for dedicating their summer hours to help with this exhibition.

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Notes

¹ Here we invoke and echo Jacques Derrida's famous statement "there is nothing outside of the text" (158).

² Foster is currently working on formulating a theory of the "peace archive" into a book project.

³ This phrase from Foster's article "Recovering Pacifism's Past," was inspired by Saint-Amour's phrase "peacetimes past" (130).

⁴ The class material and theoretical webbing was based upon the work Foster undertook for her dissertation *Modernism's Impossible Witness: Peace Testimonies from the Modernist Wars*. The central

----- "Organ Grinder's Swing Used Above Gunfire In Spain." Baltimore Afro-American. 6 November 1937: 1. Proquest. Web. 7 April 2014.

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----- *Three Guineas Reading Notebooks*. (Monks House Papers/B.16f.). Southern Connecticut State University. Web. 1 March, 201

question of the text and what drove the research—*what is an ethical response to total war, or, how does one respond ethically to total war*—informed the themes of the class and, by extension, the exhibition itself.

⁵ The analytic of “modernist pacifist documentary projects” is inspired by Jane Marcus’s writings and teachings on women’s documentaries. Continuing Marcus’s legacy, there is now a community of scholars, including Magdalena Bogacka, Ann Donlan, and Rowena Kennedy-Epstein engaged in discussing women’s documentary projects from the modernist era. The added dimension of pacifism to this manifold demonstrates the intersectionality between feminism and pacifism of the modernist era, among a number of other intersectionalities between the peace and social justice movements.

⁶ “Testimony,” as it is used here, draws upon the language of the Society of Friends (the Quakers). Quakers employ the term testimony to signify the set of actions that embody core beliefs and values. The testimonies historically are named as: simplicity, integrity, peace, equality, community, and today more progressively, sustainability. For further reading on the testimonies, see the website Quakers in Britain: Faith and Action. The convergence of the peace and social justice testimonies during the 1930s is developed throughout and a central argument of Farah Mendlesohn’s *Quaker Relief Work in the Spanish Civil War*.

⁷ We have received permission from students to quote them, and we use their full names here because the class materials are in the public domain--student names are listed online and accredited with each annotation. This use of their names also further includes them in academic communities as producers of critical discourse.

⁸ This quote is in the epigraph to Russell Martin’s *Picasso’s War*.

⁹ The digital archive of the *Three Guineas* Reading Notebooks Website, hosted by Southern Connecticut State University, with the permission of the University of Sussex and the Society of Authors of Great Britain, identifies the notebooks as having “entries dating from as early as 1927 to December, 1937.”

¹⁰ Many thanks to Zoe Berger for introducing Foster to this exhibition.

¹¹ This latter question is currently being worked into the theory of the “peace archive,” and its articulation was informed by the collaborative work with Sarah Horowitz, the team in Quaker & Special Collections, and this exhibition.

¹² In the current semester, Foster is in fact using Pinterest to allow students to curate their own “peace archive.”



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