Undergraduate History Journal at the University of Calgary

Volume VI

2024-2025

THE UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY JOURNAL

AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Table of Contents

Statement of Purpose ***5***

Letter from the Editorial Board ***7***

Editorial Board ***8***

Biological Warfare Allegations During the Korean War ***9***

by Zoe Galt, HTST 303

The Metis Interracial Marriage System: Exploring the Effects of French-Indigenous Marriage on Time, Space, and Exploration ***21***

by Julian A. Del Greco, HTST 303

An Assessment of Family Business During the Industrialization, by Hannah Barker ***33***

by Colleen Whelan, HTST 338

A People Surviving Their Exile: The Effects of the French and Indian War and the Great upheaval on the Acadian Population ***41***

by Gabrielle Moore, HTST 349

Waves of Bias: United Fruit Company's Use of Media as a Means to Promote Unethical Practices in the Caribbean Basin ***49***

by Maeve Wilson, HTST 361

Discrepancies in the Pluralistic Façade: Interogatting the Promise of Multiculturalism in Canada ***58***

by Thomas Tri, CNST 361

An Assessment on the Limitations on American Airpower during Operation Rolling Thunder ***75***

by Reid Williamson, HTST 383

Book Review: A World without Jews by Alan Confino ***84***

by Eula Mengulllo, HTST 427

Making and Maintaining a Myth: Presenting the Dieppe Raid of 1942 ..... ***91***

by Noah Schonauer, HTST 431

National Unity in the Face of Conscription: The Wartime Policies of Mackenzie King.106

by Colleen Whelan, HTST 431

The Effects of Propaganda on Canadian Society During the First World War.....119

by Catherine Brooks, HTST 431

Christian Modernism in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Protestant Churches of Canada.....130

by Erin Howell, HTST 435

The Terrorism of Lynching and the Works of Ida B Wells.....141

by Kaelan Leslie, HTST 493.02

Art and Identity: How Communities were Created and Destroyed during the Second World War 149

by Alexandra Goreham, HTST 518

The Revival of Saint Helena's Cult in the Middle Ages: An Examination of Her Relics 172

by Erin Howell, HTST 593

A Common Place: Place-making in Gerrard Winstanley's Vision of the English Commons……192

by Jacob Polay, HTST Honours Thesis

Statement of Purpose

The publication of student papers and research in the *Undergraduate History Journal* support the individual learning experiences of students and enhances the intellectual environment and community of the history department.

First, this publication acts as a model for new students coming out of high school or mature students who have been away from academic life for some time. Students can see real and recent examples of works graded for top marks in history at the University of Calgary. There will be many examples and formats of different approaches and styles for assignments, as opposed to a "paint-by-numbers" approach which would inhibit innovative approaches to historical inquiry. The *Journal* grants students an understanding of the efforts expected of them in their courses and will be inspired to achieve equal, if not better, results.

Second, the *Journal* is intended for in-house use as a printed physical journal only, rather than as an online open access journal searchable by outside scholars. Its intent is to act as a collection of exemplary assignments for teaching and learning purposes rather than a source of knowledge and citations for other scholars.

Third, the *Undergraduate History Journal* will give students experience in submitting papers for publication and in peer-reviewing those publications through membership on the Editorial Board. The Board is composed of students, under the direction of a faculty member. Students gain experience by examining submissions as critical editors, making suggestions about the academic work of their peers, and collaborating in a team environment with a collective goal. Editors become knowledgeable in the process of publication, through workshops run by faculty members, such as copyediting workshops and the proper use of editing technology. This expertise can be used in careers connected to the fields of editing, writing, and publishing.

Fourth, editing experience with the *Journal* will be useful for students who wish to pursue graduate studies, as the connections with a history faculty member will provide students with additional sources for reference letters. Editors will gain experience taking work that has received a high grade and elevating it to an even higher standard. Published works can be used for Graduate School applications. In addition, granting bodies, such as the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, look favourably upon a publication track-record which the *Journal* fosters.

Fifth, the *Journal* will act as a hub to build community amongst undergraduates and act as a steppingstone for community events. For example, the *Journal* can sponsor undergraduate conferences and publish the proceedings. The *Journal* can include a section on community news and events of the past and coming year, announcing the Randall Prize winner, Group Study Programmes, sources of funding (such as the PURE Awards), exhibitions, dates for Departmental History Talks, paper presentations around the University and elsewhere, and the Honours' Students Conference. The *Journal* can also host undergraduate seminar papers for students who wish to present their work to the History Department, similar to the History Department's Colloquium Series for faculty, acting as good practice for the Honours Conference and the development of public speaking skills.

Further, the *Journal* will contribute to the initiative of supporting undergraduate research as well as fostering collaboration between students. Editors will be in a position of mentorship, helping newer undergraduates navigate their experience in the History Department and at the University of Calgary as a whole. The publication will highlight the achievements of history students at the University of Calgary. It will also give family and friends a deeper appreciation of student work conducted at the University of Calgary.

Letter from the Editorial Board

We are so excited to be presenting the sixth volume of the Undergraduate History Journal at the University of Calgary. The UHJ is a teaching and learning tool intended to guide and support our undergraduate students, giving examples of written assignments across the Department of History which has received a grade of an A or A+. These assignments are not only useful for new students starting their degree right out of high school, but also for individuals re-entering academic life. The UHJ is also a great way to showcase all the amazing work undergraduate students produce every single year and is a celebration of the value of an Arts education in the discipline of History.

We learned a lot from our first five editions, and not only were we able to make some improvements, but we also recognized the importance of having a resource like this made by students, for students. We have continued to receive strong submissions both in numbers and in quality, and our principal goal remains the same: to highlight and share academic tools and resources within the undergraduate community.

We would like to thank our Faculty Advisor Dr. Glenn Wilkinson for answering our every question, supporting our decision-making, and continuing to advocate for the journal. We would also like to thank all the students who submitted their work to us this year. We know it is never easy to put your work up for critique, but we appreciate everyone taking the time to dig through their assignments and contribute to something we really care about. These recent years have been hard for everyone, and the continued growth in the quality and quantity of submissions, despite the circumstances, has been exciting to see and points to the resilience of the University's student body. We always encourage students to submit their work, so if you are interested, look out for our emails for the next edition of the journal for the 2025-2026 school year.

The pursuit and study of history is a worthwhile endeavour, even if you are not currently pursuing history as a main focus, we encourage you to try some courses! The study of history has always been fundamental to the creation of well-rounded educated people and helps to develop a mature mind. As this journal demonstrates, skills like critical thinking, writing, communication, and research are imperative not only as an undergraduate student, but as active members within the community.

We hope you enjoy reading the following selection of excellent papers and use this tool to guide you through your academic experiences.

Editorial Board
Undergraduate History Journal, 2024-2025
SS643

Editorial Board

Senior Editor: Megan Marko is a fourth-year student pursuing a Major in History, a Minor in English, and a Certificate in Canadian Studies. She plans to earn her B.Ed. to teach Humanities at the high school level. Her studies focus on how analyzing history and literature helps us better understand the world today. Outside of academics, Megan enjoys hiking, reading, and building Lego.

Senior Editor: Juan Razon is a fifth-year History and Education Honours student, with a Certificate in Canadian Studies. He is interested in Canadian sociopolitical history and modern social justice issues. Juan plans on becoming a High School Social Studies teacher but also hopes to pursue a postgraduate degree in the near future and continue his passion for academic writing and research. Outside of his academic life, Juan loves drinking coffee, eating mangoes, sharing stories about his various job experiences, listening to music, and immersing himself in pop culture.

Associate Editor: Alexandra Goreham is a fifth-year History and Education Honours student. Her main areas of interest are how war and society interact and public history, especially concerning how knowledge is spread and utilized. She plans on pursuing a postgraduate degree after the completion of her program and hopes to work as a museum educator and program developer. Outside of history, education, and research, Alexandra enjoys reading, music, photography, travelling, and spending time with friends and family.

Associate Editor: Corbin Johnson is a fifth-year History and Education student. He has a strong passion for Canadian military history, taking a particular interest in the relationship between Canadian Foreign Defence Policy and the procurement of military aircraft during the Cold War. During his studies, Corbin has enjoyed sharing his passion for Canadian history with students and the public while working as an Educational Interpreter for two esteemed museums in Calgary. In his free time, Corbin is an avid cycler and downhill skier, however, he also loves capturing aircraft at airports and air shows worldwide as he is a published aviation photographer. While he plans to teach secondary social studies for a

Associate Editor: Maryam Khan is in her third year of a double bachelor's degree in history and political science, with an additional major in international relations. She enjoys learning and reading about diplomatic history, as well as foreign policy issues. After graduation, she hopes to pursue a master's and possible a PhD in international relations and work as a diplomat. Outside of school, she enjoy reading, writing, and spending time with family and friends.

Associate Editor: Sophie Robitaille is in her third year of completing a Bachelor of Arts degree in History, with a minor in English. Her main interests in history are the World Wars and the influence of the Ancient World on our world today. After completing her undergraduate degree, Sophie plans on pursuing postgraduate studies. She hopes to one day become a high school History/English teacher and share her love and knowledge on the subjects. Sophie loves being active, reading, writing, and listening to music outside of school.

Biological Warfare Allegations During the Korean War

by Zoe Galt, HTST 300

The Korean War is commonly referred to as the "forgotten war" and although it is characterized as such, this war, from 1950 to 1953, heavily influenced the progression of the Cold War and continues to influence Soviet-, Sino-, and Korean- American relations today. Following the Second World War, the Korean peninsula was divided into two states, North and South. Almost immediately following World War II, these states were heavily influenced by the capitalist and communist superpowers: The United States of America and the Soviet Union. The Soviet desire to test the physical limits of communism spread to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), also known as North Korea. North Korea was occupied by the Soviet Union while South Korea was occupied by the United States. As a result of these occupations, North Korea was subsequently "sovietised" and shortly after this sovietisation, North Korean and Chinese troops, supplied, trained, and armed by the Soviets, crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea. During the war, intense accusations and allegations were made against the United States and United Nations Forces, claiming that these participants were actively partaking in biological warfare against the communist troops. The three nations had varying reasons for these allegations. The Chinese government made these allegations as a retaliatory response to the positively increasing American Japanese relations. The DPRK accused the United States of biological weaponry to slow American advances by redirecting global attention to a possible war crime and to gain international support. The Soviet goal of these allegations was to back up the Chinese and Korean claims and undertake the responsibility of investigating these allegations. The American reaction to the allegations and the legitimacy of them will be

discussed in response. Overall, the goal of the allegations was to slow down American advances in Korea to aid the overarching goal of spreading communism through the Korean peninsula.

From July to August 1945, the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union, held the Potsdam Conference in Potsdam, Germany. During this conference, it was agreed that the Soviet Union would occupy Korea north of the 38th parallel. A month after this occupation, the United States entered South Korea to secure and liberate the southern portion of the peninsula from Japanese control. The American occupation of South Korea was called "Operation Blacklist Forty," which was carried out from 1945-1948. Among the Korean people, unity and independence were the dominant aspirations, however, "partition and joint occupation by the US and USSR are the governing factors in the political and economic life of the peninsula."[1] Despite the original goals of the U.S. being that of liberation, The United States and Soviet Union's occupation forces were the deciding factors in the Korean peninsula. Both the superpowers were "attempting to strengthen the political and economic organization of their own zones," however, for different reasons.[2] The Soviet Union was strengthening the economic and political states of North Korea to prepare for an invasion into South Korea. The Soviet Union during the Korean War was technically not a direct belligerent; however, they *heavily* supplied and aided the North Korean and Chinese troops. The Soviet Union provided diplomatic, logistic, and tactical support as well as air force training. In a cable sent to Stalin on June 30, 1950, Kim Il Sung requested millions of cartridges, bullets, bullet and mortar shells, anti-aircraft cannon rounds, air force radios, and telecommunication devices, as well as spare aircraft parts and weapons.[3] Five days

[1] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Allied Occupation of Korea, 1945-1948, Central Intelligence Agency, digital Scan, January 3, 1947.
[2] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Allied Occupation of Korea, 1945-1948.
[3] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War, 1950-1953, Terenty Shtykov, digital translation, June 30, 1950.

prior to this cable message, North Korean troops invaded South Korea and four months later Chinese troops entered the war.

The allegations against the United States for use of chemical and biological weapons during the Korean War began in 1951. The primary allegations made by the three communist countries were claims that the U.N. Forces and U.S. were dropping insects carrying diseases and germ bombs on communist troops in Korea. Although the claims and goals were the same, the Soviet reasoning differed from the Chinese and Koreans. A successful claim against the U.S. for biological and chemical warfare meant the United States went against the legal standards for warfare established at the 1925 signing of the Geneva Protocol. If the Soviet Union could prove this, the U.S. would be sanctioned and investigated, and the Soviet Union and communist forces would have little resistance to their invasion of South Korea.[4] These allegations were paramount in the communists' attempt to push the Americans out of the war. In an explanatory note from Lieutenant Selivanov to L.P. Beria, "[the allegations were] necessary in order to compromise the Americans in this war."[5] The allegations made by the North Koreans and Chinese were most definitely not disregarded, despite the lack of impartial investigations. The seriousness of the allegations was seen in the Soviet aid provided to the North Koreans and Chinese, when the Chinese requested 20 million doses of the live anti-plague vaccine and 20 million doses of the tetanus vaccine.[6] The Soviets continued to support these allegations through propaganda pieces, such as a poster created in 1952 which reads "Остановить преступников!" Translated, this

[4] See John Ellis van Courtland Moon, "Biological Warfare Allegations: The Korean War Case," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 666:1 (1992): 53-83.
[5] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Selivanov, digital translation, April 14, 1953.
[6] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Zhou Enlai, digital translation, March 10, 1952.

means “stop the criminals.” The poster contains a woman holding a newspaper which reads “here they are, Truman’s soldiers!” and “against bacteriological warfare” (See fig. 1).

Figure 1.

Soviet poster of a woman holding newspapers with headlines titled “stop the criminals,” “here they are, Truman’s soldiers,” and “against bacteriological warfare.” The woman is pointing at a man holding a canister which is leaving a trail of black smoke and insects.[7]

The Chinese allegations made were the same as that of the Koreans; in late January to mid-February, Chinese troops in Korea noticed black flies, fleas, and lice in the snow. They claimed people were falling ill with cholera, typhus, typhoid, and encephalitis shortly after noticing these insects in the snow.[8] Additionally, these were amongst the same diseases China experienced during the Second World War. Mao Zedong claimed that top secret information and reports obtained “confirm that the American imperialists in Korea have systematically and deliberately disseminated the bacilli carriers”[9] In this telegram sent from Beijing to Stalin, Mao Zedong

[7] K. Ivanov and V. Briskin, “Stop US Criminals Biological Warfare Korean War,” digital scan poster, 1952. https://www.antikbar.co.uk/original_vintage_posters/propaganda_posters/stop_us_criminals_biological_warfare_korean_war/PP1910/.

[8] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Mao Zedong, digital translation, February 21, 1952.

[9] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Mao Zedong.

linked the Americans to "three of the five prominent Japanese war criminals involved in bacteriological warfare . . . [who took] equipment necessary to conduct bacteriological warfare, including bacilli carriers of cholera and plague."[10] When the Chinese government requested vaccines from Soviet Russia, propaganda posters were created to encourage the public to get vaccinated. A poster from the 1950s reads "人人防疫，粉碎美帝國主義的細菌戰!" Translated, this means "vaccinate everyone, to crush the germ warfare of American Imperialism!" (See fig. 2)

Figure 2.

Chinese propaganda poster created during the Korean War which pictures men, women, and a child receiving a vaccine. This poster is captioned "Vaccinate everyone, to crush the germ warfare of American Imperialism!"[11]

Since the late 1800s, China and Japan have both had a traumatic history characterized by years of war, brutality, and humiliation. Consequently, Sino-Japanese relations had been poor for over half a century by the time of the Korean War. The Korean War was not the first time the Chinese had been attacked with

[10] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Mao Zedong.
[11] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, "Vaccinate everyone, to crush the germ warfare of American Imperialism," Poster, 1950s.

biological weaponry. Led by Lieutenant General Ishii Shiro during the Second World War, biological weapons and bacteria factories were created for use against the Chinese. Imperial Japan had attacked Chinese civilians and troops with the plague, cholera, anthrax, and other diseases and experimented on Chinese prisoners of war.[12] All too familiar with biological attacks and the results of them, China was not hesitant to accuse the United States of biological warfare. By linking the Americans to confirmed Japanese biological warfare criminals, the allegations intensified and drew the attention of the international community.

The North Korean allegations mirrored that of the Chinese, as they agreed with the Chinese who claimed the U.S. were airdropping insects carrying diseases. The North Koreans used propaganda to soften the blow of American superior technology and to redirect attention to the Americans during the war.[13] North Korean propaganda posters carried anti-American sentiments to garner public support and villainize western and capitalist countries. Through the use of propaganda, the North Koreans were able to keep the American politicians and diplomats on the defense, distracting them from the frontlines of the war. This effectively slowed the American forces in Korea. Chinese and North Korean troops working together advanced as far as the Gyeonggi-do province.

The United States government denied these allegations and claims, stating "categorically and unequivocally that these charges [were] entirely false; the U.N. forces have not used and are not using, any sort of bacteriological warfare."[14] In 1969, a letter sent to Congressman

---

[12] Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare 1932-1945 and the American Cover-Up* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 1995).
[13] Conrad Crane, "Chemical and Biological Warfare During the Korean War: Rhetoric and Reality," *Asian Perspective* 25:3 (2001): 61-83.
[14] Dean Acheson, "'Germ Warfare' Charges Called Fabrication" *Department of State Bulletin* 26 (1952): 427-8.

Kastenmeier, former President Harry Truman claimed he "did not amend any Presidential Order" in force regarding biological weapons, nor did "[he] at any time give [his] approval to its use."[15] Despite these denials made by the former Secretary of State and former President, the United States did admit they stocked up on anti-crop agents but claimed these were their only biological warfare plans.[16] The United States government denied these claims but they had deployed a news campaign which claimed they had the power to deploy chemical and biological weapons, with the hopes that they would deter the Soviet powers from deploying their own chemical and biological weapons.[17] This news campaign was emphasized so heavily to the point that Joint Chiefs of Staff had believed they were in fact capable of these weapons, but they were not. When Vandenberg's biological warfare consultant was questioned about it, they responded there were "no practical capabilities in the field at this time."[18]

Despite the consistent denials of the allegations, the United States later confirmed the actions of the Chemical Corps. The Chemical Corps was formed to supply the army with retaliatory chemical capability and defensive equipment; however, this only fueled the allegations and controversy behind the denials.[19] The three main communist powers during the Korean war claimed the Americans were using the Chemical Corps for offense, not defensive purposes. Another piece of evidence which contradicts the denials was the confirmation of the

---

[15] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Harry Truman, digital scan, July 25, 1959.

[16] See John Ellis van Courtland Moon, "Biological Warfare Allegations" and Conrad Crane, "'No Practical Capabilities' American Biological and Chemical Warfare Programs During the Korean War," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 45:2 (2002): 241-9.

[17] Conrad Crane, "'No Practical Capabilities,'" 246.

[18] Conrad Crane, "'No Practical Capabilities,'" 246.

[19] Department of the Army, "The 1950s: Heyday of the Chemical Corps," in *Medical Aspects of Chemical and Biological Warfare*, eds. Frederick Sidell, Ernest Takafuji, and David Franz (Washington, DC: Borden Institute, 1997), 47. https://medcoe.army.mil/borden-tb-med-aspects-chembio-war.

actions of the Chemical Corps. In 1950, the Chemical Corps began a full-scale construction of the nerve agent Sarin but was later shut down due to the discovery of a newer, more aggressive chemical.[20] Sarin is a lethal, odourless, and tasteless chemical that can cause death within minutes of exposure by interfering with the body's nervous system. During the Korean War, the Chemical Corps concentrated on the weaponization of Sarin and incorporated it into bombs prepared to be airdropped on the Korean War front.[21] Two years after the Korean War, again, despite the claims they were incapable of chemical and biological weapons, the newer and more aggressive agent was designated the V-Series chemical. These agents were significantly more persistent, toxic, and referred to as "venomous," as they would enter through the skin—bypassing gas masks.[22]

There is still much controversy to this day surrounding the allegations and whether they were true or not. Today, North Korean and Chinese officials claim they had legitimate grounds for these accusations while others mention North Korean and Chinese officials had already admitted they were falsified in the past. Historians, such as Conrad Crane with the U.S. Army War College, believe there is the possibility that American evidence is still waiting to be declassified, which could completely change the narrative behind the allegations.[23] However, evidence from all three nations, do not just "suggest" these claims were false, they have confirmed them to be false. Russian operatives working with the DPRK government were confirmed to have faked the evidence. During the falsification they "[created] false infestation

[20] Department of the Army, "The 1950s: Heyday of the Chemical Corps," 49.
[21] Department of the Army, "The 1950s: Heyday of the Chemical Corps," 49.
[22] Department of the Army, "The 1950s: Heyday of the Chemical Corps," 49.
[23] See Conrad Crane, "Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations Against the United States: A Playbook for the Current Crisis in Ukraine," *US Army War College Articles and Editorials* 458 (2022): 1-13 and Conrad Crane "'No Practical Capabilities.'"

maps, [gathered] cholera and plague bacillus from infected people in North Korea and China [in which there was an epidemic already underway], injecting condemned prisoners with the diseases, and burying infected bodies that could be found to support the epidemic claims."[24] In an explanatory note from Glukhov to Lavrentiy Beria, it is stated that, in order to prove the claims they were making, they created false areas of exposure.[25] When the claims were investigated and the North Koreans could not prove them, they attempted to cover up the false accusations by setting off explosions near the place the delegation was staying and setting off false air raid alarms.[26] When the communist governments became aware of the fact that they would not be able to prove the false allegations, the Soviet Union dispatched an emissary to Beijing and Pyongyang suggesting the Chinese and North Korean governments cease their accusations.[27] Wu Zhili, previous director of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army Health Division, admitted the case was a "false alarm."[28]

The allegations made against the Americans during the Korean War were made with the goal of slowing down the American advances by diverting international attention to the possibility of a war crime. These allegations kept the American government and politicians distracted from the frontlines of the war. Soviet support to the North Korean and Chinese allegations assisted in this distraction, as the Soviets did not only provide logistic support, but they also provided vaccinations and investigated the accusations, which made the allegations

[24] Conrad Crane, "Chemical and Biological Warfare During the Korean War," 67-8.
[25] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Glukhov, digital translation, April 13, 1953.
[26] Wilson Centre Digital Archive, Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations, Glukhov.
[27] Kathryn Weathersby, "Deceiving the Deceivers: Moscow, Beijing, Pyongyang, and the Allegations of Bacteriological Weapons Use in Korea," *Cold War International History Project Bulletin 11* (1998): 176-99.
[28] Wu Zhili, "The Bacteriological War of 1952 is a False Alarm," trans. Drew Casey, *Yanhuang Chunqiu* 11 (2013): 36-9.

only seem more plausible to the rest of the world. Pre-Korean War Sino-Japanese relations heavily influenced the Chinese allegations, as the Chinese already had a traumatic and intense history involving biological weapons. North Korea utilized the allegations as a way to push pro-communist and anti-American propaganda and continued to use these propaganda pieces to slow American and South Korean advances. The legitimacy of the allegations, from the perspective of the historical community, is ambiguous. On one hand, the Americans claimed they were completely incapable of chemical and biological weaponry at the time but the actions of the Chemical Corps say otherwise. Historians argue there is the possibility that some American documents are still classified and, if declassified, might prove they did in fact use biological weapons but that is just a possibility. Despite the controversy surrounding the legitimacy of the allegations, it is undeniable that the communist countries have already admitted the claims were false.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Acheson, Dean. "'Germ Warfare' Charges Called Fabrication." *Department of State Bulletin* 26 (1952): 427-8.

Ivanov K. and Briskin, V. "Stop US Criminals Biological Warfare Korean War." Digital scan poster. 1952. https://www.antikbar.co.uk/original_vintage_posters/propaganda_posters/stop_us_criminals_biological_warfare_korean_war/PP1910/.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Allied Occupation of Korea, 1945-1948. Central Intelligence Agency. Digital scan, January 3, 1947.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Korean War, 1950-1953. Terenty Shtykov. Digital translation. June 30, 1950.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations. Glukhov. Digital translation. April 13, 1953.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations. Mao Zedong. Digital translation, February 21, 1952.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations. Selivanov. Digital translation, April 14, 1953.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations. "Vaccinate everyone, to crush the germ warfare of American Imperialism." Digital scan poster. 1950s.

Wilson Centre Digital Archive. Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations. Zhou Enlai. Digital translation. March 10, 1952.

Secondary Sources

Crane, Conrad. "Chemical and Biological Warfare During the Korean War: Rhetoric and Reality." *Asian Perspective* 25:3 (2001): 61-83.

Crane, Conrad. "'No Practical Capabilities' American Biological and Chemical Warfare Programs During the Korean War." *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 45:2 (2002): 241-9.

Crane, Conrad. "Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations Against the United States: A Playbook for the Current Crisis in Ukraine." *US Army War College Articles and Editorials* 458 (2022): 1-13.

Department of the Army. "The 1950s: Heyday of the Chemical Corps." In *Medical Aspects of Chemical and Biological Warfare*, edited by Frederick Sidell, Ernest Takafuji, and David Franz, 47-9. Washington, DC: Borden Institute, 1997, https://medcoe.army.mil/borden-tb-med-aspects-chembio-war.

Harris, Sheldon H. *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare 1932-1945 and the American Cover-Up*. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 1995.

van Courtland Moon, John Ellis. "Biological Warfare Allegations: The Korean War Case." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 666:1 (1992): 53-83.

Weathersby, Kathryn. "Deceiving the Deceivers: Moscow, Beijing, Pyongyang, and the Allegations of Bacteriological Weapons Use in Korea." *Cold War International History Project Bulletin 11* (1998): 176-99.

Zhili, Wu. "The Bacteriological War of 1952 is a False Alarm." Translated by Drew Casey, *Yanhuang Chunqiu* 11 (2013): 36-9.

The Metis Interracial Marriage System: Exploring the Effects of French-Indigenous Marriage on Time, Space, and Exploration

by Julian A. Del Greco, HTST 303

The European discovery of the *New World*, otherwise known as the Age of Exploration, began in the later fifteenth century, resulting in the vast creation of European colonies throughout North America. However, the discovery and colonization of Canada truly began in 1534, when French explorer Jacques Cartier led his crew through the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.[1] In 1535, Cartier and his crew advanced to the mainland, where they encountered members of the Huron Nation in Stadacona, present-day Quebec City.[2] The members led the Frenchmen to areas such as Hochelaga, now known as Montreal, and thus began the creation of not only French settlements in Canada, but also relations between French and Indigenous people.[3] What followed was an increase in intimate relationships between French men and Indigenous women, resulting in interracial marriages – creating offspring known as Metis.[4] The Metis population grew as they developed their own settlements, culture, and language. They also played a crucial role in the success of the fur trade throughout Canada. The Metis interracial marriages created new spaces in colonial Canada and altered previous conceptions of time while significantly expanding notions of exploration.

There is much speculation regarding the beginning of interracial marriages between the French and Indigenous populations, however, historians can assume that they began in the

[1] John L. Allen, "From Cabot to Cartier: The Early Exploration of Eastern North America, 1497-1543," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (1992): 500–21. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2563358.
[2] Allen, "From Cabot to Cartier," 516.
[3] James Douglas, "The Consolidation of the Iroquois Confederacy: Or, What Happened on the St. Lawrence between the Times of Cartier and Champlain," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 29, no. 1 (1897): 41–54. https://doi.org/10.2307/196950.
[4] Patrick C. Douaud, "Canadian Metis Identity: A Pattern of Evolution," *Anthropos* 78, no. 1/2 (1983): 71–88.

sixteenth century as the two had developed peaceful relations. The term 'Metis' was derived from the Latin word 'mixtus,' meaning 'mixed,' and was originally used to identify children born to interracial relationships.[5] However, as time progressed, the term began to refer to anyone of Indigenous-European descent, predominantly those of Indigenous-French descent.[6] The terminology has been altered in the twenty-first century in regards to the specific spelling of the word 'Metis,' as well as the understanding of the respective orthographies. Despite this, it is undeniable that the interracial marriages between the French and Indigenous people were incredibly significant as they created new marital and trading spaces throughout the colonization of Canada.

During European expansion into North America, interracial marriage was considered extremely taboo. In 1691, the British colony of Virginia established anti-miscegenation laws that prevented non-white individuals from marrying white individuals.[7] European countries, such as France, had widespread bans on interracial marriages that were noticed in the later eighteenth century, especially between a white woman and a man of different colour.[8] Furthermore, in Western Canada, The Hudson's Bay Company had also initially prohibited interracial marriage between Indigenous and European persons in 1670. However, the outlaw did not last long due to the beneficial aspects of the union.[9] The French phrase 'Mariage à la façon du pay' means marriage in the manner of the country, and it refers to the marriage between a French man and an

[5] Douaud, "Canadian Metis Identity," 71–88.
[6] Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Métis, Halfbreeds, and Other Real People: Challenging Cultures and Categories," *The History Teacher* 27, no. 1 (1993): 19–26. https://doi.org/10.2307/494328.
[7] Francisco Macias, "Loving v. Virginia: 'Banished' For Love: In Custodia Legis," The Library of Congress, June 12, 2017. Loving V. Virginia.
[8] Jennifer Heuer, "The One-Drop Rule in Reverse? Interracial Marriages in Napoleonic and Restoration France," *Law and History Review* 27, no. 3 (2009): 515–48. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40646056.
[9] Sylvia Van Kirk, "From 'Marrying-In' to 'Marrying-Out': Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 3 (2002): 1–11.

Indigenous woman involved in the fur trade. Historian Sylvia Van Kirk describes these types of interracial marriages as following less of a European culture, stating, "the rituals of marriage *à la façon du pay* conformed more to Indian custom than to European."[10] These marriages soon became a cultural norm in terms of interracial unions and were strongly reinforced by the special interests of tribe members due to their benefits towards the fur trade.[11]

Mariage à la façon du pay connected French traders to the Indigenous tribe, ensuring positive trade relations that would keep both economically satisfied in exchange for both sexual and domestic rights to a woman of that kinship.[12] This created a new marital 'space' that was focused on alliances and economic prosperities between both parties. The notion of marriage for economic gain was not necessarily new; in medieval England, marriage was a political arrangement that established social and economic alliances between kingdoms.[13] However, it was not a union between two individuals of different races, whereas mariage à la façon du pay relied on the interracial aspect that contradicted religious scriptures.[14] It soon became a normalized practice in the French Canadian colonies, resulting in the creation of the Metis, whereas, in the British American colonies and Europe, it was still prohibited. Furthermore, the new marital space provided an opportunity for French traders to recreate a domestic life similar to life in France due to the lack of white French women in North America.[15] As for the Indigenous population, interracial marriages expanded their tribes and territories, ensured

[10] Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 9–13. https://doi.org/10.2307/3346234.
[11] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 10.
[12] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 9.
[13] Christine Peters, "Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, no. 169 (2000): 63–96. http://www.jstor.org/stable/651264.
[14] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830," 9–13.
[15] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 10.

peaceful relations between hostile groups, and further advanced their societies. The new martial space between French men and Indigenous women led to the creation of an entirely new concept of space that profoundly altered both Indigenous and European societies in colonial Canada – the fur trade.

The Metis people were often described as 'children of the fur trade' due to the concept of mariage à la façon du pay that the fur trade relied on. The Canadian fur trade was an extensive merchant enterprise that spanned throughout the newly chartered territories of colonial Canada that garnered both popularity and success quickly. As previously mentioned, the interracial union between male French settlers and female Indigenous tribe members was a crucial aspect in facilitating the commercial success of the fur trade that led to the creation of future fur trading companies. This was due to various factors, including Indigenous women's contribution to the trade and the privileged access to goods supplied as a result of the marital union. Many French traders who arrived in colonial Canada relied on their Indigenous wives for their guidance and knowledge surrounding the land to better expedite the movement of goods, resulting in mass trade production.[16] Indigenous women would provide more practical clothing and preserve sufficient food supplies for trade posts in the winter in order to continue trade despite brutal weather conditions.[17] As mentioned above, interracial marriage connected the French traders to the Indigenous tribes directly. These unions ensured that Indigenous populations would have entitled access to European goods, and in exchange, French traders would have claim to animal pelts, resulting in the creation of a trade space that was not previously seen.

[16] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 9–13.
[17] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 10–11.

Furthermore, the Metis interracial marriage expanded the trade space as the emergence of joint-stock companies such as the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) began to increase, thus resulting in a trade space that existed on a larger scale. The HBC was an English company that originated from two French traders who sought to create an official trading company within colonial Canada in the late seventeenth century.[18] The Hudson's Bay Company was able to dominate the fur trade in the eighteenth century due to already positive trade relations created by Metis interracial marriages.[19] Those relationships initially acted as intermediaries for HBC trade, resulting in the massive commercial trade space that is still known today. Both the marital and trading spaces that interracial marriages created proved to be reliant on one another. The fur trade would not have been remotely as successful if not for the peaceful relations maintained due to Metis interracial marriage, and mariage à la façon du pay would not have been normalized if not for the benefits of trade. Therefore, it created two new spaces, a marital space and a trading space that were considered foreign to both the Indigenous populace and French traders of colonial Canada.

Along with creating new concepts of space throughout Canada, the Metis interracial marriages altered previous perceptions of time through day-to-day activities. During European expansion into Canada, Indigenous tribes were either nomadic or sedentary hunter-gatherers, not necessarily following a 'work' schedule – they hunted as needed.[20] On the contrary, Europeans

---

[18] Irene M. Harper, "The First Complete Exploration of Hudson's Bay: Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouard Groseilliers," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, no. 1 (1929): 74–82. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3020647.
[19] Brenda MacDougall, "'The Comforts of Married Life': Metis Family Life, Labour, and the Hudson's Bay Company," *Labour / Le Travail* 61 (2008): 9–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25149853.
[20] Government of Canada; Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. "First Nations in Canada," Government of Canada; Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, May 2, 2017. https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1307460755710/1536862806124.

lived in cities and began working, following semi-industrial schedules.[21] Colonization from the perspective of the Europeans was to 'modernize' the Indigenous populace.[22] In some ways, the Europeans did modernize certain Indigenous tribes but also developed traits from the Indigenous through the exploration of both cultures. For instance, the development of the fur trade contained aspects of both European and Indigenous culture, even when excluding the goods being exchanged. The development of trade posts and working on a timed schedule to hunt and create the pelts were aspects derived from European societies that were becoming increasingly more industrialized. The specific methods and tools used to hunt and gather in Canadian forests originated from the Indigenous tribes. The day-to-day life of both cultures were combined and contributed to the success of the fur trade.

Each person had specific duties and a schedule they had to follow, specifically Indigenous women of Metis interracial marriages.[23] The introduction of these new duties altered their previous perceptions of time. As previously mentioned, Metis wives' duties in the later eighteenth century included producing adequate clothing and preserving food for trading posts. Their schedule became similar to those of European men working in factories, as they became popular in the late eighteenth century.[24] As a result, the Indigenous perception of time became more industrialized, following a more modern work schedule, whereas previously, they followed

[21] Beverly Lemire, "'Men of the World': British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1660–1800," *Journal of British Studies* 54, no. 2 (2015): 288–319. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24702040.
[22] Archana Ojha, "Trail of Tears: Looking at Indigenous History of Canada (17th to 19th Centuries)," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64 (2003): 1272–80. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44145555.
[23] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 9–13.
[24] Royal B. Way, "The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (1919): 220–35. https://doi.org/10.2307/1889430.

non-linear time.[25] As for French men, it can be argued that their perception of time was also altered due to the notion that time is seasonal. Although they also took part in the industrialized scheduling, they also had to engage in the natural cycle of time, understanding the seasons in order to hunt specific animals. The French men relied on their Indigenous wives to provide knowledge regarding hunting seasons, and they began to learn that time was understood in respect to seasons.[26] Both the European and Indigenous conceptions of time were being utilized in the fur trade as a result of the Metis intermarital space created. Additionally, the new spaces created along with perceptions of time being altered, expanded exploration of both land and culture.

Exploration is defined as the travel over new territory for the sake of discovery or adventure. Often, individuals perceive the word 'territory' as a physical object, however the territory being explored can be intangible. The Metis interracial marriages further advanced the exploration of both physical objects and non-physical concepts. The exploration of land represents the bodily travel over new territory that took place during the development of the fur trade as a result of the interracial marriages. As the Metis participated in the fur trade under joint-stock companies, they sought to venture further into uncharted lands in search of more valuable furs. This resulted in the establishment of vast trading posts and new trading routes throughout Canada, promoting further exploration.[27] The concept of the fur trade from the perspective of corporations such as the Hudson's Bay Company was to further explore Canada to generate more

[25] De Vos, Laura Maria De Vos, "View of Spiralic Time and Cultural Continuity for Indigenous Sovereignty: Idle No More and the Marrow Thieves: Transmotion," View of Spiralic Time and Cultural Continuity for Indigenous Sovereignty: Idle No More and The Marrow Thieves | Transmotion. https://journals.kent.ac.uk/index.php/transmotion/article/view/807/1876.
[26] Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women," 9–13..
[27] J. F. Crean, "Hats and the Fur Trade," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue Canadienne d'Economique et de Science Politique* 28, no. 3 (1962): 373–86. https://doi.org/10.2307/139669.

profit. As previously stated, the interracial marriage between French settlers and Indigenous women saw the initial physical exploration of land to facilitate trade. Ultimately, it led to larger trade that sought further exploration into Canadian territories, resulting in hostile relations with other Indigenous populations.[28]

In spite of the HBC furthering the physical exploration of the Canadian landscape, the Metis marriages also resulted in the exploration of non-physical concepts such as culture. The interracial union saw the combination of both French and Indigenous traits creating a specific culture. For instance, Metis had developed a specific language by the 1840s, known as Michif.[29] Michif is a combination of both French and Cree and as Linguist Peter Bakker described, the nouns in the language are derived from French and the verbs from Cree.[30] He further explains how that characterization is "[a] gross oversimplification."[31] Regardless, the creation of the Michif language was a result of cultural exploration. Furthermore, cultural aspects of both European and Indigenous life were adopted, such as clothing and religion. As previously described, Indigenous women would create clothing for their French husbands. Of the clothing articles produced, hand-beaded moccasin shoes remained the most popular.[32] French traders began to wear moccasins due to the comfort and warmth, adopting an Indigenous cultural clothing artefact.[33]

European religion was also incorporated in the interracial marriages. Many Indigenous women were exposed to Christianity through their French husbands. Many Metis embraced

---

[28] Crean, "Hats and the Fur Trade," 373–86.
[29] Anthony P. Grant. *Language in Society* 28, no. 1 (1999): 149–51. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168913.
[30] Grant, *Language in Society,* 150.
[31] Grant, *Language in Society,* 149.
[32] Van Kirk. "The Role of Native Women," 9–13.
[33] Van Kirk. "The Role of Native Women," 10.

Christian values and combined them with the spiritual practices of the Indigenous tribes.[34] The blended elements of both beliefs created a new form that reflected on the exploration of the mixed heritage. For instance, Metis would provide tobacco as a thankful offering to the Creator or distribute holy water during intimidating thunderstorms.[35] Both of these examples display the combination of both Christian religion and Indigenous spirituality as well as the notion of cultural exploration. Metis interracial marriages was cultural exploration, resulting in the creation of new languages, clothing and religion that was a unique combination of both cultures. The unions explored both physical landscapes as well as imaginative concepts that resulted in the creation of a unique culture ingrained in the history of the Metis.

The interracial marriages between French settlers and Indigenous women created the unique group known as the Metis. The unions between the two groups created new marital and trading spaces that led to the successful fur trade. Their perceptions of time were altered, following a more industrial view. The interracial marriages expanded the exploration of both tangible objects and intangible concepts. Territories of Canada were continuously becoming chartered and culture was being connected. The exploration of culture led to the creation of new identities that are associated specifically with the Metis people. The Metis interracial marriages defied cultural norms in terms of combining races, however it led to advancements in understanding concepts of time and space and furthering exploration of colonial Canada.

[34] University of Saskatchewan, "Métis Culture and Language," Métis Culture and Language - Indigenous Saskatchewan Encyclopedia | University of Saskatchewan. Accessed April 9, 2024. https://teaching.usask.ca/indigenoussk/import/metis_culture_and_language.php.
[35] University of Saskatchewan, "Métis Culture and Language."

Bibliography

Allen, John L. “From Cabot to Cartier: The Early Exploration of Eastern North America, 1497-1543.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (1992): 500–521. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2563358.

Brown, Jennifer S. H. “Métis, Halfbreeds, and Other Real People: Challenging Cultures and Categories.” *The History Teacher* 27, no. 1 (1993): 19–26. https://doi.org/10.2307/494328.

Crean, J. F. “Hats and the Fur Trade.” *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue Canadienne d’Economique et de Science Politique* 28, no. 3 (1962): 373–86. https://doi.org/10.2307/139669.

De Vos, Laura Maria. “View of Spiralic Time and Cultural Continuity for Indigenous Sovereignty: Idle No More and the Marrow Thieves: Transmotion.” View of Spiralic Time and Cultural Continuity for Indigenous Sovereignty: Idle No More and The Marrow Thieves | Transmotion. https://journals.kent.ac.uk/index.php/transmotion/article/view/807/1876.

Douaud, Patrick C. “Canadian Metis Identity: A Pattern of Evolution.” *Anthropos* 78, no. 1/2 (1983): 71–88. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40461005.

Douglas, James. “The Consolidation of the Iroquois Confederacy: Or, What Happened on the St. Lawrence between the Times of Cartier and Champlain.” *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 29, no. 1 (1897): 41–54. https://doi.org/10.2307/196950.

Government of Canada; Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. "First Nations in Canada." Government of Canada; Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, May 2, 2017. https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1307460755710/1536862806124.

Grant, Anthony P. *Language in Society* 28, no. 1 (1999): 149–51. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168913.

Harper, Irene M. "The First Complete Exploration of Hudson's Bay: Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouard Groseilliers." *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, no. 1 (1929): 74–82. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3020647.

Heuer, Jennifer. "The One-Drop Rule in Reverse? Interracial Marriages in Napoleonic and Restoration France." *Law and History Review* 27, no. 3 (2009): 515–48. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40646056.

Lemire, Beverly. "'Men of the World': British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1660–1800." *Journal of British Studies* 54, no. 2 (2015): 288–319. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24702040.

MacDougall, Brenda. "'The Comforts of Married Life': Metis Family Life, Labour, and the Hudson's Bay Company." *Labour / Le Travail* 61 (2008): 9–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25149853.

Macías, Francisco. "Loving v. Virginia: 'Banished' For Love: In Custodia Legis." The Library of Congress, June 12, 2017. https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2017/06/loving-v-virginia-banished-for-love/#:~:text=1691%E2%80%94In%20Virginia%20colony%2C%20legislation,.%E2%80%9D%20%5BEmphasis%20added.%5D.

Ojha, Archana. “Trail of Tears: Looking at Indigenous History of Canada (17th to 19th Centuries).” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64 (2003): 1272–80. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44145555.

Peters, Christine. “Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England.” *Past & Present*, no. 169 (2000): 63–96. http://www.jstor.org/stable/651264.

University of Saskatchewan. “Métis Culture and Language.” Métis Culture and Language - Indigenous Saskatchewan Encyclopedia | University of Saskatchewan. https://teaching.usask.ca/indigenoussk/import/metis_culture_and_language.php.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. “From ‘Marrying-In’ to ‘Marrying-Out’: Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 3 (2002): 1–11. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3347329.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. “The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 9–13. https://doi.org/10.2307/3346234.

Walker, C. E. “The History of the Joint Stock Company.” *The Accounting Review* 6, no. 2 (1931): 97–105. http://www.jstor.org/stable/238866.

Way, Royal B. “The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822.” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (1919): 220–35. https://doi.org/10.2307/1889430.

An Assessment of Family and Business During the Industrial Revolution, by Hannah Barker

By Colleen Whelan

In *Family and Business During the Industrial Revolution,* Hannah Barker sets out to examine one of the most transformative periods in world history through the perspective of the previously underappreciated voices of the lower-middle class. To maintain a focused and coherent scope, Barker concentrates her investigation to the north-west of England, particularly Manchester and Liverpool. A notably strategic choice as these urban centers bore witness to some of the most significant socio-economic transformations of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This work explores the lived experiences of individuals that owned and operated small enterprises during this period, which are crucial to understanding the role that the evolving urban and economic landscapes played in family dynamics. Barker's central argument underscores the profound impact that the Industrial Revolution had on both traditional familial structures, and the way in which businesses were organized and operated. In essence, *Family and Business* provides a nuanced analysis as to how the interconnectedness of economic practices and family life transformed the trajectory of industrialization and British social dynamics.

Hannah Barker's book has contributed greatly to the historiography of this topic through its emphasis on the intersection of family and business. The most common narrative accredits industrial giants and financial elites with the successes of the early Industrial Revolution, but Barker redirects this focus towards the profound implications of the Revolution on familial structures and social dynamics. [1] One of the hallmark features of her work is her distinct separation from more conventional literature of this era that focuses on the technological aspects

[1] Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 4.

of industrialization. Rather, she presents a more human-centric perspective by connecting the significance of family relationships to the broader economic and social contexts. This book is primarily divided into three thematic sections consisting each of two chapters in chronological order. This paper will analyze the contents of this book through the sub-arguments presented in each of the sections.

The first two chapters simultaneously reinforce Barker's central argument and present a sub-argument that examines how the changing nature of property ownership and inheritance practices during the industrial age reshaped familial structures. Barker substantiates these claims with the analyses of 254 wills produced by middle-class tradesmen from Liverpool and Manchester.[2] Notably, Barker's sample discovered that in sixty-three percent of inheritance cases the widow was to take over the family business, regardless of what the will indicated.[3] The use of this statistic is paramount to building an accurate depiction of women's role in business, as contemporary writers such as William Wright tend to bemoan the idea that they were integral to its operations.[4] Moreover, there is "little indication that they [widows] were unacquainted with business and unprepared to take over the reins," [5] which suggests that middle-class women were becoming increasingly involved in the economy. The parameters of this study are slightly limited by the small focus-group, but Barker's ability to recognize this and provide further studies with differing statistical outcomes confirms her commitment to ethical research and instills trust with her audience.[6]

[2] Barker, *Family and Business,* 19.
[3] Barker, *Family and Business,* 38.
[4] Barker, *Family and Business,* 38.
[5] Barker, *Family and Business,* 38.
[6] Barker, *Family and Business,* 39.

Barker makes another intriguing revelation from the sampled wills that demonstrate a widespread divergence from traditional, male favoured, gender-based inheritance patterns. Evidently, in less than ten percent of these wills made by tradesmen with both male and female children was the estate divided unequally in the male's favour.[7] There is also a discernable concern for protecting the inheritance of female relatives from interlopers, which suggests a newfound importance placed on the financial autonomy of women, as well as a heightened awareness of legal practices.[8] Barker reflects on the motivations of will-makers – exploring the duality between domestic arrangements and the desire to control one's property in compliance to social norms – and concludes that tradesmen showed a strong sense of emotional duty to their immediate blood and marital ties above all else.[9] Furthermore, her examination of various relating case studies are effective in exhibiting the intertwined complexities of familial hierarchies and estate claims, but their volume can be overbearing and confusing to follow as Barker fails to provide the relevant legal background information.

In the second section of the book, or the third and fourth chapters, the study's focus is on the familial relationships of tradesmen. Barker's examination of the fractures within the familial power dynamics of this focus group is necessary and revelatory, as most scholarship about this topic refers to 'the family' as a consistently cohesive unit and tends to overlook internal strife and obscure the operations of family-decision making.[10] This section does lack the relevant inclusion of secondary sources, other than to critique the analyses of other scholars like Raymond Pahl, but her continuous use of primary material supplements this limitation.[11] She

[7] Barker, *Family and Business,* 57.
[8] Barker, *Family and Business,* 48.
[9] Barker, *Family and Business,* 48.
[10] Barker, *Family and Business,* 78.
[11] Barker, *Family and Business,* 79.

argues that it was commonplace for the death of a head household to trigger familial disputes, so much so that their wills were often accompanied with guidelines on how their wishes should be enforced.[12] Barker once again substantiates her narrative flawlessly through the use of court documents from individuals such as Joseph Clare, that even threatened disinheritance if his will was taken to court.[13] These primary documents provide to be useful while seeking to understand the internal relationships of small business families as they serve as a detailed window into the ways in which these businesses were run.[14]

In the latter portion of this section, Barker introduces a counterargument to her previous position by highlighting the conventional familial structure as a cohesive unit characterized by a collective duty to their household. [15] Interestingly, this mirrors the same discourse she criticized Pahl for in the former chapter. However, Barker's substantial methodological shift, primarily from the examination of legal documents, such as wills and court hearings, to the exploration of diaries, memoirs, and letters, does account for the discrepancies in her argument. Perhaps, this shift serves to exemplify the depth of her analysis, as it demonstrates her capacity to depict both the professional familial relationships emboldened by the Industrial Revolution and the emotional core of traditional family structures.

A letter written by a grocer named James Fildes, addressed to his wife Mary and her relatives, was a particularly striking inclusion by Barker. He asked Mary to convey his 'affectionate kiss for me,' to her mother, and employed expressions of adoration, such as 'loving', when addressing Mary's siblings.[16] Barker observes that the use of such affectionate

[12] Barker, *Family and Business,* 82.
[13] Barker, *Family and Business,* 82.
[14] Barker, *Family and Business,* 86.
[15] Barker, *Family and Business,* 118.
[16] Barker, *Family and Business,* 153.

language between non-blood relatives varied from one family to another. Nevertheless, this examination of a personal testimonial unveils the "extent to which close family members were bound together by emotional attachments, and, in particular, love."[17] At its core, this chapter compellingly portrays familial structures in the Industrial Revolution not as a mere "knot of individual interests,"[18] but as an interconnected web of individuals bound together by a balance of love and duty.

In the third and final section of her work, Barker argues that the industrial era witnessed the amalgamation of domestic and commercial spheres into one physical space. She examines the consequences that the fluidity of these boundaries had on family life. Once more, she critiques conventional scholarship of this subject, this time for its separation of home life and work life. To substantiate her argument, Barker draws on variety of diaries, trade directories, archaeological findings pertaining to home layouts, and real-estate advertisements that overwhelmingly suggest that there was rarely a strict demarcation between family and business for families involved in trade.[19] A case in point is the home of grocer and chandler, William Dickinson. Despite the larger size of Dickinson's residence compared to typical trade households, Barker highlights the absence of a "parlour" – a separate space from where the family slept that was used to receive and entertain guests.[20] The commercial space almost always occupied the central space of the property, which makes it hard to escape the conclusion that the structure of most trade families centered around the fusion of business and domestic relations.

[17] Barker, *Family and Business,* 155.
[18] Barker, *Family and Business,* 155.
[19] Barker, *Family and Business,* 156.
[20] Barker, *Family and Business,* 193.

Further, this portrayal suggests that these families housed little concern for adhering to modern conceptions of privacy.

Barker advances another enthralling argument highlighting the potential disruption of traditional family structures when both relatives and employees operated tightly under the same roof.[21] Such as in the case brought before the Court of Exchequer in 1813, the opportunity for relationships to develop between unmarried and unrelated men and women was a threat to smooth running households.[22] This is a strong point as it shows the consequences that arose due to an intrinsic lack of public-private divide. Barker can recognize that privacy was an ideal, not a reality, for trading households, which indicates her deep understanding of the external forces that shaped family dynamics throughout industrialization.

Barker excels in delivering complex historical data in digestible way that will be useful for scholarly audiences, as her writing is clear, concise, and detailed. Her abundant use of primary sources ensures her work is both historically accurate and thoroughly researched. Although, the plethora of personal accounts from tradesmen show large variations between familial structures and presents difficulties when trying to draw singular conclusions about the parallel between family and business. Nonetheless, the sources she utilizes provide a rich foundation for supporting her central thesis and provide readers with the unique ability to understand the economic realities of the time by connecting with real human stories. Further, Barker's evaluation of evidence is impressive, as her blended use of formal legal documents and personal accounts provides a multi-dimensional view of industrialization that is both professional

[21] Barker, *Family and Business,* 212.
[22] Barker, *Family and Business,* 212.

and emotional. Her logical structure is sound, and she amply connects her sub-arguments to her central thesis in a way that is easy to follow.

Overall, this book makes significant contributions to the study of economic, cultural, social, familial, and urban dimensions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her central thesis, which is substantially supported by sub-arguments and historical documentation, illustrates the profound and complex transformations of familial structures and business practices during the Industrial Revolution. Moreover, the new ideas presented in this book are effective in demonstrating the relevant influence that human relationships have on the economy. Despite this being a heavily researched area of scholarship, Barker's well-written and comprehensive study illuminates the often-forgotten significance of the lower-middle class.

Bibliography

Barker, Hannah. 2016. *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution.* 1st Edition. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

A People Surviving Their Exile: The Effects of the French and Indian War and the Great Upheaval on the Acadian Population

by Gabrielle Moore, HTST 349

Acadians refer to the deportation of their ancestors from Nova Scotia as the *'Grand Dérangement,'* or the Great Upheaval: it was a forcible relocation of the Acadian people residing in the modern Maritime provinces, and the subsequent destruction of their farms and settlements to ensure the permanence of the migration. This deportation was carried out by British governors of the territory—which had been ceded by France in 1713—who felt threatened by the presence of the French 'neutrals,' as they were referred to, for their involvement with Britain's enemies. In reality, the Acadian residents attempted to maintain their neutrality even as Britain and France became embroiled in the French and Indian War in 1754, but their staunch refusal to ally with the British colonial forces spurred the commencement of their deportation for the ostensible safety of Nova Scotia. However, even as the Acadian people were dispersed across North America and Europe—often victims of sickness and death during the journeys—their resolve to rebuild their communities and preserve their rich culture proved to hold out. Despite the loss of land, disruption of culture, and fragmentation of communities that Acadians experienced as a result of the French and Indian War and the Great Upheaval, their society was not irrevocably eradicated in the years following their forced migration.

The historical boundaries of Acadia included modern-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and portions of both Quebec and Maine; as Acadians were expelled from their traditional lands by British forces, it marked a widespread loss that was not easily salvageable.[1] For over a century prior to their deportation, Acadian families spread across the land

[1] Dean Jobb, *The Acadians: A People's Story of Exile and Triumph* (Mississauga: John Wiley & Sons Canada, Ltd., 2005), 13-4.

in search of fertile soil to support their agrarian lifestyle. They co-existed with Mi'kmaq populations in the same areas—making use of different resources and benefitting from mutual trade—and mastered the construction of dikes, which enabled them to establish communities on previously deserted marshlands that could now be reclaimed.[2] In 1755, hoping to minimize the presence of Acadians in the area and curtail their alliances with enemy Mi'kmaq and French forces, Nova Scotian governor Charles Lawrence ordered their removal from the territory in what would become an eight-year process.[3] The result was disastrous for the former residents of the land; in the time during the Acadian exile that unfolded, the most fertile farmland was divided amongst New England Planters and other subjects of Britain who migrated to the area. This was made possible by destructive actions carried out by the British soldiers in Nova Scotia throughout 1755; namely, the mass burning of all Acadian settlements and structures scattered throughout the territory, which cleared the landscape for English settlers to move in. It also deterred Acadian exiles from returning to their homelands, as they would quickly discover the utter lack of resources and shelter necessary to sustain life throughout the seasons.[4] The Acadian people lost their traditional settlements and lands during the Great Upheaval as a result of British-French conflicts, and it was British officials who prevented their return through policies and military action.

The deportation that occurred due to the war between Britain and France not only separated the Acadians from their cultural lifestyles but forcibly exposed them to the unfamiliar societies of the British colonies, which created tensions between the locals and the deportees. The Acadians were descendants of French Catholic settlers who travelled to the New World in the seventeenth

---

[2] Barbara Le Blanc, *Postcards from Acadie: Grand-Pré, Evangeline & The Acadian Identity* (Kentville: Gaspereau Press, 2003), 27.

[3] Geoffrey Gilbert Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 140.

[4] A.J.B. Johnston, "The Acadian Deportation in a Comparative Context: An Introduction," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society,* 10 (2007): 117.

century, and this made both their language and their religion distinctly different from those of the English Protestant settlers surrounding them. For this reason, Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia believed that the loyalty of the Acadian people remained with the French; thus, as the French and Indian War became a significant issue in 1755, the deportation was seen as necessary for the protection of the British territory.[5] The Acadians were sent by ship to nine of the thirteen British colonies to the south of Nova Scotia; here, nearly every subject was both English and Protestant. The Acadian exiles struggled with the stark contrast of their identity and, throughout the colonies, faced heavy discrimination as a result of their ancestral language and religion.[6] This social alienation stemmed from the upheaval the Acadians faced through the deportation measures of the eighteenth century and the attempts of the British colonies during their war with the French to diminish the Acadian culture and lifestyle.

The sheer societal instability that the conflicts between Britain and France—and, therefore, the Great Upheaval—inflicted on Acadian communities was a significant factor leading to their widespread collapses and dissolutions in the mid-eighteenth century. The territory of Acadia was passed between France and Britain several times in its history; in 1749, during its time as a British territory, Halifax was established as its capital.[7] The consolidation of British power in Acadia was extremely worrying for locals, who began migrating in large numbers to neighbouring French territories in attempts to avoid what they believed to be intensifying antipathy between the two massive colonial powers in the area. Over six thousand Acadians had already abandoned their ancestral homes in favour of safety by the time the Great Upheaval began in 1755, an indication of worsening conditions in the area.[8] In the eight years following the order for involuntary removal,

[5] Jean Daigle, *The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies* (Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982), 45.
[6] André Magord, *The Quest for Autonomy in Acadia* (Brussels: P.I.E Peter Lang S.A., 2009), 45.
[7] Bona Arsenault, *History of the Acadians* (Saint-Laurent: Fides, 1994), 108.
[8] Arsenault, *History of the Acadians,* 113-4.

over ten thousand Acadians were taken from Nova Scotia, a number that represents the majority of the population residing in the territory at the time.[9] Upon reaching the British colonies, countless communities and families were separated due to colony laws that first scattered the Acadian refugees into numerous townships, then prohibited transit between these settlements.[10] These measures effectively destroyed the kinship ties between Acadian families and dismantled any sense of collective belonging that the displaced peoples might have felt upon being forcibly taken from their lands. The dispersion of Acadians throughout the British colonies was a pointed tactic to prevent families from returning to their homes; as a consequence, the society in Acadia that had existed prior to 1755 was dismantled and the British war aim of removing the Acadian threat was achieved.

Despite the efforts of the British colonies to prevent Acadians from moving back to their land as a consequence of the French and Indian War, its end brought freedom of migration to many families. The war ended in 1763, by which point the Acadian diaspora had been separated from the historical lands of Acadia for eight years. Although the Acadian peoples were now free to emigrate from the British colonies, returning to their previous homesteads in Nova Scotia proved impossible due to the ongoing presence of the New England Planters and other English settlers who had been granted the farmland in the wake of the Great Upheaval.[11] Instead, the land claimed by Acadians in the years after their exile was scattered throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in less desirable areas.[12] Many Acadians also sought land in the southern territory of Louisiana, which belonged to the French prior to 1762; by the time Acadian migrants arrived in 1765, it was a colony of Spain and much more tolerant of French Catholic settlers than the British

[9] Daigle, *The Acadians of the Maritimes,* 153-4.
[10] Jobb, *The Acadians,* 148.
[11] Johnston, "The Acadian Deportation in a Comparative Context," 117.
[12] Arsenault, *History of the Acadians,* 232-3.

colonies were during the period of exile.[13] Although the effects of the French and Indian War and the actions of its participants prevented the Acadian people from regaining their traditional lands in the modern Maritime region, the lifting of their exile in 1763 allowed the Acadians to establish new homesteads in other areas of North America in a display of perseverance.

As Acadian families pursued new lands in which to settle and rebuild communities, their central cultures and lifestyles adapted to their new environments after nearly a decade of suppression in the British colonies. As minorities during their exile from Nova Scotia—ethnically, linguistically, and religiously—the Acadians experienced discrimination and a heavily reduced ability to foster their traditional living practices.[14] Throughout the colonies, Acadian children faced assimilation as indentured servants of English patrons to support their families.[15] However, once these families were freed from exile after the war's end and able to migrate to new lands—primarily in Nova Scotia and Louisiana—their identities as Catholic French farmers were able to flourish as they had prior to the disorder of the Great Upheaval's deportations. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the former exiles adapted to a fishing and mercantile lifestyle as British immigrants settled the majority of the farmland in the area.[16] The Acadians who travelled to Louisiana spread across the colony and established farms, where they abandoned their traditional crops of flax and oats in favour of cotton and corn. Orchards were planted in a manner reminiscent of those left behind in Acadia. Their former method of house-building proved inefficient against the cycling southern rains and heat; thus, the Acadians modified their dwellings to suit their environment. By 1812, the 'Cajun' identity was well under development, which fundamentally

[13] Jobb, *The Acadians,* 188.
[14] Magord, *The Quest for Autonomy in Acadia,* 45.
[15] Jobb, *The Acadians,* 149.
[16] Le Blanc, *Postcards from Acadie,* 48-9.

incorporated the Great Upheaval and the Acadian exile within the common history of its people.[17] It was the French and Indian War that led to the exile and eventual freedom of the Acadians scattered throughout North America, enabling them to establish renewed cultures centred around the lands that they would finally end up settling in.

Although communities were quickly founded in the aftermath of the Acadian exile, the isolating effect of the French and Indian War was such that the return to any semblance of a cohesive societal structure was a slow—but still inevitable—process for every Acadian settlement that emerged after 1763. The communities created in the former Acadian lands proved to be sparsely populated and scattered far apart by the design of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotian governments, which made gatherings and trade between Acadians significantly more difficult.[18] Nevertheless, as Acadians were politically legitimized and their identity was reinforced over several decades, their communities grew and became strengthened. Twenty years after Acadians returned to their homeland in the northern British colonies, laws were passed to grant Catholics the right to establish schools; prior to this, Acadian communities were largely uneducated, and the newfound ability to organize schooling brought the settlements together under a common front.[19] Similarly, the gradual resurgence of the Catholic church in the northern British colonies was essential for creating official institutions within Acadian communities throughout the area. The French and Indian War stifled the activity of Catholics—who were primarily French—for several decades throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. By the early nineteenth century, however, missionaries had been dispatched to Acadian communities for several years already and proper dioceses were later established. The Catholic church helped to consolidate the activities of Acadian

[17] Jobb, *The Acadians,* 200-3.
[18] Daigle, *The Acadians of the Maritimes,* 49.
[19] Daigle, *The Acadians of the Maritimes,* 53.

communities and brought them together through their religious faith, an endeavour that was not possible during the war and subsequent exile.[20] After the French and Indian War dispersed Acadian communities across North America, the return of Acadians to their homelands allowed for an increased array of institutions and rights within their settlements over a slow period of enactment.

The Great Upheaval, born from the French and Indian War and the fears of the British units who coexisted with the Acadian people, fragmented every existing Acadian community along with its society. As a result, however, a new collective society was formed through the experiences of those who were exiled and their discovery of new lands and customs in the Upheaval's aftermath. This aspect of the Acadian deportation is vital for understanding the subsequent communities that congregated across North America; although the traditional Acadian lands were lost as a result of the war, new lands were established as Acadian territory and cultures then flourished from these foundations, reinvigorated with change. With potential future research dedicated to the long-term effects of the French and Indian War on these reinvented communities founded in the wake of the Acadian deportation and exile, the full picture of Acadia's displacement and redistribution will be complete.

[20] Daigle, *The Acadians of the Maritimes,* 53-5.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Arsenault, Bona. *History of the Acadians.* Saint-Laurent: Fides, 1994.

Daigle, Jean. *The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies.* Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982.

Jobb, Dean. *The Acadians: A People's Story of Exile and Triumph.* Mississauga: John Wiley & Sons Canada, Ltd., 2005.

Johnston, A.J.B. "The Acadian Deportation in a Comparative Context: An Introduction." *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 30 (2007): 117.

Le Blanc, Barbara. *Postcards from Acadie: Grand-Pré, Evangeline & The Acadian Identity.* Kentville: Gaspereau Press, 2003.

Magord, André. *The Quest for Autonomy in Acadia.* Brussels: P.I.E Peter Lang S.A., 2009.

Plank, Geoffrey Gilbert. *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Waves of Bias: United Fruit Company's Use of Media as a Means to Promote Unethical Practices in the Caribbean Basin

by Maeve Wilson, HTST 361

Media's ability to exert influence is undebatable when reflecting on the rise of the United States (U.S.) as an economic power in the late 19th century. As U.S. influence expanded across seas, it was accompanied by multinational mega-corporations, which shifted the limits of corporate power. One such corporation, United Fruit Company (United), became arguably the most powerful commercial player in the Caribbean Basin. Established through a merger of three dominant banana importers in 1899, the company grew to an unprecedented scale that merged unethical corporate practices with a distorted public image.[1] Throughout the early 20th century, the United Fruit Company promoted an idealistic image of travel in the Caribbean Basin which also supported the company's agenda as it justified imperialistic operations, government interference, and worker exploitation.

To begin, United used changing advertising norms to create a false representation of the Caribbean Basin to generate positive sentiments surrounding imperialistic presence in the region. Early 19th century advertising transitioned from solely selling products to creating loyalty through a strong brand image.[2] Valuing the benefits of this shift, businesses began allocating large budgets, establishing advertising as a valid profession. The science of advertising advanced dramatically throughout World War I as governments used propaganda techniques to rally support for war

[1] Mark Moberg, "Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The United Fruit Company in British Honduras, 1900-1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 2 (1996): 357–81.
[2] Daniel Navon, "Truth in advertising: Rationalizing Ads and Knowing Consumers in the Early Twentieth-Century United States," *Theor Soc* 46, no. 2 (2017): 151.

efforts. In the peace that followed, marketing emphasized growing consumerism, symbolizing the luxuries of a capitalist system, and fueling government economic goals.

During this time, ethical standards regarding the accuracy of advertising claims led to the U.S. ideology of "Truth in Advertising" which was intended to be enforced by the American Association for Advertising Agencies.[3] Although United had many other business ventures such as cocoa, sugar, courier services, railroads, and radio telegraph communications, its main export, bananas, had severely suffered from wartime inflation and outdated cultivation techniques.[4] To increase its profits, United executives shifted to investment in increased tourism campaigns, specifically encouraging middle class families to partake in leisurely travel.[5] Special attention was given to white collar workers through corporate retreat offerings where business professionals could be exposed to its operations.[6] Advertising tapped into rising individualism through imaginative newspaper ads, flashy showrooms in the U.S., and publishing its own works such as the travel writings of past employee William McFee in *Gates of the Caribbean.* Now, the American tourist could picture themselves in the "Golden Caribbean" with its restorative qualities where one can escape the stresses of urbanized cities and experience a place unspoiled by industrialization.[7]

Beyond the restful qualities of a Caribbean trip, United tapped into growing American awareness of imperialism in its history. In the 1920s, influential political scientists like Paul

---

[3] Navon, "Truth in advertising: Rationalizing Ads and Knowing Consumers in the Early Twentieth-Century United States," 151.
[4] Victor M. Cutter, "Caribbean Tropics in Commercial Transition," *Economic Geography* 2, no. 4 (1926): 494–507; Moberg, "Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The United Fruit Company in British Honduras, 1900-1920," 357–81.
[5] Blaine Branchik, "Staying Afloat,*" Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 6, no. 2 (2014): 234–57; James W. Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business and the Creation of the 'Golden Caribbean', 1899-1940," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 8, no. (2016): 238–62; Navon, "Truth in advertising: Rationalizing Ads and Knowing Consumers in the Early Twentieth-Century United States," 151.
[6] Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business and the Creation of the 'Golden Caribbean', 1899-1940," 238–62.
[7] Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 239.

Reinsch fed into the popular narrative that the dominant nation had a responsibility to improve the lives of inhabitants in new areas of influence.[8] Born in the year after the Spanish-American War, United echoed these sentiments to leverage imperialistic pride through tour marketing and design. The company's first ships were named after war heroes from the Spanish-American War.[9] Visitors could pick tours that featured landmarks of imperial importance from the Spanish-American War to Columbus' supposed first landing on American soil. Attempts to create a positive association of U.S. influence in the region through advertising worked as authors like Frederick Upham Adams praised the company for "peaceful 'conquest' of the tropics."[10]

Secondly, United exerted its power in regions of operations directly with local governments and used careful marketing to ensure that this interference was seen as beneficial. The company developed extensive infrastructure such as railways, roads, hospitals, and ports to secure control of regions.[11] This is visible through its extensive radio systems under the subsidiary The Tropical Radio Telegraph Company established in 1913.[12] It was initially publicized as a public health necessity for severe weather warnings and emergency communication between ships. In some regions, United offered the only source of communication outside of the Caribbean Basin.[13] Infrastructure was a powerful tool for continuous growth as local governments were seeking foreign investment. This created competition between regions through incentives such as tax

[8] Brain C. Schmidt, "Political Science and the American Empire: A Disciplinary History of the 'Politics' Section and the Discourse of Imperialism and Colonialism," *Int Polit* 45, no. 6 (2008): 675–80.
[9] Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 238–62.
[10] Sarah J. Townsend, "Money Mazes, Media Machines, and Banana Republic Realisms," *American Literary History* 31, no. 4 (2019): 692.
[11] Marcelo Bucheli, "Enforcing Business Contracts in South America: The United Fruit Company and Colombian Banana Planters in the Twentieth Century," *The Business History Review* 78, no. 2 (2004): 181–212.
[12] Cutter, "Caribbean Tropics in Commercial Transition," 494–507.
[13] Cutter, "Caribbean Tropics in Commercial Transition," 494–507; Moberg, "Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The United Fruit Company in British Honduras, 1900-1920," 357–81.

breaks and land concessions.[14] For example, United based its decision to build a new headquarters in either Belize or Honduras entirely on the countries' proposed railway and land offerings which were valuable to the company at the time.[15] After selection, incentives had to be maintained as United was known to stall services or entirely abandon regions that did not abide by its rules. In British Honduras, where United controlled mail and banana shipments, it demanded an annual subsidy for its services. When denied, the company halted all steamship services causing such severe disruption that the country had no choice but to enact the subsidy. This reliance is what encouraged United to further extend infrastructure and secure U.S. influence in the region mainly through the acquisition of international competitors, such as its 1910 purchase of Elders & Fyffes, a prominent British presence in fruit distribution, which included plantations on the Canary Islands and 28 ships.[16]

Despite this established local control, what United was missing to continue its insertion in foreign politics without provoking suspicion was sustained approval by U.S. citizens. The intentional removal, change, and distribution of facts achieved this. An example of removal is not disclosing alcohol consumption on so-called booze cruises.[17] United could not afford to offend the U.S. Government or its residents by openly avoiding prohibition rules. The manipulation of facts was another common tactic to draw tourist intrigue, as seen on trip itineraries that offered romanticized historical narratives. One such popular trip focused on pirates where travellers could

[14] Bucheli, "Enforcing Business Contracts in South America: The United Fruit Company and Colombian Banana Planters in the Twentieth Century," 181–212; Moberg, "Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The United Fruit Company in British Honduras, 1900-1920," 357–81.
[15] Moberg, "Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The United Fruit Company in British Honduras, 1900-1920," 357–81.
[16] Cutter, "Caribbean Tropics in Commercial Transition," 494–507.
[17] Branchik, "Staying Afloat," 234–57.

enjoy company-issued literature and film in onboard libraries that lacked factual substance.[18] Lastly, the company promoted its public works in the region to the U.S. For example, United advertised its restoration efforts to preserve ancient Mayan Ruins on its lands. What was seen by many as a "paternalistic dedication to its host countries," also, and more likely, served to sell the mysterious attraction of a lost civilization which conveniently ignored the colonial hardships suffered by native peoples.[19] United had already leveraged infrastructure to intervene in governments of the Caribbean Basin. However, to support this power, advertising was used to change perceptions of United from a corporate powerhouse to a necessary proponent for positive change.

Lastly, local farmers were commoditized through advertising. United had a unique approach to its contracts which ensured that farmers could not leave their obligations. Many strategies were used, but most focused on preventing farmers from forming their own export companies.[20] Arguably, the worst aspect of the contracts was the lack of protection from financial risk. If crops failed, supply expired in transit, or any other damages to the goods occurred, the farmers would assume all financial costs. This was in addition to farmers covering tax costs for United and having no reasonable assurance that their crops would be selected for export. No local government protection was available for those who attempted to breach their contract. In British Honduras, the 1917 Fraudulent Labourer's Act punished workers who did not meet United's contract standards.[21] When production was unsuitable on their plantations, United was known to abandon property along with surrounding infrastructure like rail lines leaving workers, many of

[18] Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 238–62.
[19] Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 249.
[20] Bucheli, "Enforcing Business Contracts in South America," 181–212.
[21] Moberg, "Crown Colony as Banana Republic," 357–81.

whom died in the process of this structural development, to bear the costs of maintenance. Worker tensions culminated in the Banana Massacre of 1928, where United and the U.S. Government leveraged local military connections to open fire on a group of peaceful protestors.[22]

The public did not see this side of United as an employer because of its self-promotion. For instance, United's dedication to fighting topical diseases led to a convention in 1924 where the company brought experts to Jamaica to discuss health challenges in the region.[23] The U.S. sent military representatives to support the efforts. United also sent regular annual reports on its findings. On the surface, United was seen to be caring as it established hospitals to distribute modern medicine to the underdeveloped Caribbean Basin. Although the local population benefited from these medical services, underneath an ulterior marketing motive existed. It used advertising to "correct [American] 'habits of thinking,'" by addressing fears of the Caribbean as a dangerous and disease-ridden area, therefore, encouraging travel.[24]

If suppressive contracts were not enough, Caribbean Basin inhabitants began to be marked as tourist attractions themselves as tourists flocked to witness them in their primitive state.[25] This heavily borrowed from the emerging trend of ethno-tourism in New Mexico, where Native American culture and pueblos ceremonies were popular.[26] Increasing desire for an authentic and interactive experience led to tours of United operations at its banana plantations which were staged to hide actual working conditions.[27] The commodification of workers created a product for U.S.

---

[22] Bucheli, "Enforcing Business Contracts in South America," 181–212; Townsend, "Money Mazes, Media Machines, and Banana Republic Realisms," 687-714.
[23] Cutter, "Caribbean Tropics in Commercial Transition," 494–507.
[24] Robert Crawford, "'Truth in Advertising': The Impossible Dream?," *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture & Policy* 119, no. 1 (2006): 127; Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 238–62.
[25] Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 238–62.
[26] Joan D. Laxson, "How 'we' See 'them' Tourism and Native Americans," *Annals of Tourism Research* 18, no. 3 (1991): 365–91.
[27] Laxson, "How 'we' See 'them,'" 365–91; Martin, "The United Fruit Company's Tourist Business," 238–62.

consumers, who ultimately supported United through product purchase, as the facts needed to make informed decisions were not conveyed.

In sum, United Fruit Company utilized changes in advertising that appeared during the 1920s to develop a brand image that supported its imperialistic expansion of infrastructure, government control, and worker exploitation. The perception that the U.S. upheld truthful advertising differed from reality as tourists ventured to new regions to be sold propaganda and a rewritten Caribbean Basin history. Unfortunately, United represented one of the many monopolistic corporations to dominate U.S. politics, and although Americans benefited from the economic luxuries United provided, it was the locals in these communities who, after transitioning from the clutches of Spanish colonialism, found themselves once again controlled by a single corporate entity.

Bibliography

Branchik, Blaine. “Staying Afloat.” *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 6, no. 2 (2014): 234–57.

Bucheli, Marcelo. “Enforcing Business Contracts in South America: The United Fruit Company and Colombian Banana Planters in the Twentieth Century.” *The Business History Review* 78, no. 2 (2004): 181–212.

Crawford, Robert. “‘Truth in Advertising’: The Impossible Dream?” *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture & Policy* 119, no. 1 (2006): 124–37.

Cutter, Victor M. “Caribbean Tropics in Commercial Transition.” *Economic Geography* 2, no. 4 (1926): 494–507.

Laxson, Joan D. “How ‘we’ See ‘them’ Tourism and Native Americans.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 18, no. 3 (1991): 365–91.

Martin, James W. “The United Fruit Company’s Tourist Business and the Creation of the ‘Golden Caribbean’, 1899-1940.” *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 8, no. (2016): 238–62.

Moberg, Mark. “Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The United Fruit Company in British Honduras, 1900-1920.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 2 (1996): 357–81.

Navon, Daniel. “Truth in advertising: Rationalizing Ads and Knowing Consumers in the Early Twentieth-Century United States.” *Theor Soc* 46, no. 2 (2017): 143–76.

Schmidt, Brian C. “Political Science and the American Empire: A Disciplinary History of the ‘Politics’ Section and the Discourse of Imperialism and Colonialism.” *Int Polit* 45, no. 6 (2008): 675–87.

Townsend, Sarah. J. “Money Mazes, Media Machines, and Banana Republic Realisms.” *American Literary History* 31, no. 4 (2019): 687-714.

Discrepancies in the Pluralistic Façade: Interrogating the Promise of Multiculturalism in Canada

by Thomas Tri, CNST 361

Multiculturalism is a source of Canadian pride and integral to the fabric of Canadian identity. In a 2016 poll conducted by Nanos Research, alongside Canada's strong stance on equality, equity, and social justice, and peacekeeping, Canadians are also proud of their reputation of multiculturalism and diversity.[1] Canada is known for being one of the first countries in the world to legislate multiculturalism alongside the ongoing welcoming of immigrants.[2] According to the 2021 Canadian census, almost 1 in 4 people in Canada are immigrants, with most coming for economic reasons.[3] Undoubtedly, the nation's diverse nature is unique to the developed world, but does that necessarily entail a society of racial harmony? Within the framework of Canada's multiculturalism, the experiences of the most marginalized, particularly racialized and religious minorities, are not adequately addressed, as evidenced by widespread occurrences of hate crimes, systemic discrimination, and marginalization. This paper will examine how multiculturalism became enshrined into law, how it evolved over time, how myths have minimized racial issues, the disparities between multiculturalism in law and its implementation, and how politicians have utilized multiculturalism to advance contemporary neoliberal policies. Although the establishment of multiculturalism in Canadian society has embraced notions of diversity and tolerance, such ideas reinforce an image of a benevolent Canada, perpetuating myths that dismiss systemic issues and pursue a neoliberal agenda.

---

[1] "Exploring Canadian values: Values Survey Summary," Nanos Research, accessed March 23, 2023. https://www.nanos.co/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2016-918-values-populated-report-w-tabs-r.pdf.
[2] Ratna Ghosh, "Multiculturalism in a comparative perspective: Australia, Canada and India," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 1 (2018): 15-36.
[3] Statistics Canada, *Immigration, place of birth, and citizenship – 2021 Census promotional material*, last modified 2022, https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/census/census-engagement/community-supporter/immigration.

This paper will define multiculturalism as a "demographic fact (the presence of cultural diversity in the Canadian population); multiculturalism as an ideology (the general desirability among Canadians for maintaining and sharing this diversity); and as a public policy (governmental orientation and action towards this fact)."[4] Multiculturalism as an ideology will be more commonly referred to in this paper. Multiculturalism as an ideological framework includes the notions of diversity, pluralism, tolerance, non-discrimination, respect for others, respect for human dignity, inclusivity, and participation.[5] The three realms of multiculturalism as a demographic fact, ideology, and public policy can overlap and influence each other.[6]

Enshrining multiculturalism as a public policy was unprecedented and significant. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government introduced the Multiculturalism Act in 1971 to promote ethnic diversity.[7] During parliament, Pierre Trudeau announced that this policy aimed to "assure the cultural freedom of Canadians" and to "break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies."[8] A host of factors contributed to the creation of the Act. The Act stemmed from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which initially did not consider other ethnic groups besides French and English speakers.[9] However, ethnic groups such as Germans, Italians, and Japanese Canadians exerted pressure towards the

---

[4] John Berry, "Research on multiculturalism in Canada," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37, no. 6 (2013): 663-75.
[5] Gregory Ritchie, "Learning multiculturalism: In the neoliberal context," *Adult Education for Inclusion and Diversity*, 344, 2017; Barabara Perry, "Disrupting the mantra of multiculturalism: Hate crime in Canada," *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 13 (2015): 1637-54.
[6] Perry, "Disrupting the mantra," 1644; Berry, "Research on multiculturalism," 665.
[7] Thanu Pillay, "Decentring the myth of Canadian multiculturalism: A post-structural feminist analysis," in *Decolonizing global citizenship education*, (2015): 69-80.
[8] Library and Archives Canada. Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, Volume 8 8545-8548, Appendix, 8580-8585. October 8, 1971. https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/canadian-multiculturalism-policy-1971.
[9] Patricia Wood, and Leah Gilbert, "Multiculturalism in Canada: Accidental discourse, alternative vision, urban practice," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 679-91.

government to recognize their contributions to Canada, shaping the development of the Act.[10] In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a rapid change in demographics which brought diversity to the forefront of national attention.[11] During this time, there was significant activism surrounding social and cultural rights, marked by the emergence of a new wave of racially diverse immigrants, increased tension between the settler nations of Britain and France, and a growing Indigenous autonomy movement.[12] This period was characterized by Canada's commitment to recognizing human rights and ending discrimination.[13] Lastly, there was a major political agenda in developing the act. Because the Liberals had an eroding traditional voting base in Quebec due to the separatist movement, they aimed to appeal the law to ethnic minorities in hopes of gaining votes.[14] The Act was also met with opposition from Quebec's government which had concerns about dismissing Canada's bilingual foundation and Quebec's distinct culture.[15] Despite this initial opposition, the policy was written into the Constitution in 1983 and later passed and reinforced in 1988 by parliament.[16]

The public policy of multiculturalism has enjoyed broad support across Canada, spanning various political parties, and has had a beneficial influence on racial relations in the country. After 30 years since its formal introduction, multiculturalism has evolved, resulting in noticeable

---

[10] Wood and Gilbert, "Multiculturalism in Canada," 680.
[11] Perry, "Disrupting the mantra," 1644; Berry, "Research on multiculturalism," 669.
[12] Evelyn Lee, and Mireille Johnstone, "Lest We Forget: Politics of Multiculturalism in Canada Revisited during COVID-19," *Critical Sociology* 47, no. 4-5 (2021): 671-85. https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211000116.
[13] Lee and Johnstone, "Lest We Forget," 671-85.
[14] Shara Wayland, "Immigration, Multiculturalism and National Identity in Canada," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 5, no. 1 (1997): 33–58, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24674516.
[15] Trygve Ugland, "The Quebec Charter of Values: A Solution in Search of Problems?" *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, no. 42 (2014): 11-21; Emre Peker, "Situating the reasonable accommodation debates in Quebec's contention for sovereignty," *Arc* 45 (2017): 1-21.
[16] Lloyd Wong and Shibao Guo, "Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada: An introduction," in Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada, (2015): 1-14.

inclusion and equity within key institutions such as the workforce, justice system, and education.[17] The Multiculturalism Act has cemented a growing consensus about positive attitudes toward immigration in Canada.[18] According to a recent survey by Environics Institute for Survey Research, seven out of ten Canadians are supportive of the current immigration levels, which is the highest majority recorded in Environics surveys in forty-five years.[19] Additionally, there is public support for welcoming refugees from major world conflicts such as in Ukraine and Afghanistan.[20] In most Canadian political parties, Canadians unanimously agree on the need for immigrants. This was demonstrated when six Conservative party leader candidates were asked about immigration in a debate, in which all agreed on the economic value that immigrants bring to Canada.[21] Conversely, anti-immigrant rhetoric and sentiments are more commonly affiliated with conservative ideology worldwide such as in Western Europe[22] and the United States.[23] Pro-immigration sentiments go hand-in-hand with multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is often perceived as a challenge for many other nations but Canada embraces it, contributing to a sense of national unity.[24] This widespread belief is entrenched in the nation's identity as demonstrated

---

[17] Perry, "Disrupting the mantra," 1637-54.

[18] Will Kymlicka, "The current state of multiculturalism in Canada and research themes on Canadian multiculturalism 2008-2010," *desLibris*, 2010.

[19] "Canadian public opinion about immigration and refugees," *Environics Institute for Survey Research*, accessed March 20, 2023. https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/focus-canada---fall-2022---immigration-refugees/focus-canada-fall-2022---canadian-public-opinion-about-immigration-refugees---final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=b31e22c9_2.

[20] "Canadian public opinion," *Environics Institute for Survey Research.*

[21] Global News, "Conservative Party leadership candidates participate in 1st official English debate | full," YouTube video, March 27, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3H91TVF0wSk&ab_channel=GlobalNews.

[22] James Dennison and Andrew Geddes, "A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western Europe," *The Political Quarterly* 90 (2019): 107-16. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12620. .

[23] Thomas Pettigrew, Ulrich Wagner, and Oliver Christ, "WHO OPPOSES IMMIGRATION?: Comparing German with North American Findings," *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 4, no. 1 (2007): 19-39, doi:10.1017/S1742058X07070038.

[24] Edward Ng and Irene Bloemraad, "A SWOT analysis of multiculturalism in Canada, Europe, Mauritius, and South Korea," *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 6 (2015): 619-36; Will Kymlicka, "The Precarious Resilience of

through a survey by the Environics Institute for Survey Research in which 64% of Canadians saw multiculturalism as a symbol of Canadian identity. [25] In addition, 71% of Canadians are in favour of multiculturalism, placing it as a core Canadian value.[26] This phenomenon is in contrast with native-born people in other countries, who are more likely to adopt a nationalistic identity, leading to anti-immigrant sentiments.[27] Overall, it can be argued that multiculturalism can lead to the promotion of cultural tolerance, thus fostering the inclusion of ethnic minorities.[28] Lastly, multiculturalism has contributed to the integration process of immigrants.[29] In terms of political integration, immigrants in Canada are more likely to become citizens in comparison to other Western democracies.[30] For instance, this can be demonstrated through Canada's parliament which has more foreign-born citizens than in any other country.[31] Furthermore, the phenomenon of ghettoization, wherein immigrants reside in areas characterized by high poverty rates and social isolation, is less common in Canada when compared to the United States and Europe.[32] This further demonstrates the level of integration of immigrants in Canada. Multiculturalism has a wide range of positive impacts from the acceptance of immigrants and refugees to the Canadian pride in multiculturalism.

Although the Multiculturalism Act laid the framework for a vision of an inclusive Canada, its guarantee of equity was limited. The Multiculturalism Act is not the sole legislation

---

Multiculturalism in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51, no. 1 (2021): 122-42, https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2021.1878544.

[25] "Canadian public opinion," Environics Institute for Survey Research.

[26] "Canadian public opinion," Environics Institute for Survey Research.

[27] Kymlicka, "Precarious Resilience," 122-42.

[28] Ng and Bloemraad, "A SWOT analysis," 620.

[29] Kymlicka, "The current state of multiculturalism."

[30] Kymlicka, "The current state of multiculturalism."

[31] Ghosh, "Multiculturalism in a comparative perspective," 20.

[32] Kymlicka, "The current state of multiculturalism."

regarding multiculturalism but the ideology of multiculturalism can also be applied to other laws and policies such as the Charter of Rights and Freedom (1982) and the Employment Equity Act (1986).[33] These legislations are evident in their underlying values. For instance, the Multiculturalism Act aimed "to promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation."[34] In theory, these legislations aim to provide fair treatment to all people regardless of whether they are citizens, residents, or visitors.[35] However, there is a discrepancy when multiculturalism is presented in practice. For instance, the existence of hate crimes challenges the very notions of human dignity and inclusion which are values that fall under the ideology of multiculturalism.[36] From 2020 to 2021, there has been an increase in hate crimes: 6% in race, 67% in religion, and 64% in sexual orientation.[37] Similarly, the rise in anti-Asian hate crimes was observed during the height of the pandemic.[38] Current racial disparities still massively exist in Canada. For instance, there are drastic health gaps between Indigenous Canadians and their counterparts.[39] Black Canadians also face systemic discrimination from institutions such as healthcare, education, employment, and housing.[40] Laws that have underlying tones of multiculturalism do not guarantee the protection

[33] Perry, "Disrupting the mantra," 1637-54.
[34] Berry, "Research on multiculturalism," 663-75.
[35] Perry, "Disrupting the mantra," 1637-54.
[36] Perry, "Disrupting the mantra," 1637-54.
[37] Statistics Canada, *Table 4 Police-reported hate-motivated crime, by detailed motivation, Canada, 2020 to 2021,* last modified 2022, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220802/t004a-eng.htm.
[38] Shuang Chen and Chuang Wu, "#Stopasianhate: Understanding the global rise of anti-Asian racism from a transcultural communication perspective," *Journal of Transcultural Communication* 1, no. 1 (2021): 5-19.
[39] Public Health Agency of Canada, *Key Health Inequalities in Canada: A National Portrait – Executive Summary,* last modified 2018, https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/publications/science-research-data/key-health-inequalities-canada-national-portrait-executive-summary.html.
[40] Public Health Agency of Canada, *Social determinants and inequities in health for Black Canadians: A Snapshot*, last modified 2020, https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/health-promotion/population-health/what-determines-health/social-determinants-inequities-black-canadians-snapshot.html.

of all groups, including religious minorities. Most notably, the passing of Bill 21 in Quebec is an apparent attack on multiculturalism. Bill 21, Quebec's Act Respecting the Laicity of the State, seeks to ban all public servants, such as teachers, from wearing religious symbols.[41] The reasons behind this Bill include secularism (laïcité) which argues for the religious neutrality of states and the separation of state from religion.[42] Many scholars have argued that this ban was deliberate and that it disproportionately affected Muslim women.[43] Although the Charter of Rights and Freedoms explicitly lists that "every individual is equal before and under the law… without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability,"[44] loopholes remain, such as the notwithstanding clause that allowed Quebec to get around the law.[45] Thus, legal structures in place that espouse multiculturalism do not guarantee equal protection nor equitable outcomes for all. There is an apparent discrepancy between multiculturalism in theory and practice.

The creation of myths about multiculturalism has dismissed systemic issues through projecting an image of Canada as a place free of racial issues. A myth is a constructed narrative by dominant groups that creates a national image at the expense of a comprehensive view of history.[46] Specifically, these myths "sanitize" histories, selecting aspects that are more desirable

---

[41] Lee and Johnstone, "Lest We Forget," 671-85.
[42] Monica Patrick et al., "Religion and Secularism: Four Myths and Bill 21," *Research and Studies on Race Relations in Canada* 30, 2021.
[43] Patrick et al., "Religion and Secularism."
[44] Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982, s 7, Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c11.
[45] Stephanie Taylor, "Conservatives clarify opposition to Quebec's Bill 21 following vote for notwithstanding clause," Global News, February 15, 2023. https://globalnews.ca/news/9486660/conservatives-clarify-opposition-to-quebecs-bill-21-following-vote-for-notwithstanding-clause/#:~:text=The%20notwithstanding%20clause%20is%20a,of%20up%20to%20five%20years.
[46] Lighton Midzain-Gobin and Howard A. Smith, "Debunking the Myth of Canada as a Non-Colonial Power," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 50, no. 4 (2020): 479-97. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2020.1849329;

for the nation's image.[47] Myths can be weaponized by political elites to obscure policy and reinforce certain practices and institutions, potentially leading to an expression in public opinion.[48] A common myth in Canada is the idea of a tolerant nation, one that is welcoming of ethnic and cultural diversity.[49] Such a myth can conceal the pervasiveness of racism, discrimination, and prejudice that still exists in contemporary society.[50] It can overlook the current power relations between dominant and subordinate groups.[51] For instance, when discussing the legacy of residential schools, a common sentiment expressed is the idea that this was a problem of "the past"[52] or part of Canada's "unfortunate events."[53] Perpetuating these narratives undermine the history of mistreatment against Indigenous Canadians.[54] Other sentiments are expressed by politicians which contribute to the downplaying of systemic racism. For instance, Doug Ford, the Ontario Premier, argued that Canada does not have the same systemic problems that the United States has, and Alberta Premier Danielle Smith contended that the unvaccinated were the "most discriminated-against group" [55] in her life. [56] Such statements

---

Gérard Bouchard, "National myths: An overview," in National Myths, 290–311, *Routledge*, 2013, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203097113-24.

[47] Midzain-Gobin and Smith, "Debunking the Myth," 479-97.

[48] Midzain-Gobin and Smith, "Debunking the Myth," 479-97.

[49] Himani Bannerji, "On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the State of 'Canada.'" *Canadian Scholars' Press and Women's Press*, 2000.

[50] Pillay, "Decentring the myth," 69-80.

[51] Bannerji, "On the Dark Side"; Midzain-Gobin and Smith, "Debunking the Myth," 479-97.

[52] Midzain-Gobin and Smith, "Debunking the Myth," 480.

[53] Chelsea Vowel, "Indigenous Writes: A Guide to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Issues in Canada, chapter 3," *Portage & Main Press*, 2016.

[54] Vowel, "Indigenous Writes"; Kathryn Montgomery, "'A better place to live': School history textbooks, nationalist fantasies, and the incarcerating banality of white supremacy," in *Talking Truth, Confronting Power: Discourse, Power, and Resistance Series* 6 (83-98): 2008.

[55] Ana Melgar and Houssein M. Nassar, "Danielle Smith calls unvaccinated 'most discriminated-against group' in her lifetime," *CityNews*, October 11, 2022. https://calgary.citynews.ca/2022/10/11/danielle-smith-unvaccinated-alberta/.

[56] Meera Estrada, "Commentary: Yes, there is systemic racism in Canada - our history is filled with it - national," *Global News*. April 2, 2023, https://globalnews.ca/news/7029694/canada-systemic-racism/.

demonstrate the lack of consideration for systemic problems. Additionally, Midzain-Gobin & Smith posit that this common need to distinguish oneself from Americans, as exhibited by Doug Ford, contributes to the construction of these myths.[57] These beliefs are also evident when two-thirds of Canadians believe that Canada is not a racist country.[58] One may believe it as willful ignorance but this is also a symptom of deeply perpetuated myths that create a misleading image of Canada. Not only are politicians complicit in perpetuating such myths but the education system has a role as well.[59] Textbooks have been instrumental in maintaining these myths about a tolerant Canada.[60] By omitting a complete view of history, Canada is constructed to be a utopia, grounded in moral goodness.[61] This further obscures Canada's involvement in ongoing injustices.[62] Canada has rapidly progressed in its racial relations but that does not entail a perfect society for all.

Multiculturalism and neoliberalism can go hand in hand in Canada's policies. Those in power, particularly the government, deliberately use myths to further a neoliberal agenda in policies. One notable myth about multiculturalism is the claim of racial equity and that Canada provides a decent quality of life for all.[63] All in Canada, not merely Canadian citizens, have supported such a myth. For instance, one of the many reasons that immigrants come to Canada include "enjoying a high quality of life."[64] These reasons are further enhanced when the

---

[57] Midzain-Gobin and Smith, "Debunking the Myth," 479-97.
[58] "Diversity and Racism in Canada: Competing views deeply divide country along gender, generational lines," Angus Reid Institute, accessed March 31, 2023, https://angusreid.org/diversity-racism-canada/.
[59] Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History.* Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997.
[60] Francis, *"National Dreams"*; Montgomery, "A better place to live," 83-98.
[61] Montgomery, "A better place to live," 83-98.
[62] Montgomery, "A better place to live," 83-98.
[63] John Simpson Carol E. James, and Jacqui Mack, "Multiculturalism, colonialism, and racialization: Conceptual starting points," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 33, no. 4 (2011): 285-305.
[64] René Houle and Grant Schellenberg, "New immigrants' assessments of their life in Canada," *Statistics Canada Analytical Branch Studies* 322 (2010).

Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada uses deliberate rhetoric like how diversity is Canada's "strength" in order to attract "'global talent.'"[65] It is apparent how such a myth has been marketed within Canada's immigration policies to encourage immigration. Multicultural neoliberalism has a role in forcing immigrants to assimilate into a pluralistic ideal which minimizes accommodating for differences.[66] Multicultural neoliberalism describes the "reconfiguration" of Canada's immigrant population towards a more "neoliberal orientation" in which the responsibility of government in the integration process of immigrants is minimized.[67] Hence, newcomers are given the onus to integrate into a new society without being provided adequate support.[68] Neoliberalism can also take precedence over multicultural ideals.[69] This is demonstrated through the work programs that temporarily encourage migrants to fill labour shortages but are barred from family reunification and lack equal access to social and health benefits.[70] Despite the encouragement of migration in the country, it runs contradictory to multicultural values of inclusion and fairness.[71] Lastly, the framing of multiculturalism in Canada has espoused neoliberal values where diversity is seen as an economic benefit.[72] Canada has leveraged their multicultural status to attract foreign investors, boasting about their multilingual workers and inclusive hiring practices.[73] Moreover, immigration has been viewed through a

---

[65] Rina Bhuyan, Kyong Yoon, and Leticia Valmadrid, "Family Reunification as an Earned Right: A Framing Analysis of Migrant Workers' Pathways to Neoliberal Multicultural Citizenship in Canada," *New Political Science* 42, no. 4 (2020): 558-77. doi:10.1080/07393148.2020.1840198.

[66] Janet Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families: Neoliberalism and the framing of Canadian immigration policy change," *Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement* (RCIS) No. 7, 2014, 1-19.

[67] Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families," 1-19.

[68] Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families," 1-19.

[69] Bhuyan, "Family Reunification," 558-77.

[70] Bhuyan, "Family Reunification," 558-77; Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families," 1-19.

[71] Perry, "Disrupting the Mantra," 1637-54.

[72] Kymlicka, "The Precarious Resilience," 122-42.

[73] Bhuyan, "Family Reunification," 558-77; Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families," 1-19.

market and capital lens in contrast to earlier humanitarian reasons.[74] Such a phenomenon is aligned with multiculturalism because the diverse ethnic backgrounds that immigrants bring carry "commercial value" which aids free trade policies.[75] All in all, the interplay between multiculturalism and neoliberalism are well-crafted ideologies that can further harm people.

Undoubtedly, multiculturalism has been a valuable tool in Canadian society to embrace marginalized groups; however, it has also been weaponized to maintain myths, neglect systemic problems, and advance a neoliberal agenda. As evidenced, multiculturalism has played a pivotal role in the integration of newcomers, fostering a sense of celebration for ethnic diversity. Moreover, enacting multiculturalism in Canada marked a monumental moment for all, consequently fostering a national identity grounded in ideals of equity and fairness. However, Canadian society has not perfectly reflected multiculturalism, as evidenced by racial disparities and the prevalence of hate crimes. Likewise, such multicultural ideals about equity and fairness can mask neoliberalism in immigration policies. Overall, the existence of multiculturalism is complex and multifaceted. It is critical to continually critique multiculturalism while simultaneously appreciating its role in racial progress.

[74] Bhuyan, "Family Reunification," 558-77; Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families," 1-19.; Ritchie, "Learning Multiculturalism," 344.
[75] Root et al., "Discounting immigrant families," 6.

Bibliography

Angus Reid. "Diversity and Racism in Canada: Competing views deeply divide country along gender, generational lines" Accessed March 31, 2023. https://angusreid.org/diversity-racism-canada/

Bannerji, Himani. "On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the State of 'Canada.'" *Canadian Scholars' Press and Women's Press*, 2000.

Berry, John W. "Research on multiculturalism in Canada." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37, no. 6 (2013): 663-75.

Bhuyan, Rina, Kyong Yoon, and Leticia Valmadrid. "Family Reunification as an Earned Right: A Framing Analysis of Migrant Workers' Pathways to Neoliberal Multicultural Citizenship in Canada." *New Political Science* 42, no. 4 (2020): 558-77. doi:10.1080/07393148.2020.1840198.

Bouchard, Gérard. "National myths: An overview." In National Myths, 290–311. *Routledge*, 2013. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203097113-24.

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982, s 7, Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c11.

Chen, Shuang, and Chuang Wu. "#Stopasianhate: Understanding the global rise of anti-Asian racism from a transcultural communication perspective." *Journal of Transcultural Communication* 1, no. 1 (2021): 5-19.

Dennison, James, and Andrew Geddes. "A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western Europe." *The Political Quarterly* 90 (2019): 107-16. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1111/1467-923X.12620.

Environics Institute for Survey Research. "Canadian public opinion about immigration and refugees." Accessed March 20, 2023. https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/focus-canada---fall-2022---immigration-refugees/focus-canada-fall-2022---canadian-public-opinion-about-immigration-refugees---final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=b31e22c9_2.

Estrada, Meera. "Commentary: Yes, there is systemic racism in Canada - our history is filled with it - national." *Global News.* April 2, 2023. https://globalnews.ca/news/7029694/canada-systemic-racism/

Francis, Daniel. *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History.* Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997.

Ghosh, Ratna. "Multiculturalism in a comparative perspective: Australia, Canada and India." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 1 (2018): 15-36.

Ghosh, Ratna. "The Liberating Potential of Multiculturalism in Canada: Ideals and Realities." Canadian Issues (2011).

Global News. "Conservative Party leadership candidates participate in 1st official English debate | full." YouTube video. March 27, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3H91TVF0wSk&ab_channel=GlobalNews.

Houle, René, and Grant Schellenberg. "New immigrants' assessments of their life in Canada." *Statistics Canada Analytical Branch Studies* 322 (2010).

Kymlicka, Will. "The current state of multiculturalism in Canada and research themes on Canadian multiculturalism 2008-2010." *desLibris*, 2010.

———. "The Precarious Resilience of Multiculturalism in Canada." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51, no. 1 (2021): 122-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2021.1878544.

Lee, Evelyn, and Mireille Johnstone. "Lest We Forget: Politics of Multiculturalism in Canada Revisited during COVID-19." *Critical Sociology* 47, no. 4-5 (2021): 671-85. https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211000116.

Library and Archives Canada. Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, Volume 8 8545-8548, Appendix, 8580-5. October 8, 1971. https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/canadian-multiculturalism-policy-1971.

Melgar, Ana, and Houssein M. Nassar. "Danielle Smith calls unvaccinated 'most discriminated-against group' in her lifetime." *CityNews*, October 11, 2022. https://calgary.citynews.ca/2022/10/11/danielle-smith-unvaccinated-alberta/.

Midzain-Gobin, Lighton, and Howard A. Smith. "Debunking the Myth of Canada as a Non-Colonial Power." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 50, no. 4 (2020): 479-97. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2020.1849329.

Montgomery, Kathryn. "A better place to live': School history textbooks, nationalist fantasies, and the incarcerating banality of white supremacy." In *Talking truth, confronting power: Discourse power, resistance* 6, (2008): 83-98.

Nanos Research. "Exploring Canadian values: Values Survey Summary." 2016. Accessed March 23, 2023. https://www.nanos.co/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2016-918-values-populated-report-w-tabs-r.pdf.

Ng, Edward, and Irene Bloemraad. "A SWOT analysis of multiculturalism in Canada, Europe, Mauritius, and South Korea." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 6 (2015): 619-36.

Peker, Emre. "Situating the reasonable accommodation debates in Quebec's contention for sovereignty." *Arc* 45 (2017): 1-21.

Patrick, Monica, Winnie A. Chan, Hicham Tiflati, and Erin Reid. "Religion and Secularism: Four Myths and Bill 21." *Research and Studies on Race Relations in Canada* 30, 2021.

Pettigrew, Thomas, Ulrich Wagner, and Oliver Christ. "WHO OPPOSES IMMIGRATION?: Comparing German with North American Findings." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 4, no. 1 (2007): 19-39. doi:10.1017/S1742058X07070038.

Perry, Barbara. "Disrupting the mantra of multiculturalism: Hate crime in Canada." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 13 (2015): 1637-54.

Pillay, Thanu. "Decentring the myth of Canadian multiculturalism: A post-structural feminist analysis." In *Decolonizing global citizenship education* (2015): 69-80.

Public Health Agency of Canada. *Social determinants and inequities in health for Black Canadians: A Snapshot.* 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/health-promotion/population-health/what-determines-health/social-determinants-inequities-black-canadians-snapshot.html.

———. *Key Health Inequalities in Canada: A National Portrait – Executive Summary.* 2018. https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/publications/science-research-data/key-health-inequalities-canada-national-portrait-executive-summary.html.

Ritchie, Gregory. "Learning multiculturalism: In the neoliberal context." *Adult Education for Inclusion and Diversity* 344, 2017.

Root, Janet, Emily Gates-Gasse, Jennifer Shields, and Harald Bauder. "Discounting Immigrant Families: Neoliberalism and the Framing of Canadian Immigration Policy Change." *Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement (RCIS)* No. 7, (2014): 1-19.

Simpson, John S., Carol E. James, and Jacqui Mack. "Multiculturalism, colonialism, and racialization: Conceptual starting points." *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 33, no. 4 (2011): 285-305.

Statistics Canada. *Immigration, place of birth, and citizenship – 2021 Census promotional material.* 2022. https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/census/census-engagement/community-supporter/immigration.

———. *Table 4 Police-reported hate-motivated crime, by detailed motivation, Canada, 2020 to 2021.* 2022. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220802/t004a-eng.htm.

Taylor, Stephanie. "Conservatives clarify opposition to Quebec's Bill 21 following vote for notwithstanding clause." Global News, February 15, 2023. https://globalnews.ca/news/9486660/conservatives-clarify-opposition-to-quebecs-bill-21-following-vote-for-notwithstanding-clause/#:~:text=The%20notwithstanding%20clause%20is%20a,of%20up%20to%20five%20years.

Ugland, Trygve. "The Quebec Charter of Values: A Solution in Search of Problems?" *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, no. 42 (2014): 11-21.

Vowel, Chelsea. "Indigenous Writes: A Guide to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Issues in Canada, chapter 3." *Portage & Main Press*, 2016.

Wayland, Shara V. "Immigration, Multiculturalism and National Identity in Canada." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 5, no. 1 (1997): 33–58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24674516.

Wood, Patricia K., and Leah Gilbert. "Multiculturalism in Canada: Accidental discourse, alternative vision, urban practice." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 679-91.

Wong, Lloyd, and Shibao Guo. "Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada: An introduction." In *Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada*, (2015): 1-14.

An Assessment on the Limitations on American Airpower during Operation Rolling Thunder

by Reid Williamson, HTST 383

Airpower played a significant role in escalating the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. The first American bombing campaign in Vietnam took place from March 1965 to October 1968, called Operation Rolling Thunder. Rolling Thunder aimed to coerce North Vietnam to stop their support for the Viet Cong (VC) insurgency in South Vietnam. It was hoped that the campaign would boost the morale of South Vietnam and give credibility to the American commitment to contain communism.[1] However, Operation Rolling Thunder was ultimately unsuccessful as it failed to achieve any of its strategic objectives. The aerial campaign did not coerce the North Vietnamese into halting support for the Viet Cong. While the bombings did create complications for the North, they nevertheless were able to move more than an adequate number of supplies and men into the South. Operation Rolling Thunder failed to coerce Hanoi into halting support for the VC due to limitations with doctrine, political restraints, environmental conditions, and pilot training.

The doctrine employed by the United States Air Force (USAF) during Operation Rolling Thunder was ill-suited for a limited conflict in a guerrilla war. This was the doctrine of strategic bombing used by the United States Army Air Force (USAAF) during the Second World War. The idea behind strategic bombing is to destroy the enemy's ability to wage war by attacking their industry. Therefore, air planners designed a campaign that would target the industrial capacity of North Vietnam. It was hoped that the destruction of the North's meager industry would prevent their continued support for the Viet Cong. Targets of this aerial campaign included oil storage

[1] Robert A. Pape, "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War," *International Security* 15:2 (1990): 113.

facilities, cement and steel factories, and electric power plants. The Air Force also planned an interdiction campaign against the transportation system to prevent supplies from moving south.[2] However, the application of this doctrine to the Vietnam War suffered from several limitations due to the asymmetrical nature of the conflict, the underdevelopment of North Vietnam, and an underestimation of the North's will.

Rolling Thunder could not starve the Viet Cong of supplies due to their minimal needs in waging a guerrilla war and their ability to dictate the pace of battle. Of the Communist soldiers in South Vietnam, 245,000 of them were from the Viet Cong. These soldiers intermingled with the general population and did not frequently engage in combat. The totality of supply requirements to wage this kind of war was roughly 380 tons a day, of which only 34 tons were needed from sources outside the South. This roughly amounts to only one percent of the tonnage imported into North Vietnam. In fact, the bombings helped the VC extract more supplies from its allies. Hanoi, by pointing to the bombings, was able to extract more imports from the Soviet Union and China. This only helped to increase the aid North Vietnam could give to support the insurrection in the South.[3] Furthermore, because the VC dictated the pace of battle, it allowed them to extract supplies from within South Vietnam. This significantly reduced the degree to which the Southern insurgents relied on the North for supplies. The nature of the conflict in South Vietnam was such that the guerrilla fighters had marginal material requirements, making the strategical objective of starving the VC a futile effort.[4]

---

[2] Mark Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power: The American Bombing of North Vietnam* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 101; 125-7.
[3] Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power,* 134-5.
[4] Pape, "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War," 128.

Rolling Thunder failed to destroy the economy of North Vietnam because of the North's underdevelopment and external support. The bombing offensive caused extensive damage to the military, transportation, and economic infrastructures of North Vietnam. However, even with all this destruction, North Vietnam was not drastically harmed economically. This damage was offset by the external support received by North Vietnam from China and the Soviet Union. The North received these materials along supply routes immune from attacks from the USAF.[5] Furthermore, attacks on oil storage and electric power plants had a minimal effect on Hanoi's war effort because North Vietnam was undeveloped. Hanoi only required 32,000 tons of oil per year to operate its economy, which was easily fulfilled by its dispersed sites. Powerplants were also non-essential to the economy of North Vietnam, and they could compensate for lost plants with generators.[6] The American doctrine of strategic bombing was suited to fight a highly industrialized nation like Germany in WWII but ill-equipped for what the Air Force faced in Vietnam. Therefore, while the USAF was successful at destroying the North's industry, it could not harm them economically because of external support and their minimal material requirements.

Lastly, the United States leaders heavily underestimated the will of the North Vietnamese to continue their support for the insurgency in the South. American leaders and the Joint Chief of Staff strongly believed that North Vietnam would crack under the pressure of destruction created by Rolling Thunder. However, these leaders knew nothing about the North Vietnamese intentions nor the extent to which they would carry out the war.[7] North Vietnam was able to organize a vast

---

[5] Ricky James Drake, *The Rules of Defeat: The Impact of Aerial Rules of Engagement on USAF Operations in North Vietnam, 1965-1968* (Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 1992), 21.
[6] Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power*, 137-8.
[7] Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power, 140.*

labour force of over 300,000 individuals to repair damage to their transportation system. This displayed the firm determination of the North to quickly offset the destruction of the bombings to continue to move supplies south.[8] Besides counteracting interdiction efforts, the Northern leaders were able to use the bombing to harden the support of the population for the war in the South. The firm resolve of the North Vietnamese people was a crucial component for continuing the support for the VC in South Vietnam.[9] Therefore, the firm will of the leaders of North Vietnam and their people limited the effect Rolling Thunder could have on morale. Rather than hurt morale, the bombing campaign hardened the North's determination to continue the war.

Political constraints placed on Operation Rolling Thunder, precisely the control of targets and frequency of attacks, limited the effects of the bombing campaign. President Lyndon Johnson's political controls on Rolling Thunder sought to prevent Soviet or Chinese intervention. Therefore, the USAF was restricted from hitting targets close to the Chinse border or Hanoi and Haiphong unless permitted by the Joint Chief of Staff. These restrictions remained in effect throughout the duration of Rolling Thunder. Furthermore, restrictions were placed on how often strikes could be initiated. Targets were assigned weekly and biweekly to ensure that the campaign would gradually intensify. In many cases, Johnson would halt the campaign completely for both propaganda reasons and negotiations.[10] The USAF could have destroyed all high-value air defence targets early in the war. However, due to political limitations, they were constrained. This allowed the North Vietnamese to expand their air defence system without

[8] Drake, *The Rules of Defeat,* 21-2.
[9] Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power, 138.*
[10] Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power,* 119.

interference until 1966. The political restraint imposed on the Air Force during Rolling Thunder ensured that gaining complete control of the sky was impossible.[11]

The air defence system created by North Vietnam with the help of the USSR was an issue for the USAF bombers and complicated the quest for air superiority. With the help of the Soviet Union, the North Vietnamese were able to construct an air defence system.[12] This air defence system included a combination of Surface-to-Air Missile (SAM), radar, Anti-Aircraft Artillery (AAA), and MiG's. The North had an extensive and effective radar system that was good at detecting American aircraft and coordinating MiG, SAM, and AAA engagements. With so many radars, the Air Force could not jam them all, resulting in untroubled aircraft detection. By 1966, the North Vietnamese AAA defences were alarming for the USAF, estimated at 7,000 guns nationwide. Specifically, the AAAs were heavily concentrated around Hanoi and Haiphong and were comparable to those in WWII around vital industrial areas. As a result, loss rates for attack sorties from 1965-68 were roughly four percent, a significant issue for the Air Force. SAM sites proliferated following 1965 as a response to the increasing American air war. In 1965, North Vietnam fired 180 SAMs, which destroyed eleven American aircraft.[13]

The approach of gradualism taken by Johnson hampered the surprise, flexibility, and concentration of the aerial attacks. Since targets were progressively attacked in Rolling Thunder, the campaign's surprise element was limited. The North Vietnamese quickly realized that the USAF was only targeting specific areas and that these targets expanded slowly as they refused to

---

[11] Brian D. Laslie, *The Air Force Way of War U.S. Tactics and Training after Vietnam* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 5.
[12] Mark Clapson, *The Blitz Companion: Aerial Warfare, Civilians and the City since 1911* (London: University of Westminster Press, 2019), 157.
[13] William W. Momyer, Airpower in Three Wars (Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 2003), 133-4, 136-7.

bend to the Americans. This allowed Hanoi to concentrate its air defences in areas they knew would be attacked. The gradualist approach limited flexibility because of the regimental targeting plan, which forbade improvisation or alterations. Consequently, the Air Force was allowed no room for ingenuity during Operation Rolling Thunder. Lastly, the USAF could not concentrate its forces during the bombing campaign. This resulted from fragmented command and control combined with numerous bombing halts.[14] The approach of gradualism coming out of political restraints created significant hurdles for the Air Force to achieve their ultimate objective. The restraints imposed on the USAF during Rolling Thunder ensured that the campaign lacked ingenuity, flexibility, and concentration while allowing Hanoi's air defence system to grow.

The environmental conditions of North Vietnam were a further limitation to the success of Operation Rolling Thunder. North Vietnam is covered with dense vegetation and forests, which allowed for coverage of men and supplies moving into the South. This greatly limited American airmen's ability to locate transportation vehicles in interdiction efforts. The weather in Vietnam was a further environmental limitation to aerial campaigns, specifically during the monsoon season, which arrived in August.[15] This lasted for eight months of the year, covering North Vietnam in rain and fog. With reduced visibility, the accuracy of bombing in Rolling Thunder during these months was erratic. In lousy weather, bombs typically fell 1,500 to 2,000 feet from the target compared to the 400-foot dispersion in good weather. Bombings in bad weather were even more inaccurate when targets were defended with anti-aircraft fire. Naturally, the most important targets in North Vietnam had more anti-aircraft protection, such as urban

[14] Stephen W. Wilson, "Taking Clodfelter One Step Further: Mass, Surprise, Concentration, and the Failure of Operation Rolling Thunder," *Air Power History* 48:4 (2001): 43-4.
[15] Phil Haun, *Tactical Air Power and the Vietnam War: Explaining Effectiveness in Modern Air Warfare* 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024), 44-5.

centers. This meant that bombing strategically important targets during bad weather was largely ineffective.[16]

Throughout the Vietnam War, USAF pilots, specifically tactical fighter pilots, were not adequately trained for the missions required of them. The focus of the training was on the needs of the bomber force and did not prepare fighters for combat with enemy planes or defeating enemy air defences. Specifically, one of the significant problems facing fighter pilots in missions over North Vietnam was their lack of experience. Pilots who trained with one aircraft type were thrown into a short replacement training unit to fly fighters. However, this training was usually lacking, which was a common complaint among pilots in the USAF. For example, pilots received no basic training in fighter maneuver concepts like 'barrel roll attack' and 'high-speed yo-yo.' Therefore, pilots were not appropriately trained to employ the full potential of their aircraft, which limited the protection bombers received from fighters during Rolling Thunder. As a result of poor training, the Air Force suffered heavy losses from a country with inferior military capability. In total, the Air Force lost 1,737 aircraft, of which 1,443 were lost to ground fire, and MiGs shot down 67. These losses strained the Air Force's ability to train and deploy tactical air squadrons. Therefore, training time for pilots was cut from twenty-six weeks to six weeks, which exaggerated training problems.[17] Ultimately, fighter pilots' poor training made bombers more susceptible to the North's anti-aircraft defense system.

Operation Rolling Thunder failed to coerce North Vietnam to stop their support for the VC due to the limitations of doctrine, political constraints, environmental conditions, and

[16] Earl H. Tilford, Setup: What the Air Force did in Vietnam and Why (Washington, DC: Air University Press, 1991), 113-4.
[17] Laslie, *The Air Force Way of War U.S. Tactics and Training after Vietnam*, 2-4, 10-1, 13.

training. The doctrine employed by the USAF in Rolling Thunder was unsuitable for a guerrilla conflict against an enemy with primitive industry. Therefore, the strategic objective of stopping Hanoi from being able to support the insurgency in the South was unrealistic. Despite the American interdiction efforts, the VC had marginal supply needs that the North could easily fulfill. On the other hand, Hanoi was not reliant on petroleum or energy and could exceed its requirements with Chinese and Soviet support. Political restraints and the gradual approach of Rolling Thunder limited when and where bombers could attack and allowed the North Vietnamese air defence system to grow. The environment in Vietnam created difficulties for the USAF in finding transportation routes and hitting targets during the monsoon season, which resulted in poor accuracy. Training tactical fighter pilots ensured that pilots did not know the potential of their aircraft, which resulted in increased losses. These difficulties ensured that airpower was misused in Vietnam and that the Air Force was unprepared for the challenge they faced in Operation Rolling Thunder.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Clapson, Mark. *The Blitz Companion: Aerial Warfare, Civilians and the City since 1911.* London: University of Westminster Press, 2019.

Clodfelter, Mark. *The Limits of Air Power: The American Bombing of North Vietnam.* New York: Free Press, 1989.

Drake, Ricky James. *The Rules of Defeat: The Impact of Aerial Rules of Engagement on USAF Operations in North Vietnam, 1965-1968.* Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 1992.

Haun, Phil. *Tactical Air Power and the Vietnam War: Explaining Effectiveness in Modern Air Warfare.* 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024.

Laslie, Brian D. *The Air Force Way of War U.S. Tactics and Training after Vietnam.* Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2015.

Momyer, William W. Airpower in Three Wars. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 2003.

Pape, Robert A. "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War." *International Security* 15:2 (1990): 113, 128.

Tilford, Earl H. Setup: What the Air Force did in Vietnam and Why. Washington, DC: Air University Press, 1991.

Wilson, Stephen W. "Taking Clodfelter One Step Further: Mass, Surprise, Concentration, and the Failure of Operation Rolling Thunder." *Air Power History* 48:4 (2001): 43-4.

Book Review: A World Without Jews by Alon Confino

by Eula Mengullo, HTST 427

Alon Confino's *A World Without Jews* is an insightful exploration of the origins and amplification of the Holocaust, and how the Nazis were able to solidify a concept of a German state without Jews prior to the execution of the Final Solution. Unlike other analyses of Nazism, the Holocaust and the *Kristallnacht*, Confino places a heavy emphasis on the burning of the Bible, and more broadly, the role of religion and how it commingled with scientific racism that helped justify anti-Jewish sentiments in Germany since 1933. By analyzing these concepts, Confino's primary argument rests on the idea that by compartmentalization — which was carried out locally as it was systemically — the Nazis, and complicit Germans, were, therefore, able to imagine a world devoid of Jewish influence and existence as early as 1933. Thus, in the same vein, Confino also challenges the wide consensus of functionalist theory in Holocaust literature that the Nazis had not foreseen Auschwitz, and that the Final Solution was merely a by-product of the war. Ultimately, this nuanced perspective of the interplay between race and religion — previously, and sometimes deliberately overlooked by scholars as Confino contends — that makes *A World Without Jews* a compelling viewpoint with which to examine the Holocaust.

Confino divides his analysis into three sections, which begins with the examination of the burning of books in May 1933. In the first half of the book focusing on the years 1933 to 1938, Confino discusses anti-Jewish sentiment as "a popular initiative from below," at the grassroots level, only to be followed as official state policy later on.[1] In this section, Confino demonstrates how in order to solidify German identity, it first needed to rid itself of "'un-Germans' who

[1] Confino, 47.

contaminated the social environment," with the primary target being the Jews.[2] However, in this section, Confino begins with a broader scope of enemies that the Nazis wanted to cleanse Germany of, which includes Bolshevism, liberalism, Marxist, communist and Jewish influences, to name a few. He demonstrates this by exemplifying the book burnings which took place months prior to May 10, and heavily targeted socialist and communist literature and political writings.[3] However, as Confino highlighted, the May 10 book burning occasion "represented a wider agenda about remaking German identity because it was initiated by students and academics, whose professions are based on the reading and writing of books, and because it took place as a public ritual in citadels of learning."[4] By burning un-German literature, the Nazis were able to construct a clean slate, marking the beginning of national redemption and a new identity which "redefined concepts of nationhood, Germanness and history."[5] This episode was not only important in the construction of renewed German identity, but also in highlighting the fact that while the regime supported and perpetrated the cleansing of un-German elements, the complicit participants to the book burnings were, as Confino puts it, "not coerced from above, but [rather] acted enthusiastically from below."[6]

Having established the concept of the complicit attitude of the civilian population, Confino consequently discusses the locality of the anti-Jewish sentiments that followed hereon. As Hitler consolidated power in 1934, what followed was a series of discriminatory measures against the Jews. In discussing the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935, as well as the concept of

[2] Confino, 47.
[3] Confino, 43.
[4] Confino, 43.
[5] Confino, 44.
[6] Confino, 44.

Heimat, or homeland, Confino demonstrates the gradual process in which the Nazis tried to solidify their definition of the German identity against the backdrop of increasing compartmentalization and anti-Semitism. The idea of the *Heimat* as a symbol of local identity was recognized and taken advantage of by the Third Reich, for it constituted the most familiar way of belonging within the German tradition. However, as the author pointed out, the concept of *Heimat* relies more on the affection of affiliation than concrete, verifiable facts. Regardless, this exact familiarity with German customs and carnivalesque pageantry — such as the May 10 book burning — was exploited by the Nazis, as further exemplified by the public violence and humiliation carried out against the Jews. According to Confino, the publicity of these acts was crucial in order "to make an impact [and] to steer people to act."[7] Perhaps most striking was the practice of neighbourly violence where long-time Jewish residents were humiliated and victimized precisely by those whom they had lived with for years. Here, once again, Confino emphasizes the importance of individual action and agency in the face of regime pressure, while also underlining the public significance of such acts, which was to tap into the emotions of the civilians, thus building an "emotional community."[8] By carrying out individual, intentional acts of violence against the Jews, the perpetrator increases their belonging and thus solidifies their German identity. In speaking about local displays of Jewish mockery, ridicule and public violence, Confino contends that "although public stances were shaped by pressures emanating from the regime, there was [still] considerable space for individual choice and action," therefore emphasizing the importance of individuality in the events leading up to the Holocaust. This magnification of the willingness of civilian participation is one of the strengths in Confino's work, for it humanizes the Holocaust and moves away from the bureaucratic-focused lens that

[7] Confino, 79.
[8] Confino, 79.

the literature had often attributed to the Jewish genocide in Nazi Germany. Furthermore, as much as he focused on the human actions that made such magnitude of hatred and humiliation possible, so too did he highlight examples of when other Germans showed empathy and courage in defence of their Jewish friends and neighbours, often at the cost of themselves and their own dignity. By not leaving this part out, the author therefore presents a balanced perspective of events. However, even in light of this acknowledgement, the argument of what the individual should have done can come across as simply lacking historical empathy. By placing the individual perpetrators in the onus of the blame, it tends to negate the existential pressures that must have been pressing and were perhaps utilized and abused by the Third Reich, to further the compartmentalization between Germans and the Jewish people. After all, Confino himself gave examples of how those who attempted to defend their Jewish friends instead earned the ire of the perpetrators. In truth, while this analysis of the individual-centred approach offers insight into how individual actions made the Holocaust possible, it can also become a double-edged sword. Regardless, however, Confino still managed to highlight the dangers that such a magnitude of hatred can do.

Perhaps one of Confino's greatest contributions is the amount of significance that he gives to the burning of the Bible, which he discusses in depth in the latter half of the book, shifting the temporal focus to 1938's *Kristallnacht*. By this point, the Germans had turned their ire towards the religious elements of Jewish identity by the destruction of Torah scrolls and the burning of synagogues, and most of all, the Hebrew Bible. This occurrence translated throughout the Third Reich, including the newly annexed Austria, and was even participated in by children. According to Confino, the scholarship on *Kristallnacht* has largely ignored the burning of the

Bible, which merely defined the episode as a result of regime policy structures.[9] On the contrary, Confino contends that "this act cannot be reduced to an issue of policy decision-making," as it lacks an explanation of why the perpetrators had burned the Torah. Instead, for Confino, he asserts that the burning of the Bible was a fundamental aspect for the Nazis to destroy Judaism as a whole as it threatens the survival of the Third Reich.[10] To them, the Jews "epitomized both the rootlessness of modern times *and* the ultimate historical origins embedded in the Bible."[11]To burn the Holy Book, therefore, was "a way [for the Nazis] to visualize Judaism, to make tangible the enemy that was being destroyed."[12] By interpreting this episode of *Kristallnacht*, the author makes a compelling and foreboding connection to what would eventually transpire. For Confino, the destruction of the most sacred, tangible object of Judaism was the penultimate warning of what was to come, which was the Final Solution.

Overall, Confino's analysis of the Holocaust offers a compelling perspective centred on the humanness of a global event that often heavily relies on the bureaucratic-centered perpetuation of anti-Semitism. Although the functionalist approach is not entirely incorrect, as the author himself recognized, it does indeed leave out a critical juncture that made events such as the Holocaust possible, which was the power of collective, human action. As Confino had mentioned in his introduction and consistently referenced throughout the text, history is created through human actions, not solely structures.[13] However, applying a human-centred approach at the forefront also comes with the risk of negating the functionalist influences — namely geopolitical tensions and other circumstances — that could have influenced the turn of the Nazi

[9] Confino, 119.
[10] Confino, 120.
[11] Confino, 121.
[12] Confino, 121.
[13] Confino, 119.

approach to the Jewish question. Furthermore, and most significantly as it pertains to historiography, the argumentation that the Nazis had foreseen Auschwitz makes this logic susceptible to the bias and pitfalls of teleological thinking. And yet amidst this possibility, Confino managed to demonstrate that by comingling religion, scientific racism, and exploiting the familiarity of German customs that tapped into the emotional identities of the civilian population, the Third Reich had therefore succeeded in compartmentalizing and vilifying a certain group, making the absence of their existence conceivable, even prior to the onset of the tangible realities of war.

Bibliography

Confino, Alon. *A World Without Jews : The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Making and Maintaining a Myth: Presenting the Dieppe Raid of 1942

by Noah Schonauer, HTST 431

On 19 August 1942, the 2nd Canadian Division, along with the British Commandos, launched Operation Jubilee, a raid against the German-fortified French beaches surrounding Dieppe, which became a military disaster resulting in thousands of casualties. The Dieppe raid became one of Canada's darkest hours during the Second World War. However, the operation was (and to some extent still is) remembered by Canadians as a meaningful and necessary battle that characterised Canada's contribution to the Second World War. This rationale was birthed due to the immediate response after the operation from the press, the military and both the British and Canadian governments, as they each claimed that the Dieppe raid was not a total catastrophe and the casualties sustained were not in vain because essential lessons were learned that helped the Allies plan for future cross-channel invasions, especially the Normandy landings in 1944. The supposed lessons learned were inaccurate, and what was developed to aid in the success of coastal invasions after Dieppe came to fruition before Operation Jubilee or due to unrelated circumstances. Yet, these claims that lessons were supposedly learned were essential to sell Dieppe to the Canadians. With the help of the press, both the government and the military were able to champion the myths to the public. Although the controversy surrounding the raid still occurred, the D-Day landings on the Normandy beaches in 1944 ingrained Dieppe and its myths into Canada's national identity. They were implanted deep, and Dieppe remains a major controversy to this day as some scholars reveal the truth behind the raid, whereas others still try to find meaning in the lives that were lost during that fatal raid on 19 August 1942.

The disaster of the Dieppe Raid birthed numerous myths, the most prominent being that the Allies learned valuable lessons that were essential in the seaborne landings in the

Mediterranean and especially the Normandy invasion on 6 June 1944. Many of these lessons learned were myths themselves but were presented to the public to convince Canadians that the catastrophic operation was necessary to the war effort. The prime minister of the United Kingdom, Winston Churchill, wrote in his memoir of the Second World War that Dieppe "shed revealing light on many shortcomings in our outlook."[1] Although the raid did demonstrate shortcomings in the mindsets of Allied command, there were no meaningful lessons that were learned, nor were there any lessons that justified the cost of 68% (3,367 casualties) of the Second Canadian Division forces engaged at Dieppe.[2]

The first of these lessons that were supposedly learned was the need for new equipment that could help land and support the ground forces during a coastal invasion. Churchill claims that Dieppe "taught us to build in good time various new craft and appliances for later use."[3] He hints that technologies such as specialised landing craft, Hobart's Funnies (specialised armoured vehicles) and Mulberry harbours were developed because of Operation Jubilee. In reality, many of these innovations, such as Mulberry harbours and the specialised landing craft, were already being planned or in development before the raid occurred in August 1942. As the historian Robbin Neilland points out, Mulberry harbours were already being thought up before the Dieppe raid because military thinkers already knew that the German forces had heavily fortified the French ports, and it would be impossible to launch a successful assault on less defended beaches in Europe without portable harbours that could be transported with the landing forces.[4] Specialised landing craft were also being designed before Operation Jubilee as the multitude of raids that British

[1] Winston Churchill, *Hinge of Fate* (Boston, U.S.A.: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), 511.
[2] Terence Robertson, *Dieppe: The Shame and the Glory* (Boston, U.S.A.: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), 386.
[3] Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 511.
[4] Robin Neillands, *The Dieppe Raid: The Story of the Disastrous 1942 Expedition* (Bloomington, U.S.A.: Indiana University Press, 2005), 270.

Commandos had completed since June 1940 had already demonstrated a need for better landing crafts.[5] Finally, Hobart's Funnies were developed as a response to requiring close tank support with the infantry to successfully take the beachheads at Normandy, the need to relieve landing craft of the burden of carrying tanks, and the multitude of jobs engineers would have to endure on the D-Day landings.[6] None of these technologies were developed because of what was experienced at Dieppe in 1942.

The next major lessons that were allegedly learned concerned tactics. Churchill outlines that the Dieppe raid taught "again" the importance of ground support provided by the navy and the air force, and the need for combined training and thorough organisation of the invasion forces.[7] Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr, a former American intelligence officer who had served during the Second World War, adds to Churchill's list of lessons. He argues that Dieppe taught the Allies that it was impossible to launch a direct assault against a port, that surprise was necessary, and that commanders needed proper intelligence and must lead their forces from the battlefield, not from afar.[8] However, these lessons and tactics were not learned at Dieppe as they had existed long before Operation Jubilee. These lessons have been taught at officer schools, and any good commander would know that these tactics can be found in Carl von Clausewitz's *On War*.[9] Colonel John Hughes-Wilson argues "that if only Mountbatten and his dupes on his staff had been honest and asked for help," the problems that occurred during the raid that the Allies supposedly learned from

[5] Neillands, *The Dieppe Raid*, 269.
[6] Neillands, *The Dieppe Raid*, 269.
[7] Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 511.
[8] Kirkpatrick, Jyman B. Jr., "Dieppe: Prelude to D-Day," in *Captains Without Eyes: Intelligence Failures in World War II* (New York; Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, (1969) 2018), 194-6.
[9] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), 198-201, 530-531.

would not have happened.[10] Therefore, Dieppe did not teach lessons but revealed incompetency in the Combined Operations Headquarters (COHQ). The claims that lessons were learned from Operation Jubilee in 1942 were merely fabrications to convince Canadians that the loss at Dieppe had meaning.

The press had a crucial role in selling the Dieppe raid and ingraining the myths in Canada's society. Unlike previous wars, news of the war came faster to the homefront thanks to radio broadcasts and the abundance of newspapers. The pace of spreading information was also quickened with government-appointed war correspondents who were sent overseas to accompany the soldiers and broadcast the fighting as it occurred. This was the case for Bob Bowman, a CBC war correspondent who broadcasted on the radio his eyewitness account of the Dieppe raid a day after the operation on 20 August 1942.[11] However, the speed at which newspapers and radio broadcasts reported the raid made it difficult to relay accurate information. This was the case for many Canadian newspapers, such as *The Calgary Herald,* which inaccurately reported on the day of the raid, 19 August 1942, that Canadians succeeded in destroying Dieppe guns and that "the chief objectives of the raid had been achieved."[12] As more information became available to the public, Canadians became concerned and shocked as casualties grew. The press now had to convince the Canadians that the raid was a military success despite the large sacrifice it required.

---

[10] John Hughes-Wilson, *Military Intelligence Blunders* (New York, NY: Carroll & Graff, 1999), 163.

[11] Bob Bowman, "Dieppe," 20 August 1942, Ottawa: Wartime Information Board, ID: McGillLibrary-rbsc_004125211-18304, Internet Archive, McGill University Library - Rare Books and Special Collections, https://archive.org/details/McGillLibrary-rbsc_004125211-18304/page/n1/mode/2up (Accessed 15 November 2023), 2-3.

[12] "Canadians in Commando Raid: Destroy Nazi Dieppe Guns; Withdrawal Complete," 19 August 1942, *The Calgary Herald*, Document ID: 2252857419, Proquest Historical Newspapers: Calgary Herald, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Faugust-19-1942-page-1-16%2Fdocview%2F2252859323%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838 (Accessed 15 November 2023).

Propaganda was essential, and the press attempted to use myths to convince the public that the Dieppe operation was worth the costs. Radio broadcasts and newspapers exaggerated the accomplishments of the Canadians at Dieppe while also understating the failures and casualties that took place during the raid. Research by Béatrice Richard finds that the press heavily emphasised certain words to address Canadians concerns and convince them of the necessity of the raid, such as "strategic" to justify the operation, "heroic" to "celebrate the "exploits" of the soldiers," and "revelatory" as increasing information about the casualties and failures became known.[13] The propaganda that the press spread also introduced Canadians to the myths that arose from the Dieppe catastrophe. In his broadcast, Bob Bowman says, "Our losses have not been sustained without reason. We have learned a most valuable lesson which may enable us to free the continent of Europe and end the war."[14] After listing what was supposedly learned, Bowman acknowledges that the casualty figures "were as heavy as they were in Hong Kong," and hopes that "despite the losses [Canada] will feel very proud that our men have been able to play at last the part they wanted to play."[15] The press exposed Canadians to the myths by exploiting their pride in their soldiers and the nation's desire to be an essential part of the war effort.

The failure of the Dieppe operation was also a major catastrophe for the Canadian and British wartime governments. Both governments did their best to convince the Canadians that the raid was necessary and that it provided vital lessons that would save lives in future coastal invasions. The British understood that Operation Jubilee was Canada's first offensive in the war and its failure, along with the high casualty, could negatively affect Canadians' overall war effort. *The Washington Post* claims that Winston Churchill "was well advised… to give the Canadians

[13] Béatrice Richard, "Dieppe: The Making of a Myth," *Canadian Military History* 21, no.4 (2015): 2.
[14] Bowman, "Dieppe," 4.
[15] Bowman, "Dieppe," 10.

credit for their part in the raid on Dieppe."[16] Although Churchill never acknowledged that he received this advice, he nonetheless hailed the raid as a strategic victory as it panicked German high command and supplied the Allies with vital lessons.[17] Under Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Canadian Government took specific measures to sell the Dieppe raid to Canadians. Along with official statements and speeches within the Canadian parliament, the government heavily censored the press and hired Ross Munro, a war correspondent who survived Dieppe, to tour Canada to recount the "heroics" of the catastrophic raid.[18] Both the British and Canadian governments spent immense time and resources to convince Canadians of the supposed achievements of the Dieppe raid.

The military was also heavily involved in the propagandising of the Dieppe operation. As much of a disaster the raid was for the Canadian and British governments, the failure of Operation Jubilee fell predominantly on the military and its planners. If they were unable to convince the homefront that the raid was successful in at least one aspect, the military risked an overhaul in their command, yet the COHQ was prepared. Before the raid began, they outlined a plan in case the operation failed its objectives. The COHQ appealed that any failure of the operation was to be portrayed as a success, and that the raid was an "essential test" that provided valuable "lessons learned" before anything could actually be learned. They also outlined that the media was to put heavy emphasis "on stories of personal heroism… in order to focus public attention on bravery

---

[16] "Canadians at Dieppe," 17 September 1942, *The Washington Post*, Document ID:151538262, Proquest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fcanadians-at-dieppe%2Fdocview%2F151538262%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838 (Accessed 19 November 2023).

[17] Mark Zuehlke, *Tragedy at Dieppe: Operation Jubilee, August 19, 1942*, ed. Kathy Vanderlinden (Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas and McIntyre, 2012), 370.

[18] Mark Bourrie, *Fog of War: Censorship of Canada's Media in World War Two* (Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2011), 160.

rather than objectives not attained."[19] The military was prepared to brainwash the public by exploiting civilians' pride in their soldiers and their lust for heroic acts on the battlefield.

Similar to the government, the military was advised to tread carefully when it came to selling Dieppe to the Canadians. "Jock" Lawrence, a personal relations officer, warned Lord Mountbatten, the mastermind behind Operation Jubilee, about the Canadians touchiness, telling him to "handle the Canadians with velvet gloves."[20] As a result, Mountbatten became a chief spokesman for the military regarding Dieppe, who tried to silence any critics of the operation. He claimed that the raid provided vital lessons and that the Canadians should be proud of their participation in the operation. Furthermore, Mountbatten was also responsible for the censoring and manipulation of official military reports on Operation Jubilee, such as Major C.P. Stacey's white paper, which was revised to demonstrate "the good fighting spirit displayed by the Canadians."[21] Canadian generals, too, mimicked the calls that the Dieppe raid was meaningful due to the lessons learned. This was especially true for both generals Crerar and Simonds, the two Canadians who were primarily responsible for Canada's participation in the operation.[22] Once again the publicity and propaganda of Dieppe was structured towards Canadians in an attempt to condition the nation into adopting the Dieppe myths.

Despite efforts from the press, government and military, not all Canadians succumbed to the propaganda and easily adopted the Dieppe myths. Many worried about the number of casualties and if the cost justified the lessons that were learned. A South Saskatchewan Lieutenant, John

---

[19] Timothy Balzer, *Information Front: The Canadian Army and News Management During the Second World War* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2011), 93.
[20] Balzer, *Information Front*, 91-2.
[21] Balzer, *Information Front*, 106-7.
[22] J.L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 102.

Edmondson, later wrote that Operation Jubilee was "a strategic success [that] remains a cold comfort when measured against the suffering of the men at Dieppe, and the suffering of their families," in response to Churchill's opinion on the battle.[23] Many also simply did not believe what was reported by the government and military. The historian Ralph Allen wrote: "As for the much discussed "lessons" of Dieppe, the politicians and generals made so much of them in the first aftermath of shock that many people felt they were simply trying to cover up a senseless blunder with a retroactive excuse."[24] Although there were no clear polls to determine the public opinion of Dieppe, a poll on Canadians' trust of war news on 19 September 1942 showed that 56% of Canadians trusted war news, whereas 36% did not.[25] From this poll, it can be inferred that only a small majority believed the Dieppe myths that were presented in 1942. The myths of the Dieppe raid were not yet ingrained into Canadian society. The majority was not enough to deter debates and the controversy that followed the raid during and after 1942.

The Dieppe controversy remained throughout the war until the Normandy landings on 6 June 1944. Although the Allied forces executed numerous coastal raids since Dieppe in 1942, such as the Sicily invasion (Operation Husky) and the landings in North Africa (Operation Torch), the D-Day landings provided the military and governments with the best propaganda to firmly establish the Dieppe myths. According to both the military and governments, Normandy's success and its importance to the liberation of France and Europe was the perfect example of the lessons learned from the Dieppe Raid. General Crerar's message to Canadian forces destined to land on Juno Beach said that the "plans, preparations, methods and technique which will be employed are based on knowledge and experience, bought and paid for by the Second Canadian Division at

[23] Zuehlke, *Tragedy at Dieppe*, 370-1.
[24] Ralph Allen, *Ordeal by Fire: Canada, 1910-1945* (New York, U.S.A.: Doubleday & Company, 1961), 406.
[25] Balzer, *Information Front*, 110.

Dieppe. The contribution of that hazardous operation cannot be overestimated."[26] Winston Churchill also later claimed that many of the developments in equipment and tactics that made the D-Day landings successful were learned from Operation Jubilee.[27] The press, reporting on the Normandy landings, also described how the invasion was successful because of what was learned through the sacrifices of Canadian forces at Dieppe in 1942. *The Windsor Daily Star* reported that "The Allied High Command took Dieppe as the basis from which to work and built on the experience of that raid… to find the answer to Germany's Atlantic wall defences."[28] The Dieppe raid may have occurred two years before D-Day, but the successful landings on Normandy birthed Operation Jubilee in a new light.

D-Day was a major event during the Second World War and every participating country found their civilians exaggerating their participation to inspire nationalism. For the Canadians, they adopted the myth that important lessons were learned at Dieppe in 1942 and that they were crucial to the success of the invasion and saved many lives. Civilians, soldiers and politicians all embraced the myths as it portrayed Canadian soldiers as the forefathers of the Normandy invasions, and without them, the invasion would not have occurred. The Canadian prime minister's viewpoint of the Dieppe raid also shifted after D-Day. Prime Minister Mackenzie King wrote in his diary on 13 September 1944: "Clearly the martyrdom of the men at Dieppe has helped to save

---

[26] "Crerar's Message to Forces," 7 June 1944, *The Gazette: Montreal*, Document ID: 2158918948, Proquest Historical Newspapers: Montreal Gazette, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fjune-7-1944-page-20%2Fdocview%2F2158918948%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838 (Accessed 22 November 2023).

[27] Churchill, *Hinge of Fate*, 510-1.

[28] Ross Munro, "Canadians Avenge Dieppe in Magnificent D-Day Action," 10 June 1944, *The Windsor Daily Star*, Document ID: 2238784997, Proquest Historical Newspapers: Windsor Star, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fjune-10-1944-page-6-44%2Fdocview%2F2238784997%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838 (Accessed 22 November 2023).

Britain and the countries of Europe. Has made possible the quick invasion and the sweep that has since taken place."[29] Even C.P. Stacey, who had condemned Mountbatten's manipulation of the white paper, now portrayed the Dieppe raid as a tactical failure that provided vital lessons and brought success at Normandy.[30] Canadians were now accepting the significance that the Dieppe raid had on the war and their nation. Pierre Berton perhaps wrote it best: "How ironic it is that for Canadians the defining battle of the Great War was a glorious victory [Vimy], while its counterpart, twenty-five years later, was a bitter defeat [Dieppe]."[31] The disastrous failure of the Dieppe raid was now a defining event that defined Canada's national identity and continued to be so since the Second World War.

After over 80 years since the conclusion of the Second World War, the Dieppe raid and its myths still linger in Canadian society despite thorough investigation and arguments from scholars that demonstrate its inaccuracy. This was because, after the war, there were still many people who wanted to ensure that Dieppe was associated with victory, not defeat, and give meaning to the lives that were lost. One major culprit was Lord Mountbatten, who said in 1973 that "from the lessons we learnt at Dieppe all subsequent landings in the Mediterranean and elsewhere benefited directly… The successful landing in Normandy was won on the beaches of Dieppe."[32] It was people like him who kept the myths alive, and as a result, for much of the 1980s and 1990s, a majority of Canadians were taught that the Dieppe raid was an essential operation that characterised Canada's contribution to the war. Tim Cook's research demonstrates that Dieppe

---

[29] Terry Reardon, *Winston Churchill and Mackenzie King: So Similar, so Different* (Toronto, Ontario: Dundurn Press, 2012), 216.
[30] Timothy Balzer, "'In Case the Raid is Unsuccessful…': Selling Dieppe to Canadians," *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (2006): 430.
[31] Pierre Berton, *Marching as to War: Canada's Turbulent Years, 1899-1953* (Toronto, Ontario: Anchor Canada, 2002), 371.
[32] Zuehlke, *Tragedy at Dieppe*, 369.

remains special for Canadians because in the 1980s, many people lacked an adequate understanding of the war, and those who were taught about Canada's war efforts, were taught in a way that "weaponised" the fight for Canada's "new sovereignty battles."[33] The myths continued after the war as Canadians were subject to improper information about Canada's efforts during the Second World War.

The Dieppe raid also persists today because of continuing research by scholars. Although it is widely accepted that the Dieppe raid was a disaster, some scholars still try to uncover new evidence to give meaning to the casualties that were inflicted during the operation. This is the case for the historian David O'Keefe, who uncovered intelligence documents on Dieppe. He claims that the new evidence demonstrates that Operation Jubilee was a cover operation to land a British Commando unit with orders to capture the new German 4-rotor Enigma machine.[34] O'Keefe's argument has caused the Dieppe controversy to persist as his uncovered evidence has created a new wave of claims that the casualties experienced by the Canadian forces were not in vain because if the raid was successful, the capturing of the Enigma machine would have shortened the war. However, it was not successful, and so it does not excuse the poor planning, high casualty rates, or the blatant lying and censoring of the media that solidified the Dieppe myths into Canada's national identity.

Operation Jubilee was and still is one of Canada's most controversial battles from the Second World War. The portrayal of the Dieppe raid by the press, the military and both the Canadian and British governments which began immediately after the operation, was responsible

---

[33] Tim Cook, The Fight for History: *75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering, and Remaking Second World War* (Toronto, Canada: Allen Lane, 2020), 217-36.
[34] David O'Keefe, *One Day in August: The Untold Story Behind Canada's Tragedy in Dieppe* (Toronto, Canada: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2013), 9.

for ingraining Dieppe in Canadian society. The claims that lessons were learned from the raid, such as the need for new developments in equipment, were false but were used to sell Dieppe to Canadians. The press was an essential participant as the speed it could produce propaganda and information was essential to spreading the myths to Canadians. The government also played their part by sanctioning war correspondents and censoring the media. Yet, the military was the mastermind behind the plot to lie to Canadians about the Dieppe raid, as demonstrated by COHQ's appeal before the raid even began. What was important to note was that the myths spread by these organisations were not quickly accepted by all Canadians until the Normandy invasion in 1944, as the coastal landings provided a semblance of the lies that the military and government constantly repeated. Finally, the Dieppe raid's importance to Canadians continues at present because of a multitude of factors. The reiteration of the myths by people, such as Mountbatten, and improper education in the 1980s kept Dieppe alive in the minds of Canadians. Research by scholars, such as David O'Keefe, also revived much of the debates surrounding the Dieppe raid. The maintenance of the Dieppe myths has indeed placed Dieppe at a similar stature to Canadians as had Vimy Ridge during the First World War.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bowman, Bob. “Dieppe.” 20 August 1942. Ottawa: Wartime Information Board. Identifier: McGillLibrary-rbsc_004125211-18304. Internet Archive. McGill University Library - Rare Books and Special Collections. https://archive.org/details/McGillLibrary-rbsc_004125211-18304/page/n1/mode/2up. (Accessed 15 November 2023)

“Canadians in Commando Raid: Destroy Nazi Dieppe Guns; Withdrawal Complete.” 19 August 1942. *The Calgary Herald*. Document ID: 2252857419. Proquest Historical Newspapers: Calgary Herald. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Faugust-19-1942-page-1-16%2Fdocview%2F2252859323%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838. (Accessed 15 November 2023)

“Canadians at Dieppe.” 17 September 1942. *The Washington Post*. Document ID:151538262. Proquest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fcanadians-at-dieppe%2Fdocview%2F151538262%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838. (Accessed 19 November 2023)

“Crerar’s Message to Forces.” 7 June 1944. *The Gazette: Montreal*. Document ID: 2158918948. Proquest Historical Newspapers: Montreal Gazette. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fjune-7-1944-page-20%2Fdocview%2F2158918948%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838. (Accessed 22 November 2023)

Churchill, Winston S.. *The Hinge of Fate*. Boston, U.S.A.: Houghton Mifflin, 1950

Munro, Ross. "Canadians Avenge Dieppe in Magnificent D-Day Action." 10 June 1944. *The Windsor Daily Star*. Document ID: 2238784997. Proquest Historical Newspapers: Windsor Star. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fjune-10-1944-page-6-44%2Fdocview%2F2238784997%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838. (Accessed 22 November 2023)

Secondary Sources

Allen, Ralph. *Ordeal by Fire: Canada, 1910-1945*. New York, U.S.A.: Doubleday & Company, 1961.

Balzer, Timothy. *The Information Front: The Canadian Army and News Management During the Second World War.* Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2011.

Balzer, Timothy. "'In Case the Raid is Unsuccessful…': Selling Dieppe to Canadians. *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (2006): 409-430.

Berton, Pierre. *Marching as to War: Canada's Turbulent Years, 1899-1953*. Toronto, Ontario: Anchor Canada, 2002.

Bourrie, Mark. *The Fog of War: Censorship of Canada's Media in World War Two*. Vancouver B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2011.

Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Cook, Tim. *The Fight for History: 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering, and Remaking Canada's Second World War*. Toronto, Canada: Allen Lane, 2020.

Granatstein, J.L.. *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War*. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2005.

Hughes-Wilson, John. *Military Intelligence Blunders*. New York, NY: Carroll & Graff, 1999.

Kirkman, Lyman B.. "Dieppe: Prelude to D-Day." In *Captains Without Eyes: Intelligence Failures in WWII*, 159-197. New York; Abingdon,Oxon: Routledge, (1969) 2018.

Neillands, Robin. *The Dieppe Raid: The Story of the Disastrous 1942 Expedition*. Bloomington, U.S.A.: Indiana University Press, 2005.

O'Keefe, David. *One Day in August: The Untold Story Behind Canada's Tragedy in Dieppe*. Toronto, Canada: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2013.

Richard, Béatrice. "Dieppe: The Making of a Myth." *Canadian Military History* 21, no.4 (2015): 1-14.

Reardon, Terry. *Winston Churchill and Mackenzie King: So Similar, so Different*. Toronto, Ontario: Dundurn Press, 2012.

Robertson, Terence. *Dieppe: The Shame and the Glory*. Boston, U.S.A.: Little, Brown and Company, 1962.

Zuehlke, Mark. *Tragedy at Dieppe: Operation Jubilee, August 19, 1942*. Edited by Kathy Vanderlinden. Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas and McIntyre, 2012.

National Unity in the Face of Conscription: The Wartime Policies of Mackenzie King

by Colleen Whelan, HTST 431

Examining the depths of Canadian political history unveils the wartime legacy of prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King as a complex and defining chapter of the nation's history. Across twenty-one inconsecutive years, King's tenure, notably during the years of the Second World War from 1939-1945, stands as a testament to his profound impact on shaping Canadian society amidst grave wartime challenges and economic distress. His leadership can largely be characterized by his unwavering commitment to maintaining national unity at all costs, and his wartime policies consistently reflect this. Recognizing the historical fracture caused by the Conscription Crisis of 1917 during the First World War, King strategically navigated the complexities of wartime leadership, determined to avoid the mistakes of his predecessor, Sir Robert Borden. Mackenzie King's commitment to national unity during the Second World war shaped his opposition to overseas conscription, guided strategic initiatives like the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and the Natural Resources Mobilization Act to keep military efforts within Canada, and underscored his dedicated efforts to foster harmonious relations with French Canada, recognizing the potential threat their isolation posed to national unity.

Recognizing the historical disunity during the First World War, Mackenzie King had a keen understanding that the isolation of Quebec posed a significant threat to Canada's cohesion. French-Quebec strongly opposed involvement in foreign affairs, particularly with Great Britain, as they generally believed that Canadian loyalties would drag them into a war that did not serve Canadian interests. Mackenzie King deeply considered this in September of 1939, when his dominating concern was to persuade Quebec isolationists and other Canadian neutralists that the

impending declaration of war against Germany in support of Great Britain would be of national interest.[1] To King and his government, the key factor in maintaining national unity was ensuring harmonious relations between English and French Canada.[2] Evidently, as concerns over conscription emerged with the whispers of war, he was faced with the largest threat to national unity since the Conscription Crisis of 1917.

To navigate this delicate situation, King enlisted the help of his trusted advisor, the Minister of Justice, Ernest Lapointe, a respected Quebecois politician with whom King had collaborated with for two decades in fostering inter-provincial relations. Both men knew that Quebec would never agree to another European war out of fear of conscription, especially when fourteen European countries, who faced more direct of a threat from Germany, remained neutral.[3] In King's recommendation of war to Parliament, he idealized limited participation, ensuring that Canada's involvement would be providing arsenal and food supplies to the Allies, and that the one division to be sent overseas would be comprised of volunteers only.[4] General McNaughton was to command the First Canadian Division, and he shared the same sentiment as King that Canada's war effort needed to largely revolve around the arming and equipping of the troops to spare human lives, for casualties would become the forerunner to overseas conscription.[5] King's address, however, was wearily received by the Quebecois, which is why Lapointe was so crucial in managing Quebec-Parliament relations. Only he could appease the Quebec isolationists that insisted on neutrality.

---

[1] H. Blair Neatby, *William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1932-1939: The Prism of Unity* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1976), 294.
[2] J.L Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 42.
[3] Lita-Rose Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe: Mackenzie King's Great Quebec Lieutenant* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 277.
[4] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 279.
[5] Granatstein, *Canada's War,* 25.

Lapointe's guidance was imperative in shaping King's approach to the matter as he was able to understand why Quebec would resist foreign entanglement and recognize why internal divisions would be the consequence of such actions.[6] Despite facing inevitable backlash from the French constituents of his own party, Lapointe courageously addressed the House of Commons in support of the war. Aware of the threat that the Quebec Bloc posed to both himself and King, Lapointe strategically reminded them that King would be defeated by a coalition government, comprised of English-Canadian Liberals and Conservatives, if the Quebecois members of his party turned against him.[7] This would be disastrous for Quebec, and the resurgence of a conscription crisis would be inevitable. [8] For the cause of national unity, he urged them to reconsider, and by leveraging the trust his province had in him he promised that he and fellow Quebecois cabinet members would "never agree to conscription and never be members or supporters of a government that will enforce it."[9] This calculated strategy proved successful when the Senate voted unanimously in support of the war, motivated by the pursuit of unity. [10] This collaboration between King and Lapointe was ultimately driven by their desire for the unification of Canada and played a significant role in managing a cohesive relationship with Quebec during this critical time.

King's devotion to contributing to the war effort while simultaneously upholding national unity materialized through the initiation of the British Commonwealth Air Training Program (BCATP) in 1939. This initiative, designed to meet the escalating demand for skilled pilots, aircrew, and ground personnel during the conflict, involved the construction of bases, training

[6] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 280.
[7] Neatby, *Prism of Unity,* 288.
[8] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 278.
[9] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe*, 281.
[10] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe*, 282.

facilities and airfields nationwide. It catered to diverse training needs, encompassing pilot and navigational training, as well as air-gunnery. [11] While the BCATP played a crucial role in providing air power for the Allied forces, King's motivations went beyond mere assistance to Britain. Notably, the program provided a haven from the violence unfolding in Europe, and its most enticing aspect was the preservation of Canadian troops on home soil. This strategic move significantly minimized the necessity of conscription, as Canada became more of an economic force in the war rather than be involved in combat. [12] The BCATP emerged as a source of national pride, showcasing Canada's substantial contribution to the overall war effort. King's policy of limited liability, however, ensured the conservation of manpower. In essence, King adeptly addressed two vital concerns. Firstly, he strategically positioned Canada in the war, recognizing that the program served as a shield against the fractures in national unity that conscription would induce. Secondly, by simultaneously supporting the war effort and maintaining national unity, King killed two birds with one stone, skillfully navigating the complexities of wartime policy making.

In the early stages of the Second World War, Mackenzie King's commitment to national unity was characterized by his assurance that only volunteers would undertake overseas service, maintaining a unifying front across Canada. However, by June of 1940, the viability of sustaining this policy became increasingly challenging. Winston Churchill's extension of the Emergency Powers Act, due to arising possibilities of invasion, allowed for government control over manpower and production, inciting pressure from English Canada for King to adopt similar measures. [13] In a pivotal Liberal caucus on June 5th, a Toronto Member of Parliament proposed

[11] C.P Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 221.
[12] Stacey, *Age of Conflict,* 222.
[13] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 312.

national registration. [14] As this would mirror conscription precedents from the First World War, King and Lapointe adamantly resisted such measures over fears of disunity. These measures may have not yet been warranted, but King's indecisiveness over Canada's role in the war would soon become problematic. On the 18th of June, King introduced the National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA), modelled on the British Emergency Powers Act, which would become one of his most important wartime policies pertaining to unity. This Act came only four days after the fall of Paris, as the inadequacy of King's hesitation towards deepening Canada's involvement in the war became apparent. The urgency for a more decisive stance emerged with the loss of France, as Canada was now Britain's closest ally.[15] Discussions during this period were marked by heightened concerns over a potential an attack on Canadian soil, given its position in the Commonwealth, or if Britain was to suffer the same fate as France. [16]

King was distraught over the heightening expectations of Canada's war effort, expressing in his diary the day before he introduced the NRMA that, "for the sake of the country, would I not feel that I could change my view on conscription, I believe it would create a worse situation in Canada than it would remedy." [17] If it became necessary to introduce overseas conscription, King wrote that he "would be ready to step out." [18] It is clear that the center of King's policy was his devotion to national unity. He believed at this time that overseas conscription would not be worth the sacrifice of division, regardless of public opinion and pressure from English Canada.

[14] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 312.
[15] H. Blair Neatby, "Mackenzie King on National Unity," *Empire and Nations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 64.
[16] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 313.
[17] J.W Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record,* Vol. 1: 1939-1944 (Toronto, 1960):95, in, Granatstein, "Canada at War," 58.
[18] Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record,* 58.

The NRMA was a strategic maneuver to respond to the demands of English Canada for military action while upholding his pledge to French Canada against overseas conscription. This legislation facilitated the expansion of Canada's military forces through conscription for home defense or involvement in war-related industries, effectively mitigating national tensions.[19] Mandating national registration for citizens aged sixteen and older, the bill also required men between nineteen and forty-five to undergo a thirty-day training period, positioning Canada for immediate defense in the case of emergency. [20] However, this registration caveat stirred unease in French Canada as it was a predecessor to conscription during the First World War, and King had openly opposed it only two weeks earlier. King, driven by his commitment to unity, assured Quebec that "this registration will have nothing whatsoever to do with the recruitment of men for overseas service."[21] This sentiment was met with resistance from Montreal Mayor, Camillien Houde, who viewed it unequivocally as a pre-conscription measure. [22] Houde was imprisoned for this resistance for four years, underscoring the gravity of King's national unity policy. To further demonstrate his commitment to this policy, Section 3 of the NRMA explicitly stated that the government could not exercise their powers to require Canadians to serve in the military, naval, or air force outside of Canadian territory. [23] A provision that would later contribute to the near downfall of the King government, as discussed subsequently.[24]

---

[19] J.L Granatstein, *Canada at war: conscription, diplomacy, and politics.* 1st Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 56.
[20] Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe,* 313.
[21] William Lyon Mackenzie King, House of Commons *Debates* (18 June 1940): 854, in, Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 100.
[22] William Lyon Mackenzie King, House of Commons *Debates,* quoted by Mr. Hanson (3 August 1940): 240, in, Granatstein, *"Canada's War,"* 100.
[23] Granatstein, *"Canada's War,"* 100.
[24] Stephen Henderson, "Angus L. MacDonald and the Conscription Crisis of 1944," *Acadiensis* 27, no. 1 (1997): 85.

King foresaw the inevitable need for overseas conscription as Canadian forces became engaged in Europe, highlighting the critical role the transformation of wartime production industries played in averting a crisis reminiscent of 1917. While the Canadian Expeditionary Force's overseas volunteers actively contributed to home defense for Britain, mitigating the immediate demand for additional soldiers, King's emphasis on placating French Canada resulted in Senate conflicts, particularly from conservatives. Arthur Meighan, the party leader, vehemently opposed the NRMA, labeling it a "colossal waste" as "Canada's only defense was in Britain." [25]

In January 1941, conservative pressures partially succeeded in extending conscripted men's training to four months, with the commitment for their service duration. [26] Meighan's persistence for conscription, however, seemed paradoxical, given that, by mid-1941, 330,000 Canadians had volunteered for the military, 218,000 in the Army, nearly 90,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and 20,000 in the Navy.[27] Furthermore, the CEF overseas had not yet seen the front lines, and there was no apparent surge in demand for additional manpower. The divide between conscriptionists and anti-conscriptionists, as noted by esteemed historian J.L Granatstein, can be attributed to conservative underestimation of French Canadians' loyalty to Britain and a belief that conscription was absolutely necessary during The Great War, and therefore only similar legislation could produce the same results. [28] Importantly, the Canadian government acknowledged that the circumstances of 1941 differed significantly from the wartime necessities of the past.[29] Despite a nation divided on the necessity of conscription, King

[25] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 103.
[26] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 103.
[27] Granatstein, "*Canada at War," 58.*
[28] Granatstein, "*Canada at War," 58*.
[29] Neatby, "National Unity," 65.

steadfastly clung to his conviction that the potential gains did not warrant the divisive means, emphasizing that jeopardizing national unity for the sake of deploying Canadian forces overseas was an unjustifiable proposition.

In 1941, Colonel J.L Ralston, the Minister of National Defence, voiced increasing concerns about the insufficient recruits for overseas service, prompting contemplation of the impending need for conscription. That same year, a nation-wide recruiting campaign was underway with each military district being assigned a quota to total 32,000 men.[30] Despite a slow start to the campaign, King's commitment to increasing Canada's infantry voluntarily proved to be successful as his speaking tour across the country sparked volunteerism and produced over 34,000 recruits.[31] While this temporarily alleviated the pressure, the growing influence of conscriptionists in Parliament and across the nation raised questions about the viability of volunteerism in sustaining an army for a war surpassing the scale of the Great War, where conscription had proven necessary. King, maintaining his belief that conscription could be averted, recognized the military context necessitating the government's flexibility to assess the need for conscription. [32]

In April 1942, he took a significant step by issuing a plebiscite, allowing the Canadian people to vote on releasing the government from prior commitments regarding military service recruitment. Despite anticipating resistance from Quebec, King emphasized that this did not guarantee impending conscription but empowered the government to protect Canada's war effort. His use of a referendum in this context truly illustrates his devotion to national unity. It was not solely conscription he was afraid of; it was the disunity that conscription would inevitably cause,

[30] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 203.
[31] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 204.
[32] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 228.

hence why he believed it important to put the power into the hands of the people. Further, his avoidance of the term 'conscription' on the plebiscite highlighted his sensitivity to the fragile nature of unity, especially given the fears around conscription. In Quebec, only 27% voted to release the government from prior commitments, most being from English-speaking Quebec, but the rest of the country overwhelmingly voted yes in supporting the measure.[33]

Mackenzie King, seemingly managing the tensions between pro- and anti-conscriptionists by entertaining the possibility of compulsory service, confronted the fragility of national unity as casualties escalated in 1944. Lieutenant General Keith Stuart, the Chief of Staff at the Canadian Military Headquarters in London, spoke to the War Committee in Ottawa in August of 1944, reporting that there was no issues with recruitment and that there were "enough reinforcements for three months at the intensive battle casualty rate."[34] This statement served as justification for King's policies – he was correct in not enforcing conscription, and Canada would remain unified as a result. Unfortunately, by October the attitude had shifted, and Ralston and Stuart returned to Canada with the news that infantry casualty rates were thirty-percent higher than anticipated in Normandy, and that the Canadian Army required an additional 15,000 infantry reinforcements by the end of the year to sustain the war effort in Europe.[35] Despite recommendations to Transfer NRMA personnel to General Service, King steadfastly rejected conscription as the sole solution, highlighting his unwavering commitment to keeping English and French Canada united.

King's refusal to accept Ralston and Stuart's urgent requests, even in the face of Cabinet revolt led by prominent figures like C.D Howe and J.L Ilsley demanding conscription, showcased his single-minded determination to explore every alternative before resorting to

[33] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 277.
[34] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 339.
[35] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 343.

compulsory service.[36] King was even willing to lose the last shred of respect the Canadian Army and his Cabinet had for him as he essentially fired Ralston for his demands of conscription by finally accepting his letter of resignation from 1942. King was characteristically indecisive, but his handling of Ralston demonstrates that he was capable of being decisive when it truly mattered – when national unity was at stake. It was more than clear to King that the war would soon be over, and conscripting NRMA men would do nothing but disunify the nation during a moment of victory.[37]

Deciphering whether King was genuinely oblivious to the overseas war effort's needs or if he just believed that national unity held paramount importance over anything else remains challenging. However, his choice of Andrew McNaughton as Ralston's successor suggests the latter. He understood the need for more reinforcements, but he was unwilling to accept that conscription was the only way to get them. McNaughton's appointment hinged on the belief that he could generate sufficient recruits to meet Stuart's infantry projections for the year. Yet, as November unfolded, it became evident that McNaughton's influence on NRMA men fell short of expectations.[38] Additionally, King's refusal to help the Army sparked disunity across English Canada, as many believed that he was allowing for the pointless slaughter of weakened troops overseas for the purpose of maintaining political favour in Quebec.[39] Despite this, a November 1944 poll by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion showed that the Liberal Party was not

[36] Frances Harbour, "Conscription and Socialization: Four Canadian Ministers," *Armed Forces and Society* 15, no. 2 (1989): 236.
[37] Granatstein, *"Canada's War,"* 351.
[38] Harbour, "Conscription and Socialization," 240.
[39] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 359.

greatly hurt by the conscription crisis, with 36% of voters still held in their favour.[40] However, as the month progressed, the growing necessity of conscription became increasingly apparent.

On November 22nd, 1944, Mackenzie King's worst fear materialized with the announcement of conscription.[41] However, this moment marked the culmination of King's exhaustive exploration of alternatives, underscoring his unwavering commitment to the unity of Canada. Quebec, largely aware of King's staunch opposition to conscription, recognized that this decision came only when his government faced imminent collapse and out of desperation to aid suffering troops overseas, for whom no other viable solution existed.[42] King's adept navigation of these complex circumstances is illuminated by his securing of the Quebec vote in 1945, winning the election despite the controversial implementation of conscription. Their continued support, even in the face of this betrayal, serves as a powerful testament to the imperative necessity of conscription at that critical time.

With all things considered, Mackenzie King's wartime legacy during the Second World War is a testament to his unwavering commitment to national unity, a principle deeply embedded in his policies and strategic decisions. Faced with a colossal national fracture, akin to that of the Conscription Crisis of 1917, King navigated the complexities of wartime leadership with determination to avoid the mistakes of the past. His strategic and meaningful collaboration with Ernest Lapointe, emphasizing limited participation and volunteerism, showcased his dedication to upholding relations between English and French Canada, essential for maintaining national unity. The introduction of the BCATP and the NRMA were crucial in responding to English Canada's demand for military action while protecting the interests of French Canada. King truly

[40] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 360.
[41] Harbour, "Conscription and Socialization," 238.
[42] Granatstein, "*Canada's War,"* 361.

opposed overseas conscription, highlighted in his determination to exhaust every alternative before resorting to compulsory service in November of 1944. Mackenzie King was not a perfect Prime Minister, but his ability to recognize the significance of maintaining national unity for efficient and prosperous wartime and post-wartime societies made him the necessary choice during this pivotal time in Canadian history.

Bibliography

Betcherman, Lita-Rose. *Ernest Lapointe: Mackenzie King's great Québec lieutenant.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Granatstein, J. L. *Canada's War: The Politics of the MacKenzie King Government, 1939-1945.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Granatstein, J. L. *Canada at war: conscription, diplomacy, and politics.* 1st Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020.

J.W Pickersgill. *The Mackenzie King Record,* Vol. 1: 1939-1944 Toronto (1960): 94-5.

Harbour, Frances. "Conscription And Socialization: Four Canadian Ministers." *Armed Forces and Society* 15, no. 2 (1989): 227-47.

Henderson, Stephen. "Angus L. Macdonald and the Conscription Crisis of 1944." *Acadiensis* 27, no. 1 (1997): 85-104.

Neatby, H. Blair. "Mackenzie King and National Unity." In *Empire and Nations*, 54-70. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

Neatby, H. Blair. 1976. *William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1932-1939: The Prism of Unity.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Stacey, C.P. *Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External policies.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

The Effects of Propaganda on Canadian Society During the First World War

by Catherine Brooks, HTST 431

Propaganda can be defined in a variety of ways, including persuasive propaganda and how it can have different functions with a variety of definitions. Persuasive propaganda is choosing specific descriptive words to create an emotional or cognitive reaction in an audience, desired by the party doing the persuading. This is done by altering a word or idea's descriptive content and creating the effect of changing the targeted group's attitudes.[1] Although there are many other definitions, propaganda being persuasive is the most useful and significant definition in terms of its use in Canada during the First World War. Propaganda during the First World War became a useful way to spread desired news and information to the public, no matter if it was the truth or not, in Canada as well as in enemy territory. Propaganda served as a tactic during war time to support the war effort and rally the public in favor of one central theme or message, which can be seen in Canada as well as overseas in England and Germany throughout the war. In Canada specifically, the use of propaganda became a way to promote nationalism within the country, by encouraging and persuading the public to support the Canadian government and the war effort by enlisting and conscription. Furthermore, this promoted Canadian nationalism through the overarching message of anti-German sentiments and the possibility of enemy aliens in the country, and had a significant effect on censorship throughout the war.

The use of propaganda during the First World War served to encourage recruitment and newspapers saw the beginnings of tension and the chance of the outbreak of war. Newspapers and the media were used to persuade and inform the public, and the possibility of renewal of war

[1] Randal Marlin, *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*, Broadview Press, (2013): 7.

was being circulated in London papers, which meant that Canada would be affected with this new possibility.[2] Eventually, this was followed by a large-scale propaganda campaign and network in 1917 when the number of recruits started to diminish and the need for conscription, conservation and Victory Bond drives.[3] These events were followed by the conscription crisis in 1917, where Sir Wilfrid Laurier questioned and challenged the necessity of the conscription measure, stating instead that the people should be consulted before any measures were put into place.[4] Having this printed and available to the public signifies how the media was used to promote the government's agenda and persuade the public into following and believing one message or idea over the other, and the extent to which this affected the recruitment and enlistment numbers into the last parts of the war. Another point to be made is how writing helped soldiers on the front with morale and to find ways of justifying their service in order to protect and serve their nation and improve attitudes of being involved in trench warfare.[5]

Propaganda in Canada was used to promote nationalism in the country, develop a strong sense of nationhood among the public, and create support for the war effort. The use of different text, visuals and images were used to spread messages and ideas that were targeted at the public in an effort to compel them to listen and take notice of what the government was promoting, including how the production of food quickly became a way for Canadians to be integrated into the war effort.[6] The election of 1917 had posters filled with promotions for the Union government in hopes of reaching the attention of those left at home. This called mothers, sisters,

---

[2] "January 24, 1914" *The Calgary Daily Herald (1908-1939),* Jan 24, 1914: 13.
[3] Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War,* University of Alberta, 1996: Introduction.
[4] Staff Correspondent of The Globe, "Sir Wilfrid Asks For Referendum," *The Globe (1844-1936),* June 19, 1917:1.
[5] Robert L Nelson, "Soldier Newspapers: A Useful Source in the Social and Cultural History of the First World War and Beyond," *War in History* 17, no. 2 (April 2010): 168.
[6] Troy Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, *History of Warfare* 94 (2014): 67.

and wives of the soldiers overseas, as this was the government's attempt to gain more votes and popularity while portraying the image they care about the soldiers' wellbeing. A poster titled "The Canadian Mother" is a strong example of this, as this emphasizes the importance of the role of women that was introduced during the First World War, and shares the message that Laurier's Union government that soldiers "would not be deserted."[7] Therefore, the role of women became a stronger presence in society, as more opportunities emerged and became more encouraged to work in both private and public spaces. Advertisements and other propaganda media targeted women in Canada who were left behind to increase morale and fill the gap left by the men who enlisted. Questions of "Are You Doing Your Bit? Are you ready to share the burden that will fall upon their shoulders? Are you properly fitted to take his place?" were popular among advertisements that encouraged women to take an active role in society in place of their husbands, brothers, or fathers etc., that went away to war.[8] This influenced their individual and collective perspectives of the war, and shaped university experiences, political agency, careers, and relationships. Women's newfound active role in society and idea of female militarism portrayed a type of volunteer soldiering, which attempted to equate women's work on the domestic front to what the soldiers were doing in the trenches, serving to justify the new visibility of women and the long hours spent away from home working for the war effort.[9]

This narrative is popular in other literature from the time, as L.M. Montgomery's *Rilla of Ingleside* discusses the First World War and its impacts on the Canadian home front and the role

[7] "The Canadian Mother."
[8] Andrea Martin, and Tyyne Petrowski, "'Are You "Doing Your Bit"?': Edith Robertson, Letter-Writing, and Women's Contributions in First-World-War Winnipeg," *Manitoba History*, no. 82, (2016): 4.
[9] Martin, "'Are You "Doing Your Bit"?': 6.

of the women at home. Although the book is fictional, it is based on common experiences that women would have had during the war. In this context, propaganda and the media is used to promote supporting the war effort and the soldiers at the front by strengthening their presence at home and participating in buying war bonds, organizing a Red Cross to be able to send resources and supplies to the front, introducing a new sense of duty to "the lads of Canada answering so speedily and fearlessly and uncalculatingly to the call of their country."[10] This was also used as a way for Canadians to be informed of the war effort, as "the coming of the mail [was] the most exciting event of every day" and encouraged women and girls to take a more active role in the home front.[11] In this sense, propaganda was used to persuade and inform the public, mainly women left behind of the war effort and what they could do to support the soldiers overseas. It called them to action and their sense of patriotic duty to the country as well as the Commonwealth in a way that promoted a sense of Canadian service and commitment similar to what the men of Canada were responsible for. This type of propaganda was clearly pro-Canadian, and was an attempt to boost morale throughout the war and provide the remaining citizens an opportunity to feel they were supporting their country in the best way possible and make them feel proud of Canada's war effort and accomplishments throughout the war.

Another definition of propaganda is the manipulation of collective attitudes, with words and visual images creating negative emotions strong enough to justify killing on the battlefield[12]. This is a common perception of war time propaganda, in which a nation at war inspires literary works that address the origins of conflict and justifications for fidgeting, offering a collective

[10] Lucy Maude Montgomery, *Rilla of Ingleside,* Cavalier Classics, 1921: 35.
[11] Montgomery, 36.
[12] Peter Webb, "'A Righteous Cause': War Propaganda and Canadian Fiction, 1915-1921," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2011): 32.

experience and memory. In Canada, war time fiction was used to reflect the elements of manipulation, justification, mobilization that can be described as propagandistic. Another example of propagandistic ideals in literature can be found in Ralph Connor's *The Major,* which shares similar ideals and elements with the Canadian propaganda campaign. This took the form of slogans and phrases of "Your Chums are Fighting… Why Aren't You?" seen regularly on wartime recruitment posters. *The Major* meets these sentiments by appealing directly to potential recruits to cast aside any hesitation or doubts of remaining at home, whether it was pacifism, fear of death or a new career, and to take up the call and become part of the armed forces.[13] Another example of this is music and how it became popular to be printed in the newspapers, as another way to increase morale and give Canadians something to connect to, such as the song titled "It's Better to Have Loved and Lost You."[14] Propaganda used in this way, through media and literature, appealed to the recruits to join the forces, to serve their country and fulfill a sense of patriotic duty, strengthening Canadian patriotism, loyalty, and nationalism.

The First World War in Canada saw the introduction of new attitudes towards foreigners, the possibility of enemy aliens in the country, and anti-German sentiments. Propaganda was used in a way that presented images, visuals, and messages to the public of the importance of protecting Canadian soldiers from the enemy and encouraged attitudes of dislike or hatred toward the Germans, as this was believed it would support the war effort. The media and newspapers began to print and circulate stories of Canadians' treatment from the Germans, sparking outrage on the domestic homefront. One example of this was a story of a Canadian soldier being crucified with bayonets before being hit by multiple bullets by the Germans, and

[13] Webb, "'A Righteous Cause,'" 41.
[14] "November 29, 1919," *The Calgary Daily Herald (1908-1939),* Nov 29, 1919: 15.

multiple versions circulated and spread different news about if the soldier was alive or dead. This was followed by posters depicting this scene to be distributed to the public, with a very clear message to "avenge them!", and draws Canadians in by its message of "every clean-minded Canadian grow hot with rage at each fresh report of the Kaiser's system of savagery". [15] This is clearly encouraging anti-German mindsets in Canada in effort to increase morale and the war effort through the purchase of victory bonds. Other events throughout the war follow, such as the tragedy of the Lusitania and again, the significance of propaganda in creating an "us" versus "them" mentality as Canadians were called to enlist for the war effort for all of the soldiers that died from the German sinking of the Lusitania. The example of nurse Edith Cavell sparked further public outrage and Canadian hostility towards Germans during the war, igniting a greater desire to advance Canadian development and accomplishments overseas and the home front.

Propaganda during the First World War impacted censorship and how the media was used, controlling how much information the public had access to about the war, war effort, and governmental affairs, in effort to promote a sense of nationalism among Canadian citizens. During war time, it was recognized that mobilization of men was not sufficient, and there had to be a mobilization of opinion.[16] However, this introduces the question of the extent to which the government should operate its propaganda secretly, and the extent to which it should be done openly. Domestically, there are views that there is nothing to be gained from concealing information and could create a loss of importance of the given information when secrecy is attempted.[17] During the war, censorship became more developed as more measures were needed to prevent the leaking of military information, such as the details of troops departing. This then

[15] Calgary Herald, November 2, 1918.
[16] Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda technique in the World War,* 1927: 14.
[17] Laswell, 15.

led to the creation of a chief press censor's office, and appointed Ernest J. Chambers as the head of the office. This meant Chambers had the authority and the ability to block a source that criticized military policy, promoted disaffection, aided the enemy, or had anything to do with hindering the prosecution and outcome of the war. This affected the media and propaganda in terms of what was allowed to be printed, as Chambers was insistent on portraying to Canadians an image of the war that did not seem to be as negative as it was in reality. This changed how content in the media was portrayed, as Chambers suppressed 253 published sources and could choose what was suitable material for photographs and movies, theater productions, and gramophone recordings that were directed towards the public view.[18] With the passing of the War Measures Act in 1914, information and news reports were filtered to avoid discouraging recruitment and maintain public morale.[19] This caused hesitation among publishers, as they did not wish to contradict the act, but some felt it was their patriotic role to endorse certain messages and authors, such as Ralph Connor's *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land* were nonetheless put through censors where Chambers found descriptions of drunkenness, shell shock and officer carelessness thought to be discreditable to Canadian troops and derogatory to Canadians.[20]

This went on to later include the authority Chambers held over the telegram companies across Canada to monitor any conversations across their networks and to deliver this information to either himself or a designated agent.[21] When the war broke out, censorship in Canada operated based off of the relationship with Great Britain, as Canada was still connected to the empire and

[18] Jeff Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-19," *Canadian Historical Review* 3 (1992): 316.
[19] Webb, "'A Righteous Cause,'" 33.
[20] Webb, "'A Righteous Cause,'" 33.
[21] Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print," 319.

had designed a censorship strategy where surveillance over international cable and wireless transmissions would take place.[22] Despite the press being loyal to Canada and the Great British empire, often newspapers would take advantage of the situation and found that the war and war effort gave a business opportunity. This created a larger public desire to become more interested in learning about the war and various war news and became more eager to buy newspapers in hopes of finding out new information. This eventually led to a Memorandum on the Duties of the Press in War from military authorities to set out rules and regulations about what could be printed in the press. The press became monitored and could only print material that had a "steady and calming effect" and nothing that could possibly be useful to the enemy or that could cause feelings of alarm and despair among the public.[23] This act of censoring the press and the media clearly shows the extent to which censorship played a role in the propaganda during the war, as it was meant to regulate information the public had access to, keep morale up, and maintain a strong sense of Canadian nationalism during the war.

The First World War in Canada used propaganda, images, texts, and various forms of media to share information with the public in an easy and accessible way. Propaganda was the best form of persuading the public and Canadian society into paying attention to what news the government was spreading. Posters were targeted to young men to increase recruitment and enlistment numbers and appealed to their sense of loyalty and patriotic duty to serve their country and support the Canadian war effort. This was supported by appealing to Canadian women as well, and encouraging their involvement and support of the soldiers overseas and at

[22] Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print," 319.
[23] Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print," 320.

the front by doing their part at home to show their nationalistic desire and participate just like the men were. Various forms of literature were used to spread these ideals, as the use of propaganda began to take over Canadian society. Propaganda was also used heavily during the First World War to promote Canada and create negative sentiments toward the enemy and anti-German attitudes to appeal to Canadians that action was needed. This was done through visuals and simple text that relied on events throughout the war to increase Canadian nationalistic views and the war effort. Propaganda was also used in a way to release information that the government was in control of and wanted Canadians to see, as censorship of the media and propaganda affected a large portion of what Canadians really knew about the war, which affected Canadians' perspective of the war as they only had access to material that attempted to promote the war. Therefore, propaganda during the war played a significant role in building a sense of nationalism among Canadians by encouraging recruitment and the ability to rally together in an effort to vanquish the enemy.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Lasswell, Harold. *Propaganda technique in the World War.* 1927. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015000379902&seq=24.

"January 24, 1914 (Page 13 of 22)." *The Calgary Daily Herald (1908-1939),* Jan 24, 1914. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fjanuary-24-1914-page-13-22%2Fdocview%2F2252372573%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

Staff Correspondent of The Globe. "SIR WILFRID ASKS FOR REFERENDUM:" *The Globe (1844-1936),* Jun 19, 1917. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.co%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fsir-wilfrid-asksreferendum%2Fdocview%2F1351363212%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

Montgomery, Lucy Maude. *Rilla of Ingleside.* Cavalier Classics, 1921.

"November 29, 1919 (Page 15 of 36)." *The Calgary Daily Herald (1908-1939),* Nov 29, 1919. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fnovember-29-1919-page-15-36%2Fdocview%2F2252324587%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

Secondary Sources

Keshen, Jeff. "All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-19." *Canadian Historical Review* 3 (1992): 315-43. https://www.utpjournals.press/doi/pdf/10.3138/CHR-073-03-02.

Keshen, Jeff. *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War.* University of Alberta, 1996.

Marlin, Randal. *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*. Broadview Press, 2013.

Martin, Andrea, and Tyyne Petrowski. 2016. "'Are You "Doing Your Bit"?': Edith Robertson, Letter-Writing, and Women's Contributions in First-World-War Winnipeg." *Manitoba History*, no. 82 (Fall): 4–11. https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ahl&AN=119319492&site=ehost-live.

Nelson, Robert L. "Soldier Newspapers: A Useful Source in the Social and Cultural History of the First World War and Beyond." *War in History* 17, no. 2 (April 2010): 167–91.

Paddock, Troy. *World War I and Propaganda*. *History of Warfare* 94, 2014.

Webb, Peter. 2011. "'A Righteous Cause': War Propaganda and Canadian Fiction, 1915-1921." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2011): 31–48.

Christian Modernism in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Protestant Churches of Canada

by Erin Howell, HTST 435

Christianity within Canada during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was characterized by evangelism at home and abroad, family Bible studies, consistent church attendance, and biblical literalism. The Christian faith and the Protestant churches were integral to the lives of the ideal Canadian citizen. Christianity's dominant position in Canadian society was disrupted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the advent of Christian modernism, a fundamental part of the sweeping secularization of the faith that was taking place throughout the Western world. Protestant churches were becoming increasingly interested in engaging with the modern world through an attempt not only to appeal to the general public but also to the clergymen who were tasked with spreading the gospel. The writings of church officials and theologians such as George Coulson Workman, John Campbell, Daniel James Macdonnell, and the contributors to the volume *Essays and Reviews* demonstrated the reluctance of many religious leaders to continue to accept doctrines that they viewed as immoral or inapplicable to progressive Western society. These writings were part of a growing literary genre marked by biblical criticism. Contemporaneously, an intellectual revolution that challenged some of the central tenets of Christianity had begun. Publications such as Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* presented Christians with scientific evidence that challenged the supernatural and pseudo-scientific elements of their beliefs. The influences of biblical criticism and modern science on the Christian faith marked the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Canada as a period of substantial theological development with a growing emphasis on social justice rather than traditional religious doctrine.

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, Christianity had been inextricably linked to all disciplines – particularly the sciences. Natural history, the study of nature through the examination, description, and classification of flora and fauna, was a field of study that, within the Christian worldview, revealed the exhaustive relationship between the observable world and the Christian Creator. Natural historians were intent on demonstrating God's divine providence by cataloging the 'physical manifestations' of His glory. In December of 1831, the natural historian Charles Darwin was employed on the HMS Beagle to document and collect geological and organic specimens. It was during this voyage that he began to speculate on the mutation of organisms into several new, distinct species. His publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 proposed a comprehensive theory of evolution by natural selection which challenged the established Christian belief of God's providence and the preconceived notion of the harmony of nature. The Canadian historian and journalist Goldwin Smith stated that "natural selection by a struggle for existence, … with the painful extinction of the weaker members of the race, and even of whole races, is hardly the course which benevolence … would be expected to take."[1] Some scholars were not compelled by Darwin's theory and criticized his disregard for the Baconian inductive method, and pointed out the significant gaps within his genealogies.[2] However, to most theologians as well as the general public, Darwin's erasure of God from the story of creation posed a significant threat to their belief in the omnipresent and living God of the Old and New Testaments.

During the nineteenth century, Canada had become an "object of attention" within the field of natural history due to its plethora of unexplored territory.[3] Both international scholars such as

[1] Goldwin Smith, *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence* (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1897), 7.
[2] Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 11.
[3] Philip Henry Gosse, *The Canadian Naturalist: A Series of Conversations on the Natural History of Lower Canada* (London: J. van Voorst, 2018), vii.

Philip Henry Gosse and James Hector, as well as Canadian settlers such as Catharine Parr Traill and John Macoun, contributed significantly to the taxonomy of wildlife and plant life throughout Canada. One of the foremost proponents of natural history within Canada was the geologist and principal of McGill University, Sir John William Dawson. Within the posthumously published collection of his work, *Fifty Years of Work in Canada, Scientific and Educational*, he wrote that "in so far as I have had any success as a teacher of Natural Science, it has been due to my reverend regard for every natural object, as the handiwork of the Divine Creator".[4] Thus, it is unsurprising that Dawson was a leading critic of Darwin's theory of evolution. Through a series of publications, Dawson argued that the theory of evolution was "scarcely distinguishable" from materialism and that its pursuit would lead to a "depth of unscientific and unspiritual degeneration".[5] Other contemporary Canadian scholars were more accepting of Darwin's theory and attempted to reconcile it with the fundamental aspects of Christian doctrine. Daniel Wilson, a professor of history and English at the University of Toronto, proposed to accept the theory of evolution with the caveat that humans should be differentiated from beasts because of the existence of the immaterial human soul.[6] Despite such endeavors to preserve the Christian beliefs of the Canadian majority in the face of Darwinian evolution, the subsequent rise of biblical criticism would establish the nineteenth century as a period of significant religious crisis.

The application of rational thought to biblical teaching was founded in the rational supernaturalism of the eighteenth-century German Enlightenment.[7] Proponents of this view

---

[4] John William Dawson, *Fifty Years of Work in Canada, Scientific and Educational*, ed. Rankine Dawson (London: Ballantyne, Hanson and Company, 1901), viii.
[5] John William Dawson, *Modern Ideas of Evolution as Related to Revelation and Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 10-12.
[6] Daniel Wilson, *Caliban: The Missing Link* (London: Macmillan and co., 1873), 94.
[7] Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin, *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 122.

purported that the Bible should be read from a rational and non-literal perspective, however, an exception should be made for the miracles and supernatural aspects of doctrine that superseded human understanding. The popularity of this rational approach to the Christian faith was contemporaneous with the establishment of the Protestant churches in Canada and thus had a significant impact on their development.[8]

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Canada, fundamentally questioning the authority of Christian doctrine or expressing atheistic attitudes was often met with social ostracization. However, by the 1860s, religious skepticism was beginning to be publicly displayed throughout the Western world.[9] This was best evidenced by the publication of the volume *Essays and Reviews,* a compilation of seven works written predominantly by clergymen of the Anglican Church. In their essays, the authors disputed several of the central elements of Christianity such as the creation story, the predictive nature of the Old Testament, and the divine inspiration of the Bible. This publication aimed to summarize the criticisms of German theologians such as David Friedrich Strauss, and in doing so candidly introduced the field of biblical criticism to British North America.

Biblical criticism, a method of interpreting the Bible through the employment of historical and textual analysis, was a popular topic of discussion within Canadian society by the 1870s.[10] Canadian theologians and church officials began to write books, newspaper articles, and journals questioning some of the controversial doctrines of Christianity which appeared unconscionable and inconsistent with modern Canadian society. The growing disbelief in biblical canon such as

[8] Murphy, *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, 122.
[9] David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 46.
[10] Cook, *The Regenerators,* 17.

the existence of eternal damnation, the fallen state of man, and the providence and benevolence of God led to several heresy trials within the Protestant churches of Canada. One such case was the 1875 trial of Daniel James Macdonnell, a Presbyterian minister. During his theological studies, Macdonnell spent three years in Scotland and Germany where he was exposed to the critical approach to biblical study fostered by Christian liberalism.[11] At Glasglow University, professors such as Dr. John Caird and Dr. Robert Lee "compelled [Macdonnell] to review many of the positions which he had been trained to consider fixed."[12] His experiences abroad prompted him to earnestly pursue biblical truth, and ultimately Macdonnell became uncertain of several key aspects of the Christian faith.

One such uncertainty concerned the standard truths outlined in the Westminster Confession of Faith. Macdonnell asserted that requiring clergymen to uphold such a confession would "do more harm than good" because it would "torment conscientious men."[13] Despite his apprehension, Macdonnell was ordained in June of 1866 and subsequently moved to Canada to join the Presbytery of Toronto. Macdonnells's conflict with the confession of faith and his liberal persuasion culminated in a sermon in 1875 on Romans 5:12-21. Within this sermon, he discussed the issue of the "eternity of future punishment" and stated that he had come to no certain conclusion on the subject.[14] Moreover, he asserted that he found it difficult to reconcile the issue of eternal punishment as well as other biblical events with "the character of God as revealed in Scripture."[15] The sermon was published in a number of newspapers, leading to a scandal within the Canadian

[11] James Frederick McCurdy, *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell, Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897), 23-4.
[12] McCurdy, *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell*, 25.
[13] McCurdy, *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell*, 37.
[14] McCurdy, *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell*, 97.
[15] McCurdy, *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell*, 108.

Presbytery and ultimately an extensive case heard by the General Assembly. Macdonnell's heresy trial was resolved by his acknowledgment of the authority of the Westminster Confession, and he was allowed to maintain his position within the church. This resolution carried significance as it set a precedent for the Presbyterian church's willingness to accommodate a measure of liberal thought and theological uncertainty among its clergy.[16]

The theological controversy exhibited by the trial of Daniel James Macdonnell was emblematic of a rise in biblical criticism throughout Canada. George Monro Grant, the principal of Queen's University from 1877 to 1902, opposed the biblical literalism of the century prior and appeared "remarkably tolerant" of non-Christian religions in his publication *The Religions of the World*.[17] Another prominent Canadian modernist, the Reverend John Campbell, was charged with heresy in 1893 for asserting that the Bible was not infallible and the Old Testament in particular abounded with errors.[18] The biblical critic George Coulson Workman, a professor at the methodist-founded Victoria College, was dismissed from his position because of a lecture he held in 1890 on 'Messianic prophecy' that argued for a "scientific investigation of Prophetic scriptures".[19] Later, Workman asserted in an address made at the Provincial Sabbath School Convention entitled *How to Study the Bible* that the books of the Bible could only be properly understood through a preliminary analysis of the historical context of the writing and the motivations of its author.[20]

The biblical criticisms espoused by prominent Canadian modernists combined with the scientific developments prompted by Darwin were of major concern to the Canadian Methodist

---

[16] Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith,* 45.
[17] Cook, *The Regenerators,* 19.
[18] Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith,* 79.
[19] Cook, *The Regenerators,* 21.
[20] George Coulson Workman, *How to Study the Bible: An Address for Teachers and Students* (Ottawa: W. Briggs, 1902), 5.

clergyman, E.H. Dewart. As editor of the *Christian Guardian*, Dewart published editorials that divulged his firm convictions regarding the secularization of society and the "relentless criticism of all that has been received from the past".[21] He argued that all Christians should be able to properly defend their faith with a strong knowledge of biblical truth and dogma and that this could be achieved through a less extreme degree of historical and intellectual inquiry than the foremost theologians had been undertaking. Dewart argued that Christian dogmas were not fixed verities uninfluenced by the progression of science and human understanding and that Christian doctrine was progressively developing. In his work *The Development of Doctrine*, Dewart posited that "as the Church grows in knowledge and experience, she may grasp more complete conceptions of the great truths which God has revealed in His Word, and Works, and embody these juster views in her teaching and subordinate standards."[22] Thus, Dewart argued that the Christian faith could be reconciled to modern science through what appeared to be its downfall – Darwin's theory of evolution. Dewart asserted that the evolution of organisms was a "Divine operation" that was evident within scripture. The developments between the Old and New Testaments demonstrated the existence of a "progressive revelation" which allowed for contemporaries of Christ to better understand the doctrines espoused prior to His coming.[23] Moreover, Dewart argued that doctrinal development was intended to continue into the present age through the dispensation of the Holy Spirit among all saved men.[24]

Dewart's proposed theory of theological evolution not only addressed the challenges posed by modern science but also effectively resolved the moral dilemmas faced by Christian modernists.

---

[21] Edward Hartley Dewart, *The Development of Doctrine* (Toronto: Methodist Conference Printing Office, 1879), 6.
[22] Dewart, *The Development of Doctrine*, 15.
[23] Dewart, *The Development of Doctrine*, 17.
[24] Dewart, *The Development of Doctrine*, 17.

The collective intellectual development of humankind combined with the instructive guidance provided by the Holy Spirit allowed modern man to confidently assess and disregard elements of Christian doctrine that were determined to be inapplicable to contemporary society. By the end of the nineteenth century, the public rejection of dogma was no longer a heretical offense, and the Canadian Christian public had become receptive to the developments of liberal theology. One of the most significant dogmas that was examined and slighted under Dewart's proposal of theological evolution during this period was the divine and transcendent nature of Christ. Christian modernists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had begun to lean towards a perception of Christ that presented him as a historical figure rather than the Son of God. He was regarded as a pillar of social reform whose disposition and teachings should be imitated by modern Canadians.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Protestant churches of Canada had taken on a radical humanitarian disposition. Emphasis was placed on becoming more Christ-like through the advent of the social gospel, a movement that sought to enact social reform based on Christian moral ideals. The social gospel was predicated on the idea that the necessity for miracles and divine intervention to advance mankind's connection to God had ceased and that the Kingdom of God could be established on earth through philanthropic proselytism. John Watson, the head of the Department of Philosophy at Queen's University, wrote in the *Knox College Monthly* that "Christianity does not conceive of the future world as different from this, but as the present world in its ideal aspect … Christianity is above all things a religion of this world ... It is nothing if it is not social."[25] Advocates of the social gospel largely disregarded the dogmatic elements of the Christian religion in favor of a progressive application of the teachings of Christ to social issues

[25] Cook, *The Regenerators,* 24.

brought about by the rapid urbanization of Canada such as poverty, disease, and environmental issues.

The intellectual revolution of the mid-nineteenth century was spurred in part by Darwin's publication of his evolutionary theory. Such scientific developments challenged the prevailing literal interpretation of the biblical events of the Old Testament and threatened many of the fundamental tenets of Christian doctrine. Concurrently, the field of biblical criticism that had been developing on the European continent began to be adopted by Canadian church officials and theologians such as Daniel James Macdonnell, George Coulson Workman, and John Campbell. These figures questioned the morality and relevancy of several aspects of Protestant dogma in their extensive publications. The application of biblical criticism and modern science to Christian theology comprised the Christian modernist movement of the late nineteenth century. Christian modernism was initially rejected by the majority of Canadian religious authorities and a series of heresy trials were held by the Protestant churches of Canada. However, as the modernist movement spread throughout North America and prominent figures began to deliberate it in newspapers, journals, and books, the Canadian public became increasingly receptive to the application of reason and analysis to religious dogma. In particular, the writings of E. H. Dewart helped to reconcile the issues posed by both Christian modernists and modern science with the Christian faith. Dewart's notion of the development of doctrine was essential to the escalation of Christian modernism throughout the remainder of the century and its evolution into the social gospel movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. The social gospel was the ultimate culmination of liberal theology during this period. Its proponents disregarded the theological debates of the earlier century in favor of a "practical application of Christ's teachings" by helping the poor and destitute

Canadians who were residing in crowded slums with inadequate living conditions.[26] The social reformism of the early twentieth century and pervasive abandonment of dogmatic theology was a result of the religious crisis prompted by the proliferation of Christian modernism.

[26] Cook, *The Regenerators,* 24.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Dawson, John William. *Fifty Years of Work in Canada, Scientific and Educational*. Edited by Rankine Dawson. London: Ballantyne, Hanson and Company, 1901.

Dawson, John William. *Modern Ideas of Evolution as Related to Revelation and Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Hartley Dewart, Edward. *The Development of Doctrine*. Toronto: Methodist Conference Printing Office, 1879.

Gosse, Philip Henry. *The Canadian Naturalist: A Series of Conversations on the Natural History of Lower Canada*. London: J. van Voorst, 2018.

McCurdy, James Frederick. *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell, Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto*. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897.

Smith, Goldwin. *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*. Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1897.

Wilson, Daniel. *Caliban: The Missing Link*. London: Macmillan and co., 1873.

Workman, George Coulson. *How to Study the Bible: An Address for Teachers and Students*. Ottawa: W. Briggs, 1902.

Secondary Sources

Cook, Ramsay. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

Marshall, David B. Secular*izing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Murphy, Terrence, and Roberto Perin. *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996.

The Terrorism of Lynching and the Works of Ida B. Wells

by Kaelan Leslie, HTST 493.02

Writing on the 1892 lynchings of Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Will Stewart, African American journalist, speaker, and activist, Ida B. Wells penned it was the heinous nature of this act of violence that "opened [her] eyes to what lynching really was," in that lynching was "[a]n excuse to get rid of Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property and thus keep the race terrorized."[1] While analyzing racial and regional patterns in cases of lynchings in post-civil war America, one can conclude that despite lynchings being mythicized as spontaneous reactions to Black conduct, including the dichotomous 'bestial' and 'uppity' racial etiquette narratives, lynchings were instead calculated acts of terror perpetrated against Black Americans to maintain power and control and hinder the social, political, and economic progress of Black Americans. Balancing qualitative case studies with quantitative data, Ida B. Wells' exposition of and resistance to this lynch law, and the contradictions and hypocrisies of post-reconstruction America, reveal lynchings' complex relationships to often intersecting systems of gender, racial power and domination.

The concept of lynching originally developed as a form of vigilante retribution to enforce popular justice in the Western frontier in the early nineteenth century; however, it quickly developed as a vicious tool of racial control. Lynching became even more racialized in the South after the end of the Civil War. African Americans were lynched under various pretenses, yet the most common social reasoning given to justify the lynching of Black Americans developed from the master narrative of post-civil war 'degeneration' of black people to animalistic and criminal

[1] Jacqueline Jones Royster, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900* (2nd edition; Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2016), 3-4.

tendencies. Whites argued that previously civilized by slavery, the freedoms given to freed slaves resulted in a reversion to their bestial nature, thus the 'bestial' public discourse was born, and lynching was viewed to be the only solution.[2] This bestial discourse especially exploited the violent, dangerous, and uncontrollable sexual aggressors that Black men were characterized as. When coupled with the stereotype and iconography of the "pure, virginal" white women, this fueled a pervasive fear of Black men raping white women.[3] Whites' hypervigilant enforcement of racial hierarchy and social separation instigated lynchings as punishment for, what were in many cases fabricated, crimes against white women by black men, including rape and murder, as documented in Wells' "Red Record."[4] The standard had been set; lynchings were able to be justified as a form of crime control but only when it came to Black 'criminals'. Hundreds more Black people were lynched based on accusations of far less serious crimes such as arson, suspected robbery, assault, and vagrancy, crimes not punishable by death if charged in a formal court of law.[5] However, many lynching victims were not even accused of any criminal act whatsoever, and instead were lynched for non-criminal violations of social customs or racial expectations.[6] As well, many African Americans were lynched not for criminal and social infractions or accusations, but simply because they were black and present when the accused party could not be located, as seen in the lynching of Cordelia Stevenson, who was lynched in place of her son.[7] Thus, rather than any alleged offence, race sealed the lynching victim's fate, a statement of racial terror and white

[2] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, vii.
[3] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 30.
[4] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 30.
[5] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 83.
[6] Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 290.
[7] Litwack, *Trouble,* 290.

supremacy that sought to keep the African American community terrorized and in a constant state of fear.

Although the bestial narrative and its exploitation of gender and racial stereotypes were the main justification used by white southerners for lynching, in reality, black success or pride, referred to as acting 'uppity,' was often punished in a similar manner as 'bestial' cases. Anthony P. Crawford, a successful Black entrepreneur and leader in Abbeville, South Carolina, was arrested, attacked by a mob, and eventually lynched for "imprudence" and lack of "humility" after being "insolent to a white man."[8] In addition to lynchings targeting the supposed 'crime' of Black "achievement," lynch law also targeted those who protested being treated as second-class citizens, violently repressing efforts to fight for economic power and equal rights, as seen in the 1892 lynchings of John Hughes, Isaac Lincoln, and Will Lewis on account of their being "saucy to white people."[9] Thus, whether Black Americans attempted to 'raise' themselves to be seen as equal or resisted the oppression under white intolerance, they were met with violence and death as whites used these acts of terrorism to relegate African American men, women, and children to a state of second-class citizenship and economic disadvantage that would last for generations after emancipation and create far-reaching consequences.[10]

The logic of lynching was not only criminal, but it was also economic. Lynching and mob violence were tactics of economic subordination, used to protect white economic power and ensure a captive Black labour force. The 1892 lynchings of the owners of the People's Grocery Company symbolized the violence that the threat of economic competition stimulated.[11] Whites were

[8] Litwack, *Trouble,* 309-10.
[9] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 29-107.
[10] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 28.
[11] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 28.

embittered against Black economic success, viewing the success as a threat to racial power dynamics, including economic power. Thus, lynching was used as a tool to thwart Black economic advancement, punishing Black individuals for their success while ensuring prospective Black business owners and entrepreneurs were scared into subordination. Lynchings were also an indicator of long-term economic stress due to falling cotton prices through much of the 19th century, in addition to financial depression in a post-war economy. Whites in the post-Reconstruction South required cheap labour to keep up with the advancements of the industrial revolution and coupled with resentment for the economic competition from African Americans, fueled an increase of lynchings and mob violence, contrary to the accepted mass narrative that lynchings were a crime-prevention tool.

Combining racist narratives and stereotypes with economic stress, lynchings also reflected the tensions of labour and political changes, as the whites imposed Jim Crow rules, legal segregation, and white supremacy. Congress repeatedly failed to pass any of the anti-lynching statutes proposed, largely due to arguments that no such law could withstand a constitutional challenge under the Court's Reconstruction-era precedent.[12] It was also argued that as lynching primarily affected Black people, federal lynching legislation could constitute racial 'favouritism,' reminiscent of failed Reconstruction-era policies.[13] Political inaction on the part of both Southern and Northern politicians was also a result of an acceptance of the dominant political narrative that blamed lynching on its victims, insisting that brutal mob violence was the only appropriate response to the 'growing' number of Black rapists attacking white women.[14]

[12] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 7-156.
[13] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 5-7.
[14] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 30-1.

When analyzing lynchings' complex relationship to systems of power and domination, one cannot overlook the response of social activists, including the activism of African American women such as Ida B. Wells, who harnessed the growing power of the Black press, demanding lynch mobs be held accountable for committing murder and launching public education campaigns to combat the spread of misinformation and dispute the myth of Black-on-white rape.[15]

Born into slavery in Holly Springs, Mississippi in 1862, Wells' formative years were spent in a politically knowledgeable family, her parents intimately involved in the leadership of African American communities.[16] The Radical Reconstruction era she was born into shaped her political and activist experience as a child as she came to age in an America defined by the reluctant political recognition of Blackness and in tandem with the emergence of secret terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan.[17] At the age of eighteen, she moved to Memphis to work as a teacher and at the age of twenty-two, she sued the Chesapeake & Ohio & Southern Railroad Company for forcibly removing her from a train after she refused to be reseated in a segregated car.[18] Though ultimately losing the suit, the effort foreshadowed her lifelong fight against racial injustice.

A prolific reader and writer, Wells went on to rise to the editor and part owner of the Memphis 'Free Speech and Headlight,' a newspaper whose platform she regularly used to criticize racial inequality.[19] The 1892 lynchings of her friends Moss, Stewart, and McDowell, catalyzed her desire to enact and inspire change challenging mass pro-lynching narratives through writing and speaking on atrocities of lynching and the need for Black resistance and federal and international

[15] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, viii.
[16] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 14.
[17] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 14.
[18] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 14-7.
[19] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 17.

intervention.[20] Wells was one among a relatively small but growing number of "public" women in an era when public arenas were not considered the place for women.[21] Going against this grain, Wells earned a reputation as an outspoken and steadfast crusader for justice; her 1892 pamphlet, *Southern Horrors*, is a testimony to her achievements. In *On Lynching: Southern Horrors, A Red Record and A Mob Rule in New Orleans*, a compilation of her most impactful works, Wells describes the goal of her life's work, stating "[t]he Afro American is not a bestial race. If this work can contribute in any way toward proving this, and at the same time arouse the conscience of the American people to a demand for justice to every citizen, and punishment by law for the lawless, I shall feel I have done my race a service."[22]

Using the *Southern Horrors* to examine Wells, her work, and her accomplishments allows one to more carefully consider the complexity of issues and actions that converge to make lynching such a fascinating but devastating defining feature of post-reconstruction era America. Not long after its publishing in 1895, Wells published a more ambitious project, *The Red Record*. Similar to her first pamphlet but on a larger scale, Wells provided details of lynchings including the victims' names, dates, locations, and alleged motives. *The Red Record* was an account of the research on lynchings she conducted between 1892 and 1894 across the country. The book also included narratives and lynching photographs. The pamphlets were useful in dispelling the rape myth, as they established a clear pattern of using lynchings not for criminal justice, but rather in the service of white supremacy.

Wells' radical inquiry into lynching had a profound effect on the future of civil rights in the United States. She is responsible for several extraordinary 'firsts' in the effort to rid America of

[20] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 33-9.
[21] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 19-23.
[22] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 50.

lynchings; she was the first person to risk her life, time after time while conducting dangerous lynching investigations, the first American to travel abroad to seek international support in the fight against lynchings. She also wrote the first article and pamphlet exposing the economic underpinnings of lynchings.[23] Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Wells was the first to effectively situate lynching as the hypocritical failure of American democracy: to protect the voting, education, and workplace rights of African Americans, their senseless killings had to stop.

The act and threat of lynching developed from a regulatory tool of the Wild West, to a form of terrorism used to enforce economic, political, and cultural racial exploitation. Characterized by Southern mob violence intended to reestablish white supremacy and suppress Black social, economic, and civil rights through terror, the Reconstruction era was a violent period in which tens of thousands of people were killed in racially, politically, and economically motivated massacres, murders, and lynchings. Through the qualitative and quantitative data compiled into moving works by activist Ida B. Wells, one can conclude that despite dominant historical narratives that continue to infiltrate society today, lynchings cannot be analyzed on an individual basis as spontaneous reactions to Black conduct. Instead, they must be recognized and reconciled as a routine and systematic effort to subjugate the Black American minority, edging on a genocidal nature.

[23] Royster, *Southern Horrors*, 39-41.

Bibliography

Litwack, Leon, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Knopf, 1998.

Royster, Jacqueline J. *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900.* Boston: Bedford Books, 1997.

Art and Identity: How Communities were Created and Destroyed during the Second World War

by Alexandra Goreham, HTST 518

Not only does war threaten the lives of individuals, but it also threatens communal and historical identities as artifacts are taken, stripped of their original meaning, and transformed into something new, often to support the ideology and desired narrative of the perpetrator. One of the most prominent examples of this was the looting of art from homes, private collections, and museums throughout the Third Reich's rule. To 'cleanse' German society of meaningless art, it was first taken from a series of collections or bought from dealers that had acquired the art from individuals trying to flee the country and displayed as a trophy. This signified to the public, as well as the international community that liberation and freedom from the degenerate had been achieved. If the art was not destroyed, it was hidden in mines, caves, abandoned buildings, and the homes of prominent Nazi officers. As the Second World War progressed, the Allies began participating in the lucrative business that had developed. The Allies saw themselves as liberators of art and trapped society, which had limitations on the media they could consume. Despite this, their intentions changed as they wanted to control the market they were trying to free, demonstrating their claim to victory. This case illustrates how art, and the cultural and social identities attached to them, were stolen and re-shaped multiple times. Not only does looted art from the Second World War demonstrate how important artifacts are to collective and individual identities, but it also demonstrates how they can be forced into perpetrator narratives through control and monopolization.

Art was used to create communities of people who shared experiences through connections to an artist and their art due to racial, cultural, and social struggles. Harriet Hawkins and Ruth Catlow explore this idea very broadly, as there is a "widely recognized social value of the arts, and

their possibilities for connecting people and places," as the "relationship that arts practices can produce between individuals … and the communities and environments in which they live"[1] are imperative. As a result of communities using art to reinforce collective experiences and memories, new communities and identities can also be created and reinforced. Hawkins and Catlow state that art can be a tool for "connecting and reconnecting existing communities and creating new ones."[2] Art would have been imperative during the Second World War as it helped maintain connections between individuals and ideologies.

As art was used as an indicating and shaping factor of individual and collective identity in the twentieth century, there were conflicting ideas of what art should be. This allowed for the promotion of 'superior' identities and their intentions of saving the victims of inappropriate and degenerate identities. The art preferred by Hitler and, by extension, the Nazi regime, was seen as proper and had several classical features, including a strict focus on a single subject or scene. Features are clearly defined as the completed works were extremely detailed, as seen in a series of images within Hitler's private collection, titled *Katalog der Privat-Gallerie Adolf Hitlers*. Most of the images were portraits featuring Hitler's family members, including his niece and mother, with an emphasis on the human subjects of the paintings.[3]

Within the *Katalog der Privat-Gallerie Adolf Hitlers*, three paintings did not feature family members but featured mythical and heroic personifications. Firstly, there are two knights in two separate images. One is standing on a hill in armour, and another has just slain a dragon, creating

---

[1] Hariet Hawkins and Ruth Catlow, "Shaping subjects, connecting communities, imagining futures?: Critically investigating *Play Your Place*" in *Public Art Encounters: Art, Space, and Identity* by Martin Zabracki and Joni M. Palmer (Routledge, 2017), 91.
[2] Hawkins and Catlow, "Shaping subjects," 91.
[3] Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, *Katalog Der Privat-Gallerie Adolf Hitlers*, 1936, 1 album (75 p.); 31 x 41 cm. (album), *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*, 1936, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004676971/, images 1-4.

a scene of bravery and heroics conquering evil. The final painting in this catalogue was one of Cupid complaining to Venus, demonstrating the value of classical art and its figures. Although these three works communicated different scenes and stories based on various attributes and artistic values, they were painted in the same style as the family portraits, focusing on humankind's physical form and power.[4] This catalogue was minimal, but it ultimately demonstrated Hitler's values. He built an identity on the foundation of subject-based classical art, even choosing art that depicted images and scenes of superiority and control, such as the knight killing a soldier with a naked damsel in front of him. These heroics directly reflected Hitler's views, and the supposed thoughts of the Nazi party, contrasting what would be known as degenerate art and the victim of mass and industrial looting.

Contrasting the art Hitler approved of, degenerate art needed to be controlled because of the ideas and identity it promoted; one of these paintings was an unsigned Vincent van Gogh piece, *View of the Asylum and Chapel of Saint-Rémy*, painted in 1889 and featuring the surroundings van Gogh saw after admitting himself to an asylum in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. The mechanics of the painting include large brushstrokes and vibrant colours, including a green-blue hue to the sky above the asylum and chapel, setting itself apart from the works admired by Hitler and the Nazi party, as seen in Figure 1.[5] The different classifications of art rose not just because of technical differences, but also because of who owned the paintings, creating a foundation for all of the events that would occur from 1937 onwards.

---

[4] Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, *Katalog Der Privat-Gallerie Adolf Hitlers*, images 5-7

[5] Vincent van Gogh, *View of the Asylum and Chapel of Saint-Rémy*, 1889, Oil on canvas. 45.1 cm × 60.4 cm (17.8 in × 23.8 in), 1889, Located in a private collection, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/View_of_the_Asylum_and_Chapel_of_Saint-R%C3%A9my#/media/File:Vincent_van_Gogh_-_View_of_the_Asylum_and_Chapel_of_Saint-R%C3%A9my_(F803).jpg; Lauren Redman, "Orkin v. Taylor: A Satisfying Solution to a Dispute over a van Gogh or a Blow for Holocaust Art Restitution Claims in United States Federal Court?," *Art Antiquity and Law* 12, no. 4 (2007), 390.

Figure 1: Vincent van Gogh, *View of the Asylum and Chapel of Saint-Rémy*, 1889, oil on canvas. 45.1 cm × 60.4 cm (17.8 in × 23.8 in), located in a private collection.

As a result of this art perpetuating less-than-valuable ideals and ways of living, the art was looted and stolen from various types of collections – including private Jewish collections. Early on in the efforts to control art and its consumption, "German Jews [were stripped] of their citizenship and… their collections of art, their furniture, all their possessions right down to the silverware and their family photos [were confiscated]."[6] In order to control degenerate art and its owners, they were deemed to be a threat to the 'proper' way of life. The Munich Exhibit of 1937 was created to demonstrate this control.

The Munich Exhibit attracted worldwide attention, allowing everyone to see how what was deemed as degenerate identity and community connection changed even before the official

[6] Robert M Edsel and Bret Witter, *Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* (London: Arrow Books, 2014), 13.

outbreak of the Second World War. Compared to the 'German' art exhibit that was taking place simultaneously, the degenerate art exhibit gathered more attention. Most likely, the German population was interested in seeing the fundamental reasons why they were considered superior, and as art was at the centre of this understanding, it allowed for a visual representation of conflicting ideas and identities. Another possibility of the high attendance was given by the New York Times, published on August 6, 1937, stating that many of those in attendance were "foreign tourists, especially American and British, but included… many German art students to whom this exhibit [was] presumably their last opportunity to study modern art."[7] Here, no matter the intent of visiting the degenerate art exhibit in Munich, Hitler and the Nazis had established a monopoly on art as an object and its consumption on an international scale, as the exhibition attracted tourists and scholars.

Along with this, there was a monopoly on ideology and identity as the art was degenerate compared to the proper German way of life. As the art began to be stolen, the meaning of the paintings was stripped and turned into something new by the Germans. As a result, new communities formed surrounding these art categories, supporting the idea of right and wrong identities.[8] This was one of the monumental events in art and art looting, creating a very lucrative market that was traced from the twentieth to the twenty-first century. Once the motives of Hitler and the Nazi regime concerning the control of art were understood, the conditions in which Hitler and other prominent Nazis acquired this art exemplify how these categories were maintained throughout the war and influenced future communities and identities.

---

[7] "Degenerate Art Popular in Reich: Modern Show More Than 3 Times as Popular as Exhibit of 'German' Painting. Press Ignores Figures. Hitler and Goering are Reported to be Heavy Purchasers of 'Regenerate' Pictures" (quote); *Degenerate Art Exhibition Munich view of one section*, 1937, from University of California, San Diego ARTstor Slide Gallery, JPG, image 1 and 2.

[8] Hawkins and Catlow, "Shaping subjects, connecting communities, imagining futures?," 91.

Many individuals, including the owner of *View of the Asylum and Chapel of Saint-Rémy,* sold or gave pieces of their family collections to art dealers before fleeing and emigrating in hopes of escaping the Nazi regime.[9] This was an effort of liquidation, starting in 1933, meaning these communities were forced to give up pieces of their identity to survive, giving the art dealers of this period immense power over the newly reformed art market that Hermann Göring oversaw. Jonathan Petropoulos describes the power art dealers held, as they were part of the Liquidation Committee created because there was a need to "sell off the 'degenerate art' from German site collections,"[10] signalling the process of dealers working to acquire, assess, and determine the worthiness of the art, both sold to and stolen for them. As this art was acquired, the dealers gained enormous profits on their own accord and through a well-maintained system of agency.

After the Jewish population liquidated their assets, Hermann Göring, one of the most prominent figures within German looting and the art trade during the Second World War, began to search for private collections that could be purged. An order from November 5, 1940, found in *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History*, detailed the plan concerning the distribution of art found in Jewish collections or possession. Göring stated that when Jewish art was seized, all pieces would be available to Hitler and possibly placed in his private collection. Subsequently, art was reserved for the Reichsmarchall, Göring himself. After Göring hand-selected pieces for his collection, all remaining suitable art would be used to build the Hohe Schule collection. Finally, "those art objects that are appropriate for turning over to German museums; will immediately be inventoried, packed, and transported to Germany by the

[9] Jonathan Petropoulos, "Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period," *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 3 (2016): 546–65, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009416637417, 548; Redman, "Orkin v. Taylor: A Satisfying Solution to a Dispute over a van Gogh or a Blow for Holocaust Art Restitution Claims in United States Federal Court?," 393.
[10] Petropoulos, "Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period," 548.

Einsatzstab with all due care and with the assistance of the Luftwaffe."[11] After following the first steps outlined in the document, sorting the pure from impure, then moving them to specific people and places once they were deemed acceptable and hand-selected, they moved back into the hands of the art dealers, most famously Bruno Lohse due to his connections with Göring, and cycled through the French and German art trade through auctions.[12]

Göring, second only to Hitler in the newly formed art world, was racing against the system he built to add to his own collection. Carinhall, Göring's country estate, harboured such a large amount of the Göring collection that it gained the reputation of rivalling the museum in Linz.[13] Göring made collecting these treasures one of his goals during the Second World War, allowing him to grow "his personal collection [to] over seven-thousand masterpieces, amassed at his country home."[14] Göring became a crucial figure in looting and owning art, making it part of his character and identity; Carinhall was well-known for its displays of degenerate art, aided by Lohse, but also Jewish art dealers such as Allen and Manon Loebl.[15] Even though this degenerate art was often already in the private sphere, owned by Jewish families and other private collectors, the looting changed how the paintings influenced and expressed the identity of various communities through ownership and consumption – they were no longer objects of expression. The paintings were stolen and sold in an 'underground' market, providing little to no protection from destruction or damage

[11] "November 5, 1940 Reichmarschall Hermann Göring's order concerning distribution of Jewish art treasures," in *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* by Robert M. Edsel and Bret Witter, 31.
[12] "November 5, 1940 Reichmarschall Hermann Göring's order concerning distribution of Jewish art treasures," in *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* by Robert M. Edsel and Bret Witter, 31.
[13] Monika Ginkey Puloy, "High Art and national Socialism, Part I: Linz Museum as Ideological Arena," *Journal of the History of Collections* 8, no. 2 (January 1, 1996): 201–15, https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/8.2.201, 207.
[14] Noah Charney, "A Brief History of Art Theft in Conflict Zones," *Journal of Art Crime* 12 (2014): 77–84, 83.
[15] Donald S. Burris, "Keynote: Restoration of a Culture: A California Lawyer's Lengthy Quest to Restitute Nazi-Looted Art," *North Carolina Journal in International Law* 45, no. 2 (2020): 277–332, 285; Jonathan Petropoulos, "Five Uncomfortable and Difficult Topics Relating to the Restitution of Nazi-Looted Art," *New German Critique* 44, no. 1 130 (February 2017): 125–42, https://doi.org/10.1215/0094033x-3705730, 132.

from being improperly stored and cared for. The new form of collection, sold illegally and kept completely private, was seemingly spearheaded by Göring and his network of dealers willing to sell or give him art, as there is an unclear and essentially lost understanding of several transactions.[16] As a result, in the eyes of Göring, art was a means of collection, acting as a spoil of war.

Even though high-ranking Nazi officers and art dealers associated with them, including Bruno Lohse and Allen and Manon Loebl, often collected degenerate art, creating new identities surrounding illegality or undesirability as they were the spoils of war, others within the Reich fought against this, demonstrating another portion of this newly formed identity and its relation to degenerate art. Eric Koch, another well-known Nazi art collector during the Second World War, often acquired paintings from Göring. This would give the impression that Koch, the Reich Commissar of Ukraine, was also looking for degenerate art as a signifier to the successful control of art and those associated with it, but his collection primarily consisted of old Dutch masters.[17] Patricia Kennedy made it clear that Koch and Göring had developed an interesting relationship through art, as both heavily partook in looting and collection efforts, but there is no mention of any degenerate artists in the Koch collection. This could be credited to his location in the East, limiting ready-to-loot degenerate art, but as there was a strong relationship between the two Nazi collectors, Koch may have believed that degenerate art was indeed that: degenerate and unworthy, maybe even a threat to the Third Reich, as seen in the Munich exhibit.[18] As a collector, Eric Koch demonstrated that another form of identity emerged from the looting and private collecting of

---

[16] Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "Nazi-Looted Art from East and West in East Prussia: Initial Findings on the Erich Koch Collection," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 22, no. 1 (February 2015): 7–60, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0940739115000065, 31-2; Petropoulos, "Five Uncomfortable and Difficult Topics Relating to the Restitution of Nazi-Looted Art," 132-3.
[17] Grimsted, "Nazi-Looted Art from East and West in East Prussia," 10-11.
[18] *Degenerate Art Exhibition Munich view of one section*, image 1 and 2; Mary-Margaret Goggin, "'Decent' vs. 'Degenerate' Art," *Art Journal* 50, no. 4 (1991): 84–92, https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.1991.10791484, 84-85.

degenerate art. This was one of control, giving him and others with the same mindset power over the art and those who owned it in a different way than that of Göring. Even though both men demonstrate control and power over the art, Göring displayed its availability and newfound ownership because of control and want, giving him dominion over the art as he collected it with no meaning. In contrast, Koch seemed to refuse the degenerate art, solidifying the worthlessness of both the art and its previous owners. Even though these two mindsets and emerging identities would be conflicting, they were the frameworks for what happened to degenerate art until the end of the Second World War.

The following emerging identities concerning art, proper and degenerate, were simply maintaining control. Nazi collectors played a role as their collections grew after the art was displayed, vandalized and destroyed, or cycled into the art trade. After this, much of the degenerate art was stored in various places because of the sheer number collected throughout the Second World War. The storage of these paintings, often in salt and copper mines in Austria, placed them in danger as they were "stacked side by side."[19] Usually, the paintings were placed in these mines as the Allies approached, but there was no indication of protective materials or precautions to protect the works in the damp mines.

Even though the storage process of these paintings and degenerate art pieces was one of concern, recognized by the individuals tasked with taking care of and protecting these pieces while in storage, solidifying their role as degenerate within the new art world, they were stored with precious and valued pieces. For instance, the solid gold sarcophagus of Emperor Charlemagne and very classical paintings such as *Descent to Hades* and *Holy Family* by Ruben and Van Dyck, respectively.[20] Other paintings were kept by their new owners, mostly art dealers who worked

[19] "Masterpieces of Art Found in Nazi Mine," *New York Times (1923-),* May 06, 1945.
[20] "Masterpieces of Art Found in Nazi Mine," *New York Times (1923-),* May 06, 1945.

closely with Nazis. One of these people who managed to keep their newly looted forty-seven paintings was Lohse, with some held in a Swiss bank vault.[21] As the Allies began to discover these troves of art, both degenerate and proper, the identifying factors shifted once again. Nazi identity no longer relied on the cleansing of art as defeat inched closer and closer. Instead, they wanted to continue their monopolization of the lucrative commodity.

While the Nazis were building an identity of control and maintaining a monopoly on art, the Allies were simultaneously building new communities centred around art they had never seen in person. The Allies expressed the looting and destruction of art as a tragedy. They acted on these sentiments, opposing the community of the Third Reich and their idea of control, instead wanting to liberate both the art and the original owners' identity. Even though this was initially a fight against fascism and the lack of freedom of consumption, liberation became detrimental, and in some cases, even more so than the original looting that occurred. Eventually, ideas of freedom within Europe and its degenerate art were rewritten to fit a Western way of life. Despite this, the idea of liberation was not unified between individual soldiers, newly created specialty units, and organizing bodies such as governments and militaries. This created mass discrepancies in efforts of liberation and restitution.

Soon, within individual soldiers, the desire to liberate became a need to seek revenge out of anger, and it seemed to be common sense to achieve this the same way it started: through looting. Even though there is no mention of art explicitly, Ben Kaplow demonstrated this anger in a letter to his family. Ben's father asked him why he and the other soldiers were not treating the people of Lorraine with kindness, stealing food and other items from their homes. Kaplow responded angrily, stating "I would say that the majority of the people resent our coming. They were satisfied under

[21] Petropoulos, "Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period," 548-9.

Hitler… That's why my conscience doesn't bother me when I break into their homes & take things from them. Nothing they have is too good for us."[22] Kaplow was not the only soldier to do this, as Seth A. Givens explained. "Servicemen justified their actions by claiming wartime necessity, opportunities for profit or trade, keepsakes, and revenge for Nazi atrocities."[23] Even though Givens details these events occurring mainly in Germany, Kaplow's letter demonstrated how widespread and accepted this practice was. Kaplow and Givens agree on one thing: this was a case of revenge. Individual soldiers looted houses and other locations, possibly including the mines that acted as hiding places, because they thought it was their right.[24] Ownership meant something different to the Allies and, more specifically, the American forces. Examining the individual soldier uncovers this, giving the impression that ownership was exclusive and a demonstration of power and superiority.

There was little regulation of what liberation should have looked like with individual soldiers with no training in handling works of art, as seen in the anger Kaplow expressed, and within the evidence Givens provides. They acted out of individual interest and motive with no mention of punishment for mistreating these significant objects. Instead, 'liberation' was their right, letting them take in "sheer amount[s]."[25] This was now an act of trophy hunting, not the imagined effort of saving something that should be consumed openly.

In an attempt to counter this, specialty units were created and trained. The Monuments Men, a group of soldiers that served in the Western Allied military efforts from 1943 to 1951, were

---

[22] Benjamin Kaplow, *Dec 8, 1944 -- Don't worry if I know what I'm fighting for. Every time I look into the face of a dead Nazi, I remind myself.* Letter. From Society for Military History, Ben Kaplow Letters. https://benkaplowcom.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/19441208.pdf, 4.
[23] Seth A. Givens, "Liberating the Germans: The US Army and Looting in Germany during the Second World War," *War in History* 21, no. 1 (2014): 33–54, https://doi.org/10.1177/0968344513504521, 33.
[24] Kaplow, *Dec 8, 1944 -- Don't worry if I know what I'm fighting for,* 4; Givens, "Liberating the Germans," 34; "Masterpieces of Art Found in Nazi Mine," *New York Times (1923-),* May 06, 1945.
[25] Givens, "Liberating the Germans," 35.

first meant to "mitigate combat damage, primarily structures – churches, museums, and other important monuments."[26] Robert M. Edsel, known for being the leading expert on the Monuments Men, their past efforts, and their retribution efforts, presented this identity in a format that detailed the desire to help and protect national and individual identity. This countered the mission of the Nazis and individuals such as Hitler, Göring, and Koch, who wanted to control art, as seen in the orders given and the records kept of the looted art. Instead, Allied efforts such as this wanted to liberate and save the art and ensure it was returned to those it was stolen from, essentially allowing victims and survivors to reclaim their identity. Countering the sentiments felt by Ben Kaplow and other soldiers who saw looting as their right, the early values and missions of the Monuments Men were solely to find and save art.

There was a lack of community within the Allied forces, specifically regarding looting, art preservation, and art in general; "Monuments Man S. Lane Faison Jr. … arrived in Germany and promptly went to Altaissee, Austria, to assist with interrogating key Nazi officials detained by Western Allied forces. His particular assignment was to find out as much as possible about Hitler's art collection and his plans for the Führermuseum."[27] Faison was trained for this, and as this was an assigned mission, this would have affected his sentiments regarding looting and art in general, which Kaplow and other soldiers within the Allied forces did not feel. As a result, there was a lack of continuity regarding looting and its practices within the Allied forces, seen through Nazi organization and enforcement, ensuring art was properly catalogued and transferred once categorized. The Allies were not rigorous in training entire units and armies to handle found degenerate art.[28] As a result, even the Monuments Men and those affiliated with them began to

[26] Edsel and Witter, *Monuments Men*, p. xiv.
[27] Edsel and Witter, *Monuments Men*, pp. xv-xvi.
[28] Edsel and Witter, *Monuments Men*, pp. xv-xvi.; Kaplow, Dec 8, 1944 -- Don't worry if I know what I'm fighting for, 4.

suffer from deep communal divides. Two communities of soldiers were created: one focused on liberation, as seen in trained individuals such as Faison, and finding spoils and trophies of war, analyzed by Kirrily Freeman. Although Freeman focuses on gender within the Monuments Men and their efforts, the idea that "the United States assumed the mantle of protector and champion of Western Civilization by asserting custodianship of its greatest masterpieces"[29] demonstrates how and why this divide developed on an individual level, eventually making its way through every Allied effort related to degenerate art. The trained men like Faison saw themselves as protectors, whereas others such as Kaplow saw themselves as champions with the right to plunder and loot.[30] This was the beginning of recorded discrepancies within Allied identity and its formation surrounding degenerate art.

The attitudes of individual soldiers, with the want of revenge and control surpassing that of liberation, eventually made their way back to the home fronts of the Allies – a new community with an identity centred on degenerate art and the artists themselves. Many artists fled Germany and Austria, finding themselves in the Hutchinson Internment Camp, Isle of Man. Klaus E. Hinrichsen describes this movement as one of survival as artists and their art were no longer welcome within the traditional German society, referring to the newly transformed ideals related to art and artists. Britain then became a saviour and a place of hope for these artists, allowing them a place to keep creating.[31] Despite the nature of this, the camp was truly an internment camp, as it was set up in a field, or a terraced lawn as described by Hinrichsen, and boarding houses surrounded by rows of barbed wire with soldiers patrolling it.[32] Art creation was reportedly

[29] Kirrily Freeman, "Saving Civilization: The 'Monuments Men' in History and Memory," *Journal of Women's History* 33, no. 2 (2021): 85–110, https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2021.0016, 86.
[30] Edsel and Witter, Monuments Men, xv-xvi; Kaplow, Dec 8, 1944 -- Don't worry if I know what I'm fighting for, 4.
[31] Klaus E. Hinrichsen, "Visual Art behind the Wire," *Immigrants & Minorities* 11, no. 3 (1992): 188–209, https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.1992.9974795, 188-209.
[32] Hinrichsen, "Visual Art behind the Wire," p. 189.

encouraged not only to maintain internee morale and identity, but also because it helped maintain "administrative pride in the camp."[33] There was no reported 'sympathetic' atmosphere, only support. Here, the identity of liberation was imperative, as it allowed the artists to find refuge in an Allied country, resulting in one more Allied identity that stemmed from degenerate art and, now, those who created it. As seen with the Monuments Men, this was a familiar feeling and identity many would adopt, giving them a sense of pride for saving what many would call a vital piece of human life as well as hope because their actions were creating a positive impact in a time where art and the narratives and identities it fueled was filtered.

Despite these feelings of peace, liberation, and even safety felt by the British and artists within the internment camp, some felt as though they were trapped.

> On 28 August 1940 the *New Statesman and Nation* published a letter from Hutchinson Internment Camp in Douglas, Isle of Man, signed by 16 artists from Germany and Austria. It read, in part, 'Art cannot live behind barbed wire… the tensions under which we exist here, the sense of grievous injustice done to us, the restlessness cause by living in the close proximity with thousands of other men… prevent all work and creativity…'. It ends with an appeal to British artists and others' to help us obtain our liberty again.'[34]

The crafted views and narratives by the camp administration and other British officials were accompanied by another identity. When this is seen with the quote from the *New Stateman and Nation* analyzed by Hinrichsen, as the independent newspaper did not seem to keep this specific publication in their archive, it uncovered another developing identity surrounding degenerate art and control. The Allies demonstrated they could control material and consumable objects and those who created them. To the outside world, those not associated with or ignorant to the running of the internment camps that housed these enemy aliens, the camps did provoke and promote creativity

[33] Suzanne Snizek, "'Spiritual Vitamins': Music in Huyton and Central Internment Camps May 1940 to January 1941" in *Cultural Heritage and Prisoners of War: Creativity Behind Barbed Wire* eds. Gilly Carr and Harold Mytum (Taylor & Francis, 2012), 36.
[34] Hinrichsen, "Visual Art behind the Wire," 188.

as the artists continued to paint, transforming the houses and other buildings within the camp, successfully seeing past the barbed wire that trapped them in.[35] Even though this seemed to be a system allowing protection and continued creativity, the Allies saw this as an opportunity to control and possibly further influence the 'degenerate' art these artists created. As a result, when the crafted identities of the Allies on individual or small institutional scales are examined, they are not comparable to the German identities created, as there was no inherent good and bad when discussing the liberation of art. Instead, the two seemingly hoped to simultaneously control and liberate aspects of this art and their involvement in society.

These Allied identities, centred on liberation, control, and ownership, eventually made their way into the intelligence that was collected to find, save, and possibly return the degenerate art by the Art Looting Investigation Unit (ALIU), part of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The main goal of this investigation unit and those within it was to identify and detain "individual war crimes suspects and – partly as a by-product – the location of concealed works of looted art."[36] On the surface, this goal was essential as it allowed for collecting evidence proving initial war crimes related to cultural plundering. This coincides with the initial goal of the Allied forces concerning degenerate art. Despite their success, the desire to keep finding information and liberating art harboured undertones of the want to control the market related to art and information regarding it.[37]

---

[35] Hinrichsen, "Visual Art behind the Wire," p. 204; Rachel Dickson, "'Our Horizon Is the Barbed Wire': Artistic Life in the British Internment Camps," in *Insiders Outsiders Festival: Internment in Britain in 1940*, 2020, https://insidersoutsidersfestival.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/IO-RD-Our-horizon-is-the-barbed-wire-EXTRACT.pdf, 2-3.

[36] M. Salter, "A Critical Assessment of US Intelligence's Investigation of Nazi Art Looting," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 13, no. 2 (2015): 257–80, https://doi.org/10.1093/jicj/mqv015, 268.

[37] Salter, "A Critical Assessment of US Intelligence's Investigation of Nazi Art Looting," 277.

The Allied identity concerning degenerate art and its creators spanned the entire network of intelligence and armed forces, and as this network was vast and widespread, allowing for the community of revenge, want, and control to spread into government and intelligence efforts. This created a new Allied identity of control, which differed slightly from the Nazi style of artistic control, as they both harboured the goal of controlling and monopolizing degenerate art. In order to achieve this control, ignoring the original intentions of the Monuments Men and ALIU, art looted from the Germans was cycled into the private art market in the Western world. In some cases, no restitution efforts were pursued. As a result, a community of control and power overshadowed the original community of liberators who wanted to save and return lost art.

The degenerate art exhibit that opened in Munich in 1937, exhibiting control and the qualities deemed harmful to society, was recreated after the war. Christopher Hitchens published his feelings and experience at the Washington showing of the exhibition, where it was marketed as a way of teaching Western society about what happened to degenerate art in Nazi Germany. Hitchens expressed his interest in going because he had never seen some pieces before due to the censorship, including paintings by Otto Dix, as they attacked German culture and religion.[38] Hitchens went to the exhibition to learn and view newly uncensored art and ideas, but the recreation of the initial Munich exhibit harboured a sense of irony. This was because the art was presented in the same format, exhibiting the same historical discussion: this art was degenerate and needed to be presented as such. In turn, the legacy of controlling art lived on, even in the Western sphere of ideas after the Second World War.

As art was taken from one private market and given to another, control of these commodities was synonymous with that of Göring and his order concerning the distribution of

[38] Christopher Hitchens, "Minority Report," *The Nation*, 1992.

Jewish treasures. The best-known example of this occurred with Elizabeth Taylor, a British-American actress, who bought the van Gogh painting *View of the Asylum and Chapel at St. Rémy* and kept it in her private collection until her death. This painting was a well-known example of degenerate art and its victimhood because of the long history of complicated ownership before and during the Second World War, something characteristic of looted paintings, making it challenging to pursue restitution.

Lauren Fielder Redman, one of the many legal scholars who has analyzed the *Orkin v. Taylor* challenging to follow the path of *View of the Asylum and Chapel at St. Rémy.* It was said to be owned by Alfred Wolf, a German Jew and art collector who fled to Switzerland in 1934. This was where the discrepancy emerged, as it apparently can be traced from Wolf and through a long list of dealers to the Mauthner family. Presumably, Margarete Mauthner gave it to an art collector to avoid its seizure. The next known point of the painting was its sale in 1963, after Wolf's death.[39] Wolf did move to South America, where he died, but his fleeing, presumably with the painting, demonstrated the danger owning this type of art posed, and as a result, it is not entirely known where the painting was until it was bought for Elizabeth Taylor by her father at a private auction for £92,000.[40]

There was a considerable dispute surrounding the rightful owner of the painting, as both Taylor and the Mauthner heirs have significantly different stories regarding the ownership of the painting. However, both allude to the painting being sold to survive, a concept explored by Jonathan Petropoulos.[41] This was when *Orkin v. Taylor* gained nationwide attention because the case was working toward an answer of restitution and ownership of looted art, the initial focus of

[39] Redman, "Orkin v. Taylor," 391; Petropoulos, "Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period," 548.
[40] Redman, "Orkin v. Taylor," 392.
[41] Petropoulos, "Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period," 548.

units such as the Monuments Men and ALIU. The Mauthner heirs and Orkin wanted the painting returned to the historically rightful owners. This would have been an example of the completion and vigorous efforts of restitution of looted art from the Second World War. However, the court ultimately ruled that Taylor was the rightful owner of *View of the Asylum and Chapel at St. Rémy*, ignoring the proof of ownership Orkin and the Mauthner heirs were able to present, including the fact that the art collector Taylor claimed Mauthner sold the painting to had committed suicide before the purchase could have ever taken place.[42]

This case is unique because a Hollywood personality owned the painting, and significant discrepancies existed in the ownership history. Despite these extraneous factors, the mass publicity *Orkin v. Taylor* received solidified a newly found divide within international communities and even uncovered centuries-old prejudices that found their way into Allied verdicts related to art. As prejudice and discrimination were crucial for the Nazi looting of art, it may be surprising to see a repeat of this discrimination in Allied and later international restitution efforts. Donald S. Burris, a legal expert in looted art and the processes related to the return of art to the survivors or family members of Holocaust victims, describes the enthusiasm many nations and their officials expressed in these efforts, but in practice, little was done to achieve this.[43] The lack of engagement as well as cases such as *Orkin v. Taylor,* where there seemed to be substantial evidence, only solidifies the idea that control was an underlying factor in not only the Nazi looting, but as well as Allied looting and efforts of ownership throughout and after the Second World War. The general understanding of the Allied community often overshadows the historical basis of the Allied communal identity – the want to liberate from an enemy, as seen later in the Allied history of looted

[42] Redman, "Orkin v. Taylor," 394.

[43] Burris, "Keynote: Restoration of a Culture," 295-6.

art when American courts were used to reunite victims of Second World War looting with cultural artifacts found in the Russian Federation.[44] A new enemy was present, overtaking the threat of survivors and their families wanting to take art out of the Western private auction cycle, allowing Allies to monopolize control over these artifacts, even after the war.

The two powers, the Nazis and the Allies, during the Second World War, had fundamentally different goals when discussing looted and degenerate art, but both of these powers essentially wanted to establish control and superiority over an enemy. In the sense of Hitler, Göring, Koch, and other Nazis involved in the art trade fueled by looting, they wanted to cleanse society of 'harmful' media and the enemies that created it. In turn, the Allies wanted to liberate the looted art, and even though there were a handful of trained individuals who truly believed in liberation and restitution, the majority of soldiers, government and military officials, and later society as a whole, saw this as an opportunity to take revenge on the Third Reich while also gaining control of a lucrative and in-demand commodity. As a result, the Allies became a community that thrived on the threat of an enemy and their ownership of the art, explaining the hostility Ben Kaplow demonstrated and through the analyses of Givens, Dickson, and a series of other scholars.[45]

As a result, the conditions created by the Third Reich before and during the Second World War allowed for the looting of degenerate art, stripping historical communities of their identity while simultaneously creating new communities and identities. This disregarded the creation of the works by minority demographics and individuals who had experienced extreme hardship. The

---

[44] Michael J. Bazyler and Seth M. Gerber, "Chabad v. Russian Federation: A Case Study in the Use of American Courts to Recover Looted Cultural Property," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17, no. 2 (May 2010): 361–86, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0940739110000135, 361-2, 365-79.

[45] Kaplow, *Dec 8, 1944 -- Don't worry if I know what I'm fighting for,* 4; Freeman, "Saving Civilization," 86; Givens, "Liberating the Germans," 33-34; Hinrichsen, "Visual Art behind the Wire," 188-190, 204; Dickson, "'Our Horizon Is the Barbed Wire'," 2-3.

Allies thought they could liberate the art and, as a result, the historical communities that initially owned the works. Despite these efforts, the community that wanted to liberate and protect these culturally and socially significant works was overshadowed by control, revenge, and anger, once again transforming the understanding of the paintings as they cycled through the Western auction system. These events uncover how art created new communities by connecting ideology to physical objects and the attempted erasure of original meanings and associated communities. Art was forced from one ideology to another, stripping original owners, predominantly Jewish families and individuals, and other minorities initially targeted by the Nazis of their identity and sense of community. As a result, the degenerate art of the Second World War and its associated experiences demonstrate how identity and communities were transformed and created, but overall, it is centred on control and monopolization, signalling superiority.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Degenerate Art Exhibition Munich view of one section. 1937. From the University of California, San Diego ARTstor Slide Gallery. JPG. Image 1.

Degenerate Art Exhibition Munich view of one section. 1937. From the University of California, San Diego ARTstor Slide Gallery. JPG. Image 2.

"Degenerate Art Popular in Reich: Modern Show More Than 3 Times as Popular as Exhibit of 'German' Painting Press Ignore Figures Hitler and Goering are Reported to be Heavy Purchases of 'Regenerate' Pictures." *New York Times (1923-),* Aug 06, 1937.

Gogh, Vincent van. *View of the Asylum and Chapel of Saint-Rémy*. 1889. Oil on canvas. 45.1 cm × 60.4 cm (17.8 in × 23.8 in). Located in a private collection. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/View_of_the_Asylum_and_Chapel_of_Saint-R%C3%A9my#/media/File:Vincent_van_Gogh_-_View_of_the_Asylum_and_Chapel_of_Saint-R%C3%A9my_(F803).jpg.

Hitchens, Christopher. "Minority Report." *The Nation*, 1992.

Kaplow, Benjamin. Dec 8, 1944 -- Don't worry if I know what I'm fighting for. Every time I look into the face of a dead Nazi, I remind myself. Letter. From Society for Military History, Ben Kaplow Letters. https://benkaplowcom.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/19441208.pdf.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. *Katalog Der Privat-Gallerie Adolf Hitlers*. 1936. 1 album (75 p.); 31 x 41 cm. (album). *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004676971/.

"Masterpieces of Art Found in Nazi Mine." *New York Times (1923-),* May 06, 1945.

Secondary sources

Bazyler, Michael J., and Seth M. Gerber. "Chabad v. Russian Federation: A Case Study in the Use of American Courts to Recover Looted Cultural Property." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17, no. 2 (2010): 361–86. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0940739110000135.

Burris, Donald S. "Keynote: Restoration of a Culture: A California Lawyer's Lengthy Quest to Restitute Nazi-Looted Art." *North Carolina Journal in International Law* 45, no. 2 (2020): 277–332.

Carr, Gilly, and Harold Mytum. *Cultural Heritage and Prisoners of War*. Taylor & Francis, 2012.

Charney, Noah. "A Brief History of Art Theft in Conflict Zones." *Journal of Art Crime* 12 (2014): 77–84.

Dickson, Rachel. "'Our Horizon Is the Barbed Wire': Artistic Life in the British Internment Camps." In *Insiders Outsiders Festival: Internment in Britain in 1940*, 2020. https://insidersoutsidersfestival.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/IO-RD-Our-horizon-is-the-barbed-wire-EXTRACT.pdf.

Edsel, Robert M, and Bret Witter. *Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History*. London: Arrow Books, 2014.

Freeman, Kirrily. "Saving Civilization: The 'Monuments Men' in History and Memory." *Journal of Women's History* 33, no. 2 (2021): 85–110. https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2021.0016.

Givens, Seth A. "Liberating the Germans: The US Army and Looting in Germany during the Second World War." *War in History* 21, no. 1 (2014): 33–54.

Goggin, Mary-Margaret. "'Decent' vs. 'Degenerate' Art." *Art Journal* 50, no. 4 (1991): 84–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.1991.10791484.

Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy. "Nazi-Looted Art from East and West in East Prussia: Initial Findings on the Erich Koch Collection." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 22, no. 1 (2015): 7–60. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0940739115000065.

Hinrichsen, Klaus E. "Visual Art behind the Wire." *Immigrants & Minorities* 11, no. 3 (1992): 188–209. https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.1992.9974795.

Petropoulos, Jonathan. "Art Dealer Networks in the Third Reich and in the Postwar Period." *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 3 (2016): 546–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009416637417.

———. "Five Uncomfortable and Difficult Topics Relating to the Restitution of Nazi-Looted Art." *New German Critique* 44, no. 1 130 (2017): 125–42. https://doi.org/10.1215/0094033x-3705730.

Puloy, M. G. "High Art and National Socialism Part I: The Linz Museum as Ideological Arena." *Journal of the History of Collections* 8, no. 2 (1996): 201–15. https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/8.2.201.

Redman, Lauren. "Orkin v. Taylor: A Satisfying Solution to a Dispute over a van Gogh or a Blow for Holocaust Art Restitution Claims in United States Federal Court?" *Art Antiquity and Law* 12, no. 4 (2007).

Salter, M. "A Critical Assessment of US Intelligence's Investigation of Nazi Art Looting." *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 13, no. 2 (2015): 257–80. https://doi.org/10.1093/jicj/mqv015.

Zebracki, Martin, and Joni M Palmer. *Public Art Encounters: Art, Space, and Identity*. Routledge, 2017.

The Revival of Saint Helena's Cult in the Middle Ages: An Examination of Her Relics
by Erin Howell, HTST 593

Flavia Julia Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, was a Christian saint from the early fourth century. She gained prominence within the Catholic and Orthodox traditions due to her purported role in the discovery of the True Cross (or *inventio crucis*). As an imperial figure and mother of the first Christian emperor, she oversaw elements of the Christianization of the empire, particularly the construction of churches and the dissemination of the Christian faith through pilgrimage.[1] Despite her prominent role in Constantine's Christianizing efforts and the several accounts that credited her with the discovery of the True Cross, Helena was not highly venerated during her lifetime or in the centuries following her death. Her significance to the cult of the True Cross augmented her designation as a saint; however, a cult dedicated solely to her piety and works did not emerge until the Medieval period. From the late sixth century to the end of the Middle Ages, the expansion of Helena's cult is primarily evidenced by the increased veneration of her corporeal relics, contact relics, and relics that depicted her likeness.

Helena's humble familial origins and later divorce from Constantine's father, the Praetorian Prefect and Emperor Constantius, initially relegated her to historical obscurity. However, Constantine's ascension to emperorship in 306 and his triumph over Licinius in 324 restored her to the foreground. Upon his acclamation, Constantine granted Helena the title *Augusta,* and gold coins were struck in her name at every imperial mint.[2] Towards the end of her life, Helena attended a pilgrimage through the Eastern provinces to Roman Palestine. The letters of Saint Paulinus of Nola to Sulpicius Severus indicate that the "revered queen" was given complete access to the

[1] Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding the True Cross* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1992), 55.
[2] Julia Hillner, *Helena Augusta: Mother of the Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 125.

imperial treasury to facilitate her pilgrimage, the discovery of relics, and the establishment of churches.[3] The most contemporary account of her pilgrimage is found in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Life of Constantine*, a panegyric produced roughly a decade after the Empress' death. Throughout her pilgrimage to the Levant, Helena performed several acts of piety, such as giving alms to the poor and liberating the oppressed. The official occasion for her pilgrimage was the founding of several churches throughout the Holy Land. Eusebius attributes Helena with the establishment of both the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church on the Mount of Olives.[4] Writing approximately seventy years after Eusebius, Sulpicius Severus also attributes the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to Helena Augusta.[5] It is during the initial excavations of the latter church that later accounts claim she uncovered the True Cross and its implements.

During the late fourth and early fifth centuries, church historians began to credit Helena with the discovery of the True Cross. E. Gordon Whatley asserts that the lack of clarity regarding the disposal of the cross, nails, and titulus following Jesus' burial and resurrection "stimulated rather than impeded interest" in their ultimate locations and rediscovery.[6] The *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem, written in the mid to late fourth century, make mention of the discovery of three crosses on Golgotha and the dispersal of these relics such that the world was "filled with pieces of the wood of the Cross."[7] Although this early account does not attribute the discovery to a specific person, a letter from Cyril to Constantius II written in 351 states that "in the days of your imperial father, Constantine . . . the saving wood of the Cross was found in

[3] Paulinus of Nola, "Letter 31," in *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2 vols., ed. P. G. Walsh (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1967), 2: 129-30.
[4] Eusebius of Caesaria, *Life of Constantine*, 3.43.
[5] Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History*, 2.33.
[6] E. Gordon Whatley, "Constantine the Great, the Empress Helena, and the Relics of the Holy Cross," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 77.
[7] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, 4.10.

Jerusalem."[8] In 395, approximately sixty-five years following Helena's death, Saint Ambrose of Milan delivered a funerary oration at the death of Theodosius I during which he credited the Empress with the *inventio crucis*.[9] This version appears to be based on an earlier written account by the Bishop of Caesarea, Gelasius. Although the only extant parts of Gelasius' work are fragmentary, it appears that the histories of Rufinus of Aquileia, Sozomen, Theodoret, and others are based largely on Gelasius' *Church History*.[10] Nonetheless, the lapse in time between these Church historians' accounts and Helena's death in c. 330 has led modern historians to regard them as historical fiction. However, the historicity of the events of Helena's life and the extent of her involvement in the construction of churches in the East are not at issue in this paper. The "Helena Legend" that developed out of the accounts of Gelasius and Ambrose was regarded by Christians of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages as undisputed truth, and it is the increased veneration which her cult experienced during these periods that will be examined.

The genre of relics made up of pieces of the True Cross, titulus, and Holy Nails each act as substitutes for the resurrected physical remains of Christ. Thus, in both late antique and modern literature they are largely regarded as relics of Christ alone. However, Helena's role in the *inventio*, marked by her physical unearthing of the True Cross, imbued the Cross, titulus, and Nails with a dual status as contact relics of Saint Helena. This association was definitively made by Medieval Christians, and it is evidenced foremost by the plethora of engravings, paintings, and illustrations of Helena that depict her holding the True Cross. It is further demonstrated by the female saints of the Early Medieval period who sought fragments of the Cross, and whose hagiographers likened their pursuits to Helena's pilgrimage. These hagiographers utilized Helena as a quintessential "holy

[8] Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, 82.
[9] Ambrose of Milan, *De Obitu Theodosii*, 40-8.
[10] Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, 98.

exemplar" for the women they eulogized. Peter Brown asserts in his article on saints as exemplars that late antique and Early Medieval Christians continued the classicizing method of emulation by drawing upon specific aspects of a particular exemplar.[11] While Brown's analysis is applied predominantly to the early ascetics of the pre-Christian Mediterranean, the unique dichotomy of Helena's secular and religious authority provided a sovereign female exemplar to several Medieval women, thus creating a "model of medieval queenship."[12] The accounts of the following women demonstrate continuity between the establishment of Helena's sainthood in the early fifth century and her veneration in subsequent centuries; however, it does not yet appear that a cult exclusive to Helena was definitively existent.

The late sixth-century Empress Sophia, the niece of Theodora and Justinian I and the wife of Justin II, was praised by Venantius Fortunatus in his work *Carmina* for her generosity in donating a piece of the Cross to a Frankish Benedictine abbey in 567.[13] Fortunatus compared her distribution of relics of the True Cross to the diaspora of such relics under the authority of Helena Augusta two centuries prior. Leslie Brubaker and Helen Tobler draw further parallels between Sophia and Helena based on their respective coinages. They argue that the coins minted during Sophia's reign were of a style termed "empress coins" which began under the authority of Constantine. Sophia's coins illustrate a "new departure" within the style which represented "the shared nature of imperial prestige" between herself and Justin II.[14] The similarities between the iconography of their coins were likely intentional, and they illustrate either Justin II's or Sophia's desire to establish a continuity between the sixth-century Empress and Helena Augusta.

---

[11] Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 21.
[12] Jo Ann McNamara and others, eds., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 97.
[13] Erin T. Dailey, *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 35.
[14] Leslie Brubaker and Helen Tobler, "The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324–802)," *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 577, 583.

The abbey to which Empress Sophia sent the True Cross relic was subsequently renamed the Abbey of the Holy Cross and the recipient of the fragment was the queen, saint, and abbess Radegund. Baudonivia, a nun from the Holy Cross convent, composed a hagiography of Saint Radegund in the early seventh century, and her account draws several clear parallels to the works and "humble piety" of Saint Helena.[15] As the wife of the Frankish king Clotaire I, Radegund shared a unique temporal authority comparable to Helena's. Shortly after their marriage, Radegund founded a monastery in Poitiers where she began a collection of relics. Baudonivia describes Radegund's petitions to the Eastern Roman emperor for a piece of the Cross to be sent to Poitiers, stating: "What Helena did in oriental lands, Radegund the blessed did in Gaul!"[16] Jo Ann McNamara asserts that in her hagiography Baudonivia intentionally quoted directly from the legend of the *inventio crucis*, and placed particular emphasis on Helena's role in the discovery while marginalizing other figures.[17] Moreover, Baudonivia stated that the obstacles that Radegund faced receiving the cross relic for her convent were due to those who "played the role of the Jews," another parallel to the Helena Legend and the Jews who refused to show Helena the location of Golgotha in the Ambrosian version of the legend.[18] Another similarity appears to draw from Gregory of Tours' *Glory of the Martyrs*. Gregory states that upon her return from the Holy Land, the ocean became erratic and Helena's ship nearly capsized.[19] To calm the sea, she threw one of the four Holy Nails into the ocean. This legend is remarkably similar to the story told by Baudonivia of the return of Radegund's servants from a journey to the East shortly after she received the Cross relic. She states that during their travels "the sea became rough … for forty

[15] Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, 182.
[16] Baudonivia, *Life of St. Radegund*, 1.16.
[17] McNamara and others, eds., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 97.
[18] McNamara and others, eds., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 98.
[19] Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs,* trans. Raymond Van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 7.

days and nights.[20]… And seeing their great danger, they raised their voices to heaven, crying aloud: "Lady Radegund, help your servants lest we perish by drowning while in your service!," and immediately "Great tranquility descended over the midst of the sea."[21] Thus, several details of Helena's various hagiographic traditions were not only known to Baudonivia but were also utilized in her *vitae* of Saint Radegund.

Although Jacques Fontaine argues in his analysis of the two *vitae* of Radegund that the "militant sanctity" portrayed by Baudonivia was intended to emulate the virtues of Saint Martin, Radegund's dualistic political and saintly nature is also deeply emblematic of the Christian empress archetype established by Helena.[22] In particular, Radegund's interactions with Justin II as well as local religious and secular authorities exemplified a "regal demeanour" only attainable by those with her unique role as both Queen and clergy. For instance, her petition for a relic of the Cross was sent directly to King Sigebert rather than through the local chain of command beginning with the bishop of Poitiers, Maroveus.[23] Moreover, a letter written in 561 by Radegund preserved in the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours fully illustrates the overlap of her religious and temporal authority. The letter was addressed to "all the bishops" and implored those in apostolic office if they "wish not to be tormented by the Tyrant" to ensure that her abbey remained untouched by any person who aimed to interfere with her community after her passing.[24] This letter is indicative of Radegund's familiar relationship with local clergy, and the influence she wielded as both a prominent Abbess and the former Frankish Queen.

---

[20] Baudonivia alludes to several biblical narratives which detail trials and temptations lasting forty days. Among these are the temptation of Christ (Luke 4:1-13), the Great Flood (Genesis 7:12), and Moses' time on Mount Sinai (Exodus 24:18; Exodus 34:27-28).
[21] Baudonivia, *Life of St. Radegund*, 1.17.
[22] Jaques Fontaine, "Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévère à Venance Fortunat," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* (1976): 134-5.
[23] Dailey, *Queens, Consorts, Concubines*, 70.
[24] E. T. Dailey, *Radegund: The Trials and Triumphs of a Merovingian Queen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 172.

Jane Tibbets Schulenburg states in her work on female sainthood in the Medieval period that, although contemporary sources do not explicitly state as much, people of the Middle Ages credited Empress Helena with the conversion of her son Constantine, and thus she became "an important exemplum or role model of domestic proselytization for other queens and noblewomen."[25] Schulenburg applies this dynamic to the sixth-century queen of the Franks, Saint Clotilda. Her hagiographer refers to her as a "second Helena" due to her role in the conversion of her husband, King Clovis, from Frankish paganism to Christianity. Nearly contemporaneously, Bertha of Kent, the Catholic wife of the pagan King Ethelbert, was compared by Pope Gregory the Great to Empress Helena for her hand in both the conversion of her husband and, consequently, the English people.[26] Thus, by the beginning of the seventh century, the hagiographic tradition of several female saint-rulers employed Helena as an example of humility and piety, and their hagiographers purposefully related their proselytizing efforts and acquisition of relics to her example.

As previously discussed, the relics commonly attributed to Saint Helena, including the Cross and its implements, were not exclusive to her cult. The obscurity of her early life and the tenuous adoration shown to her when she died meant that no secondary relics such as clothing or other belongings were retrieved for the purpose of veneration. Thus, during the first several centuries of her sainthood, the only relic that could be exclusively attributed to Helena was her body. Unfortunately, contemporary sources bear conflicting information regarding the date of her death and the exact location of her burial.[27] Socrates Scholasticus asserted in his work *Historia Ecclesiastica* that she was buried at the Apostoleion in Constantinople, while the graffiti outside

[25] Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 180.
[26] Pope Gregory the Great, *Epistles*, 11.29.
[27] Mark J. Johnson, "Where Were Constantius I and Helena Buried?" *Latomus* 51 (1992): 145.

of a mausoleum along the Via Labicana appears to support Eusebius' claim that she was buried in Rome.[28] The Roman mausoleum was likely originally intended for Constantine, and the porphyry sarcophagus decorated with masculine imagery such as cavalrymen in which the empress was allegedly buried was either intended for Constantine or even Maxentius – further confirmation that her cult was tenuous at best upon her death.[29] Thus, the ambiguity of her burial and the diminutive nature of her early cult led to her corporeal relics being left without veneration for several centuries. However, in the ninth century, various traditions regarding the translation of her bodily relics began to appear.

The first Latin hagiography of Saint Helena, *Vita Helenae*, was written by Almann of Hautvillers in 860 and it included a description of the translation of the remains of Helena's body from the Mausoleum of Helena in eastern Rome to a reliquary in Hautvillers Abbey approximately twenty years prior.[30] This account is further corroborated by Flodoard's tenth-century work *History of the Reims Church* and Sigebertus Gemblacensis' twelfth-century work *Chronica Sive Chronographia Universalis*.[31] In the nineteenth century, these remains would be transferred once again by the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre to Église Saint-Leu-Saint-Gilles in Paris.[32] Another Medieval tradition held that Helena bore a strong connection to the Trier Cathedral due to Constantine's residence in the city and that during her lifetime Helena donated the seamless robe of Christ (or *tunica Christi*) to the cathedral. After her death, the cathedral claimed that it acquired the head of Saint Helena.[33] However, Jan Dijvers asserts that there is a lack of pre-ninth-century

[28] Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.17; Eusebius of Caesaria, *Life of Constantine*, 3.47.
[29] Jan Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta and the City of Rome," *Monuments & Memory* (2016): 148.
[30] Jan Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections," *Millennium* 8 (2011): 131.
[31] Johnson, "Where Were Constantius I and Helena Buried?," 149.
[32] Elias Feitosa de Amorim Júnior, "Madeira, tecido e vidro: Notre-Dame de Chartres e suas relíquias," *Colloquium of the Brazilian Art History Committee* (2016): 82-3.
[33] Drijvers, "Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth," 133.

documentation of Helena's association with Trier, and thus the tradition was likely "invented … to advance the status of the city."[34] A third translation legend is celebrated to this day by the people of Venice on the shared feast day of Helena and Constantine, May 21st, as it holds that Helena's body was transferred from Constantinople by the monk Aycardo in 1211 to the Isola di Santa Elena.[35]

The most widely regarded tradition maintains that her remains in their entirety were transferred in the middle of the twelfth century from the Mausoleum of Helena on the outskirts of Rome to the Basilica Sanctae Mariae de Ara Coeli — the only basilica located on the Capitoline Hill.[36] A transfer of this magnitude is indicative of her rising popularity centuries after her death. A slightly different version quoted by Mark Johnson comes from an undated manuscript cited in the work of Paolo Aringhi which credits the translation of Helena's corporeal relics to a break-in at the mausoleum in Rome.[37] Her remains were subsequently brought to the Basilica of Constantine and her sarcophagus was reused by Pope Anastasius IV. Regardless of the truth of each of these traditions, the various stories of the transfer of Helena's remains between the ninth and twelfth centuries indicate a sudden demand for primary relics, and thus a desire to venerate relics *exclusively* associated with Helena's cult.

This increased veneration of Saint Helena through the acquisition of her corporeal relics beginning in the ninth century was almost simultaneously met by the emergence of a variety of secondary relics – predominantly coins and pilgrimage tokens. The attribution of apotropaic powers to the iconography of coinage was a practice which predated Christianity; however, the

---

[34] Drijvers, "Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth," 135.
[35] John Wortley, "The 'Sacred Remains' of Constantine and Helena," *Byzantine Narrative* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 366.
[36] Johnson, "Where Were Constantius I and Helena Buried?," 149.
[37] Johnson, "Where Were Constantius I and Helena Buried?," 149.

Christianization of coinage in the centuries following Constantine's reign provided for depictions firstly of the cross and later, on the solidi of Justinian II, of Jesus Christ. Believers revered these coins and often punctured them to wear as amulets. Throughout the Medieval period, literary sources and hoard finds attest to a Byzantine coin type known as *santalene* or *monete di santa Helena*. These coins were likely used for devotional purposes and were believed to depict Saint Helena and Constantine.

The origin of the name *santalene* comes from Dante Alighieri's fourteenth-century work *Convivio,* and was likely an informal term used to refer to ancient Roman coins depicting either imperial busts or Christian symbols.[38] These coins proliferated primarily in the Eastern Empire and were believed to possess talismanic powers, as is demonstrated by the mid-twelfth-century letter of Michael Italikos to Michael Pantekhnes. Italikos sent to Pantekhnes a *santalene* that concealed a "divine power," which was "injected into it by the instruments of the metal workers."[39] The sudden increase in literary accounts attesting to devotion to "coins of Saint Helena" is indicative of an increase in her veneration, at least within the Eastern Roman Empire.

The initial basis for the devotional practices attributed to *santalene* is based on their presence in three Italian hoards – the Ordona hoard buried c. 1030, the Roman hoard buried c. 1185, and the Pisa hoard buried c. 1266.[40] Only one *santalene* is found within each of these individual hoards, a detail that Lucia Travaini believes attests to their status as objects of piety.[41] These hoarded *santalene* are particularly notable because of their iconography as they do not depict a cross flanked by Constantine and Helena as Medieval Christians believed. In fact, no coins with

[38] P. Toynbee, "The Coins Denominated Santelene by Dante," *Giornale Storico Della Letteratura Italiana* 30 (1897): 348.
[39] Cecile Morrisson, "Byzantine 'Medals': Coins, Amulets and Piety," *Byzantine Religious Culture*, eds. Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth A. Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012), 218.
[40] Lucia Travaini, "Les Frontières de l'Éternité? Le Cas d'un Nom de Monnaie: Santalene," *Revue Numismatique* (2008): 170.
[41] Travaini, "Les Frontières de l'Éternité?" 171.

both Constantine and his mother were minted during their lives. Rather, they depict the tenth-century Emperor Basil II (958-1025), bearded and read as Constantine the Great, and his brother Constantine VIII (960-1028), beardless and read as Saint Helena (fig. 1). Travaini argues that these *santalene* were non-circulating and were typically treated as family heirlooms; however, the relative contemporaneity of these coins is notable because it demonstrates that the veneration of such coins likely did not occur much earlier.[42] Had the veneration of Helena's likeness far preceded the early eleventh century, we would expect that these worshipers would have preserved and revered the plethora of fourth-century coins minted with her image throughout her lifetime.

Figure 1. Gold histamenon of Constantine VIII and Basil II. Minted 976-1025. OB: Bust of Jesus Christ with Nimbus Cruciger. RV: Busts of Constantine (right) and Basil (left) holding cross. From Coin Archives.

The Byzantine coins regarded as *santalene* by Dante and Italikos were copious (some coins of Justinian II and his son, Tiberius II, were also mistaken as *santalene*) throughout the Eastern Empire and Italian peninsula, yet they were not widely available in Northern Europe as that area was occupied by Germanic kingdoms since the early mid-fifth century.[43] However, the expansion of Helena's cult into the North is still evidenced by coinage. One of the earliest attempts at coinage in Anglo-Saxon England occurred in the seventh century. These coins depicted on their obverse the profile bust of a woman in royal garb with the legend "EILLEIIA AVGVTTV" – a barbarous

[42] Lucia Travaini, *The Thirty Pieces of Silver: Coin Relics in Medieval and Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2022), 26.
[43] Morrisson, "Byzantine 'Medals'," 220.

imitation of the Latin "HELENA AUGUSTA" legend of fourth-century Roman coins (fig. 2). This imitation bears a striking resemblance to its inspiration, perhaps indicating that extant Roman Helena coins made it to the peripheries of the empire (fig. 3). Moreover, the production of coins with depictions of Helena establishes that, as early as the seventh century, her cult had expanded into the European borderlands and a "particular devotion to the Empress" was widespread among the Anglo-Saxon people.[44]

Figure 2. Obverse of a 7th-century barbarous imitation of a Roman gold solidus. Draped bust of Helena facing right. From the British Museum.

Figure 3. Obverse of a gold solidi of Helena Augusta. Minted 327-328 at Alexandria. Diademed and draped bust of Helena facing right. From Forum Ancient Coins.

Despite the proliferation of *santalene*, Helena coin imitations also appear in Roman regions. As mentioned above, coins in the iconographic style of *santalene* were not produced during Helena's life. However, numismatist and historian Cecile Morrisson asserts that coins minted in Thessalonica during the thirteenth century depicted Helena and Constantine alongside

[44] Anna Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 40.

the True Cross.[45] The rarity of these coins implies that they were likely minted as commemorative issues or were struck at the request of a local authority. Irrespective of the nature of their production, the minting of *santalene* nine centuries after Helena's death indicates that her cult had outgrown the number of extant *santalene*, and this insufficient supply of secondary relics was remedied through the striking of new coins.

The reverence of the so-called *santalene* throughout the Byzantine Empire and Italian peninsula has been documented chiefly through the work of the numismatist and archaeologist Lucia Travaini. Travaini notes that in areas where the coins of either Basil II or Justinian II were unavailable, people of Western Europe venerated coins with Chrisitan symbols such as the Cross, Chi-Rho, or labarum as "coins of Saint Helena."[46] Likewise, Morrisson describes the "médailles de sainte Hélène" in Francia which were found predominantly in Provence, as well as the "Ochavo de Santa Elena" minted by Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195-1203) which continued to proliferate throughout the Iberian peninsula until the twentieth century (fig. 4).[47] It is notable that the "Ochavo de Santa Elena" continued to circulate as coins of Saint Helena despite the iconographic change initiated by Alexios III — the reverse featured two figures which were both bearded men — likely intended to represent the incumbent king and Constantine.

Figure 4. Hyperpyron of Alexios III Angelos. Minted c. 1195-1203. OB: Christ standing, nimbate, holding the Gospels. RV: Two bearded figures flanking the Cross. From Wildwinds.

[45] Morrisson, "Byzantine 'Medals,'" 219.
[46] Travaini, "Les Frontières de l'Éternité?," 176.
[47] Morrisson, "Byzantine 'Medals,'" 228.

The increased veneration of Helena's secondary relics — coins — is demonstrated finally by the production of terracotta tokens in the Holy Land. These 'pilgrim tokens' were molded out of a type of clay made partially from the ground of holy sites and were then crudely impressed with icons. Their iconography attempted to mirror the silhouettes of *santalenes* – the busts of two figures appear underneath a cross (fig. 5). Against the popularly supported dating of these tokens to the sixth and seventh centuries, Travaini argues that "non-destructive thermoluminescence analysis" dates the tokens to around 1200.[48] Thus, she argues that their creation coincided with the middle of the Crusades and that there was an "explosion in the market for relics" during the period.[49] The imagery chosen for these pilgrim tokens not only reflects a surge in relics from the Holy Land and a rise in pilgrimage, but also serves as evidence of the widespread popularity of Helena's cult and its impact on the veneration of the True Cross.

Figure 5. Terracotta "True Cross" Pilgrim Relic. Created c. 7th century (or 13th). Two roughly engraved figures beneath the Cross on the obverse. From CNG Coins.

At the close of the Middle Ages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the literary accounts and hoards composed of *santalene* reached their pinnacle. Several literary accounts refer to the production of *santalene* imitations (including wax impressions), their use in Christian ritual, their discovery among hoards of coins, their thaumaturgical powers, and even their presence in

[48] Travaini, *The Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 23.
[49] Travaini, *The Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 24.

"Italian mathematical treatises and medieval merchant notebooks."[50] The role of *santalene* as secondary relics of Saint Helena culminated in the late sixteenth century with the discovery of the Lateran hoard. During renovations to the foundation of the Lateran Palace in 1586, a hoard of coins was discovered, and it was documented that Pope Sixtus V "donated one of those coins of Saint Helena to each of the cardinals who accompanied His Holiness."[51] Thus, despite the variety of iconography, these coins were all regarded as *santalene* — coins of Saint Helena. In the subsequent year, Pope Sixtus V issued a papal bull granting these coins the status of apostolic indulgences, thus solidifying the thaumaturgical and absolving nature of Helena's secondary relics.

For all her contributions to the Early Christian Church, we would expect that Saint Helena Augusta would have enjoyed a substantial and dedicated cult either immediately following her death or shortly after she was credited with the invention of the Cross. However, this is not the case. Helena's inextricable connection with the cult of the True Cross afforded her veneration and facilitated her designation as a saint; however, a cult exclusively dedicated to her piety and works was not explicitly evident until the Medieval period. From the late sixth century to the end of the Middle Ages, the rapid development of Saint Helena's cult is best evidenced by an increase in the veneration — and production — of her primary, secondary, and tertiary relics. Her tertiary relics — contact relics comprised of fragments of the Cross and its implement — were widely distributed and used by Medieval women to establish their temporal and religious authority through association with Helena's "distinctive, exemplary traits."[52] Stories detailing the transfer of her primary or corporeal relics between the ninth and twelfth centuries demonstrate that the possession of her remains afforded cities and individual monasteries a heightened status, and the interest in

[50] Travaini, *The Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 25-9.
[51] Travaini, *The Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 29.
[52] Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," 13.

the location of her remains indicates that her cult was expanding. As the popularity of Helena's cult reached its pinnacle in the mid-to-late Medieval period, secondary relics of Saint Helena became highly sought-after. This is evidenced by the coins and pilgrim tokens which were venerated for their iconographic portrayals of Helena and Constantine flanking the Cross. These *santalene* were regarded since the thirteenth century as objects infused with thaumaturgical powers, a belief that was legitimized by a 1587 papal bull that granted them the status of apostolic indulgences.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1, Numismatica Ars Classica, *Auction 146*, photograph, accessed 13 April 2024, Zürich, Switzerland, https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=2367513&AucID=5814&Lot=2434&Val=7de17a5a47f14a490e439df91870f421.

Figure 2, Trustees of the British Museum, *Barbarous Imitation of a Roman Coin*, photograph, accessed 13 April 2024, London, England, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1864-1128-195.

Figure 3, Forum Ancient Coins, *St. Helena, Augusta, 8 November 324 - c. 330 A.D., Mother of Constantine the Great*, photograph, accessed 14 April 2024, Morehead City, North Carolina, https://www.forumancientcoins.com/catalog/roman-and-greek-coins.asp?param=92346q00.jpg&vpar=463&zpg=98732&fld=.

Figure 4, Wildwinds, *Freeman & Sear - Mail Bid Sale 14 Lot: 535*, photograph, accessed 15 April 2024, Santa Monica, California, https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz/alexius_III/t.html.

Figure 5, Classical Numismatic Group, *Circa 7th century AD. Terracotta "True Cross" Pilgrim Relic Token (16mm, 1.27 g)*, photograph, accessed 15 April 2024, https://auctions.cngcoins.com/lots/view/4-BDX1R1/circa-7th-century-ad-terracotta-true-cross-pilgrim-relic-token-16mm-127-g-vf.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Ambrose of Milan, *De Obitu Theodosii*.

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*.

Eusebius of Caesaria, *Life of Constantine*.

Gregory of Tours. *Glory of the Martyrs*. Translated by Raymond Van Dam. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988.

Paulinus of Nola, "Letter 31." *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2 vols., edited by P. G. Walsh. Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1967.

Pope Gregory the Great, *Epistles,* 11.

Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History*.

Secondary Sources

Amorim Júnior, Elias F., “Madeira, tecido e vidro: Notre-Dame de Chartres e suas relíquias.” *Colloquium of the Brazilian Art History Committee* (2016): 80-90.

Brown, Peter. “The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity.” *Representations* 2 (1983): 1–25.

Brubaker, Leslie and Helen Tobler. “The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324–802).” *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 572-94.

Dailey, Erin T. *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015.

Dailey, E. T. *Radegund: The Trials and Triumphs of a Merovingian Queen*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. “Helena Augusta and the City of Rome” *Monuments & Memory* (2016): 147-53.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. “Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections.” *Millennium* 8 (2011): 125-74.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding the True Cross*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1992.

Fontaine, Jacques. “Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévère à Venance Fortunat.” *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* (1976): 113-40.

Gannon, Anna. *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hillner, Julia. *Helena Augusta: Mother of the Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023.

Johnson, Mark J. “Where Were Constantius I and Helena Buried?” *Latomus* 51 (1992): 145–50.

McNamara, Jo Ann, and others, eds.. *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.

Morrisson, Cecile. “Byzantine 'Medals': Coins, Amulets and Piety.” *Byzantine Religious Culture*, edited by Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth A. Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012.

Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts. *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500-1100*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Toynbee, P. "The Coins Denominated Santelene by Dante." *Giornale Storico Della Letteratura Italiana* 30 (1897): 347-48.

Travaini, Lucia. “Les Frontières de l’Éternité? Le Cas d'un Nom de Monnaie: Santalene.” *Revue Numismatique* (2008): 169-83.

Travaini, Lucia. *The Thirty Pieces of Silver: Coin Relics in Medieval and Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 2022.

Wace, Henry. *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1911.

Whatley, E. Gordon. "Constantine the Great, the Empress Helena, and the Relics of the Holy Cross." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, edited by Thomas Head. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Wortley, John. "The 'Sacred Remains' of Constantine and Helena." *Byzantine Narrative*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017.

A Common Place: Place-making in Gerrard Winstanley's Vision of the English Commons
by Jacob Polay

A thesis submitted to Dr. Ken MacMillian and the Department of History in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts Honours in History.

Abstract

The writings and actions of Gerrard Winstanley and his Diggers, as they began digging the common land of St George's Hill in 1649, have frequently been regarded as supporting a communist and ecological position. These are both fundamentally anachronistic claims. However, Winstanley did express a deeper emotional connection than opponents of the Marxist and Green claimants allow. Using the methodological framework of "space" versus "place," this thesis uncovers how Winstanley held empathetic feelings for the commons and the creatures upon it while maintaining superiority over them. By examining Winstanley's claims of the rights to the commons and the empathetic superiority he held over the land and animals, it is established that Winstanley's protestations functioned as a form of place-making. Through this place-making, he established the English commons as a "place" of resistance, spirituality, and equality, refusing authoritative control by engaging all people to live with an empathetic superiority for nature, bringing them closer to God.

Introduction

...it was shewed us by vision in dreams, and out of dreams,

that that should be the place we should begin upon.[1]

– Gerrard Winstanley

In 1649, Gerrard Winstanley declared that the earth "was made to be a common treasury of relief for all, both beasts and man," as he and other protesters, collectively known as the Diggers, or True Levellers, began digging and planting the commons at St. George's Hill.[2] Opposing the enclosure of common lands, Winstanley's writings provide an insight into the commoners' thoughts on their surrounding environments in seventeenth-century England. Historians have widely debated Winstanley's work, as scholars frequently contest the reasoning behind why he and the Diggers took up ploughs, often using anachronistic argumentation. Many notable debates come from Marxist historians, who argue that Winstanley represents an early form of agrarian communism.[3] These debates have been furthered by those in the green movement, arguing that Winstanley represents a proto-ecologist who cared for the trees and animals, directly leading to his actions to preserve these features.[4] This is an anachronistic claim, as the term "ecology" only came into use during the nineteenth century.[5] The term environment

[1] Gerrard Winstanley, "A Declaration to the Powers of England," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 14; Spelling in primary materials has been modernized and punctuation changed to modern usage.
[2] Winstanley, "A Declaration to the Powers of England," 13.
[3] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London, Penguin Books, 1991), 341.
[4] Daniel Johnson, "Winstanley's Ecology: The English Diggers Today," *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 65:7 (2013), 20-31.
[5] Ariel Hessayon, "Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land: The Diggers and the Fruits of the Earth," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 2:2 (2008):1-25.

did exist during the early modern period; however, its use to describe one's surroundings only emerged in the nineteenth century.

Since the 1960s, many scholars have held Winstanley as one of the first green revolutionaries. This began with Marxist historians citing Winstanley as the "ultimate ancestor of the English labour and co-operative movements" and establisher of the world's first "communist political programme."[6] The growing environmentalist movement amongst the left during the 1960s and 70s took up Winstanley as a paragon of the movement. Ian Bradley's 1989 magazine article furthered this idea in the public's consciousness, proposing Winstanley as "England's Pioneer Green." Derek Wall furthered this idea by including Winstanley as a "green revolutionary" in his *Green History* reader."[7] Those in the present-day left and green movements have embraced Winstanley, echoing his sentiments when examining the changing environments around our world.

This essay follows in thought with the work of Ariel Hessayon, who argues against these green narratives, which use Winstanley to legitimate their political opinions rather than write his history based on the available evidence. Hessayon's argument for less politicization when examining the Diggers is important. However, disregarding this green narrative acts as too far of a shift in the other direction, ignoring the emotional nuance and reasoning behind Winstanley's desire to protect the commons. Hessayon does not dismiss early modern environmental issues entirely, acknowledging seventeenth-century concerns arising from the filth and diminishing air quality of London, dirty water, and growing wood shortages. As a consequence of Hessayon's

---

[6] Christopher Hill, *Winstanley: 'The Law of Freedom' and other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 10.

[7] Ian Bradley, "Gerrard Winstanley: England's Pioneer Green?," *History Today,* August 1, 1989; Derek Wall, *Green History: A Reader in Environmental Literature, Philosophy and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1994), 203-206.

disregarding of anachronism, these many issues are addressed purely practically, establishing that the Diggers focused on improving their surroundings and worried about certain parts of their environment only so they could utilize it for material benefit. This economic aspect is certainly true but does not form the entirety of the Diggers' thoughts. In his closing, Hessayon recognizes Winstanley's pity for his mistreated animals, noting that "these feelings complemented his belief that God had made all creatures for man's 'pleasure and profit.'"[8] While this brief mention in the conclusion is important, it does not do enough to establish Winstanley as having certain emotional connections to his surroundings while denying claims of his "green" ideology. This essay follows this argument further, examining Winstanley's published pamphlets to better understand how he and his fellow Diggers viewed their spatial surroundings on the commons.

Through Winstanley's writings, two primary themes become notable. The first is his opinion that all men should have equal rights to the commons. Winstanley supports this argument in many ways, citing biblical scripture and history to recall how these rights were established and passed down. These citations established that God created the earth for all creatures to use and that the restrictions on the rights to the commons were a recent phenomenon, initially brought on by the fall of man and brought to England by William the Conqueror. Supporting these historical claims, Winstanley used contemporary political thought following the English Civil War to demonstrate the evils of the enclosing lords and why the newly-formed commonwealth should support access to the commons. Winstanley was not simply an ideologue who focused on the immaterial reasons why access to the commons should be open. Instead, he additionally argued that the earth was necessary for maintaining life and that denying individuals from the commons would restrict their ability to live.

[8] Hessayon, "Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land," 16-17.

The second theme demonstrated throughout Winstanley's writings is what could be called an empathetic superiority over nature. This is a constructed term, combining many of the arguments used by green narratives but placing them into a greater context, forging a better understanding of Winstanley's thoughts of nature. Winstanley did not promote an environmentalism as many believe, instead affirming that the earth was created to support both man and beasts, but that beasts were to be subservient to man. This superiority aligns with the long-held idea of the "great chain of being," which places humanity above all other earthly things.[9] While superior, Winstanley still had empathy for these beings, expressing distress when animals suffered cruel treatment at the hands of the authorities. Plants were also considered, noting that they were needed but should be accessible to everyone and not over-harvested. Nevertheless, to the Diggers, the earth was created to be exploited, and the creatures upon it were to be used to further the development of humans, contrary to some modern notions.

Using the geographical concept of "space" versus "place" allows for a reconsideration of Winstanley's writings, collectively building an understanding of the Diggers' concept of the commons. In a geographical context, "space" is defined as the purely physical location of something, devoid of meaning and complexity. In contrast, a "place" is a location whose meaning is constructed by its context and relationship with those who interact with and upon it.[10] Understanding Winstanley's relationship with his surroundings using this methodology, it is clear that his empathetic superiority over nature, combined with his religious, historical, political, and biological reasoning, established the commons as a "place" to be protected and shared by all individuals rather than a "space" which could be taken away by the greedy few.

---

[9] E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1943), 23-33.
[10] Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 29.

The methodological process of spatial history emerged throughout the 1970s and 80s, with Yi-Fu Tuan's influential 1977 work, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience,* becoming one of the foundational pieces of the "spatial turn" within the humanities.[11] Through this and other spatial works, by the 1990s, scholars had asserted a fundamental difference between "space" and "place." "Space" exists as a physical location devoid of meaning and context. "Place," in contrast, is constructed through the networked social, political, and material interactions and experiences individuals have with a geographic "space."[12] Further, these "places" are built through collective ideas based on shared experiences, forming from memory and emotions. Vastly different experiences can lead to differing ways of understanding the place between individuals; however, those with similar life patterns likely hold common ideas about places. Place-making is fundamental in understanding spatial history, as this sense of "place" emotionally ties the individual to the location through their repeated actions and memories.[13] Narratives are essential in place-making, recording events and giving the "place" a permanent identity. These place-narratives frequently romanticize the location, portraying it as either timeless and unchanging or, if it has been changed, attempting to harken back to older days when the "place" was pure.[14] Winstanley's writings act as a form of place-making, building a collective memory surrounding the social, political, and material interactions between the commons and the commoners while establishing that the land must return to how it once was.

---

[11] Courtney J. Campbell, "Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in Past and Present," *Past and Present* 239 (2018): 23-45.

[12] Jennifer Carter, and others, "Dis-placed Voices: Sense of Place and Place-identity on the Sunshine Coast," *Social & Cultural Geography* 8:5 (2007): 755-773; Joseph Pierce, and others, "Relational Place-Making: the Networked Politics of Place," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011): 54-70.

[13] Pierce, "Relational Place-Making," 54-56.

[14] Nuala C. Johnson, and others, *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Cultural Geography* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 162.

It must be acknowledged that this methodology is also one from the present placed onto those in the past. Unlike the ideas presented by other scholars, however, these are not social philosophies being ascribed to Winstanley, as the search for Marxist and Green narratives in his work looks for something that had not yet been invented. Instead, the "sense of place" individuals have with their surroundings is innate within the minds of all, whether conscious of it or not.[15] Specifically, emotional connections to certain locations form because of memories occurring at this "place." This means that the place-making it is argued Winstanley was doing through his writings was unconscious, yet still very much a reality. A place-based understanding of the Diggers is additionally vital as relationships with land formulated the backbone of England's hierarchy. While Marxist historians assert the existence of a class-based structure in early modern England, things were more complicated than this.

Rights to the Commons

While historians propose many variations regarding the exact social order within early modern English society, land ownership and tenure was undeniably one of the most important signifiers of one's position. William Harrison's *Description of England* demonstrated this ordering of society, dividing the English people into a hierarchy of four groups: "gentlemen, citizens and burgesses, yeomen, and artificers or labourers."[16] Comprising only two to four percent of England's population, gentlemen owned approximately sixty-five percent of England's land. Sub-levels within this gentry, based on the scale of land and profit the land produced, were also created, further determining the ordering of society.[17] Harrison's next category contained the citizens and burgesses who lived in the towns. Living in urban

[15] Robert Freestone and Edgar Liu, *Place and Placelessness Revisited* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1-6.
[16] William Harrison, *The Description and Historie of England* (1587), 156.
[17] Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 1982), 8-11.

environments, these men were less determined by land ownership. Instead, citizens and burgesses created their status through wealth, serving as merchants, lawyers, and community officials.

The rural yeomen, placed one step lower on Harrison's hierarchy, derived much of their status from land, receiving their status and the right to vote by possessing freehold land that was valued by its yield to the degree of at least forty shillings per year, with significant variation above this number. It was not only the ability to generate wealth from land that made one a yeoman, as farming a substantial acreage was also deemed necessary, typically above 50 acres.[18] Below the yeomen were various other titles, including husbandmen, who held land below the 40 shillings a year or 50 acre thresholds. Also in this lowest rank were the "retailers… day-labourers, copyholders, and all artificers" who were unlikely to own much land at all.[19] Overall wealth undoubtedly determined placement in the social hierarchy of villages, and one successful within the village without owning vast tracts would still be highly respected. However, land ownership almost always determined the ability to accumulate wealth and reputation in early modern England.[20] Because of this land-based social order, an analysis of the Diggers' emotional connection with the land is critical in understanding why they fought for their rights to its use.

Winstanley was inspired by the Levellers, a political group formed during the English Civil War. The Levellers were a populist group, believing in equality in law, religious tolerance, and extended suffrage for almost all men: a levelling of society. Publishing their ideological pamphlet *An Agreement of the People* in 1647, the Levellers grew to hold great power within the

[18] Wrightson, *English* Society, 14.
[19] Harrison, *The Description and Historie of England*, 163.
[20] Village craftsmen and tradesmen may have been considered yeoman, husbandman, or labourers, and many may have also owned land in addition to their trades; Wrightson, *English Society,* 17-18.

parliamentary New Model Army, coming to a head at the Putney Debates.[21] These debates saw Leveller sympathizers argue that the new constitution should give all men the right to vote, while the authority figures within the army, known as the Grandees, believed that the system should remain the same, with 40 shilling land owners being the lowest rank to get the vote.

Winstanley and other Diggers recognized what the Levellers stood for but believed they did not go far enough. While the Levellers argued for a levelling of society, the Diggers sought to make this levelling happen, beginning with the commons. The process of enclosure dates back to the medieval period but saw a significant uptick under Queen Elizabeth. As the English population increased throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, food prices increased with demand. Landlords, who often controlled large private fields along with the commons, saw this opportunity to privatize the common fields by enclosing them. Enclosure was not popular with the common people, seeing many riots and protests throughout the period. In April of 1649, Winstanley and the other Diggers continued these protests, planting crops on the commons of St. George's Hill and claiming the land to be the right of all people.

Physically, these commons the Diggers planted were not ideal locations. Their first work on St. Georges Hill took place on the side of the hill near Camp Close. This section of the hill was known to be barren, with one 1650 parliament survey recording that if the Diggers were successful in growing on the bare heath and sandy ground, it would prove that God was supporting them.[22] This barren heath did not stop Winstanley and the Diggers, as they adopted local agricultural techniques to make their planting successful. Following their violent eviction from St. George's Hill, the Diggers moved to Cobham, cultivating eleven acres on the Little

[21] Levellers, *An Agreement of the People for a Firme and Present Peace* (1647).
[22] John Gurney, *Gerrard Winstanley: The Digger's Life and Legacy* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 54.

Heath. This location was more agriculturally forgiving, allowing for the harvest of certain winter crops before being forcibly evicted by Parson Platt on April 19, 1650. While settling on this land, Winstanley wrote about his lived experiences on the commons and why the Diggers had the right to improve them. The eviction from Little Heath served as the end for Winstanley's Diggers. Inspired by Winstanley, small groups continued until 1650, but local authorities soon suppressed them as well. While unsuccessful, the Diggers' actions demonstrate longstanding resentment in society directed toward the enclosure of the common lands and profound political, historical, and spiritual beliefs that the commons should be free to all people.

Winstanley expressed these beliefs in several ways, often focusing on a spiritual message that used passages from the Bible to support his arguments. These passages frequently supported one of two positions. The first position Winstanley supported through scripture was the creation of earth for all of mankind. This was one of Winstanley's most frequent arguments and the one for which he is best known: that God created the earth as a "common treasury of livelihood to whole mankind without respect of persons."[23] Furthering this first position was Winstanley's second: that God created mankind to rule over other creatures, but that direct possession of them will lead to the destruction of the earth. To demonstrate this, Winstanley claimed that God created two earths. The first earth was "the living earth," which was mankind itself. The second earth was the "body of the earth," or physical earth, where all creatures lived and "universal love" appeared, bringing mankind together and uniting "all other creatures into a sweet harmony of willingness to preserve mankind."[24] However, this universal love could be broken by covetousness and particular love, leading to the division of all creatures. Winstanley cited this

[23] Gerrard Winstanley, "A New-Yeers Gift for the Parliament and Armie," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 130.
[24] Winstanley, "A New-Yeers Gift," 129.

division between man, started by the covetous actions of Cain against his brother Abel, as the catalyst for the problems of his time.[25]

Winstanley's use of nature within these biblical analogues is crucial, demonstrating his awareness of nature and that he understood it differently than has been assumed by green scholars. *Fire in the Bush,* his most religious work, breaks down the meaning of biblical symbols, including the Garden of Eden, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge.[26] Through these natural allegories, Winstanley equated the Garden of Eden to man's heart, stating that weeds and herbs (evil and good) are growing within the garden and that the weeds will continuously attempt to spread and overtake everything. He further claimed that so long as particular hands held the earth using violence, the weeds would continue to spread and overtake the world, leading to ruin.[27]

The Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge existed within the garden. The Tree of Knowledge, according to Winstanley, represented the "good and evil called imagination," while the Tree of Life represented universal love.[28] When the fruits from the first tree were eaten, man became "like the beasts of the field, void of understanding," as the imagination blinded those who ate its fruit and led them astray. Alternatively, eating from the Tree of Life embraced universal love and brought the individual closer to Christ through reason and conscience. Winstanley used these and other metaphors to justify why their rights to the commons should be valid. He did not do this by simply analogizing the nature of the English commons to the Garden

[25] Gerrard Winstanley, "Fire in the Bush," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 217.
[26] Winstanley, "Fire in the Bush," 180-202.
[27] Winstanley, "Fire in the Bush," 172-174.
[28] Winstanley, "Fire in the Bush," 177.

of Eden. Instead, he used the garden as a metaphor for human existence and the many things which could go wrong with humanity. Justifying the rights to the commons through religion was Winstanley's first act of place-making, linking religious memory with the commons.

Building upon these religious assertions, Winstanley strengthened his belief that the commons should be free by bringing the argument back to England with history. Writing to General Fairfax, he posed a series of rhetorical questions, proving "that the common people ought to dig, plow, plant and dwell upon the commons, without hiring them, or paying rent to any."[29] By June of 1649, when this letter was sent, Fairfax had served as commander-in-chief of the parliamentary New Model Army for four years and had recently been elected as an MP in the Rump Parliament, making him one of England's most powerful figures. One month prior to this publication, Fairfax had led the suppression of the Leveller mutiny within the New Model Army.[30] One month before this, on April 20, Fairfax brought Winstanley and his fellow Digger William Everard to Whitehall, where parliament and the council of state met, questioning them on their activities.[31] Therefore, Fairfax had proven himself to be oppositional to like-minded protestors and capable of suppressing their political voices. Additionally, as a prominent figure within the rump parliament, Fairfax actively approved enclosures and decided the future of land usage laws. By directing this letter directly to Fairfax, Winstanley recognized the General as capable of affecting real change in England while simultaneously creating a more significant protest by removing the problems from a singular locality to all of England. With Fairfax's name

[29] Gerrard Winstanley, "A Letter to The Lord Fairfax, and His Councell of War," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 43.
[30] *A Narrative of the Proceedings of His Excellencie the Lord General Fairfax in the Reducing of the Revolted Troops* (Oxford, 1649).
[31] Hessayon, "Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land," 2.

printed boldly on the front of the pamphlet, this likely drew more attention from reading, spreading the message further.

Winstanley began his argument by establishing that King William I came to control England through conquest, burning over thirty towns in Windsor Forest and compelling "the conquered English for necessity of livelihood to be servants to him and his Norman soldiers."[32] Building upon this, he established that King Charles was the last in the line of William's successors and that all laws created between these two kings reinforced the authority of the Norman conquest and the ability of those in power to take the lands of the commoners using force. Winstanley's history of this time also established how William established feudalism in England, taking the land from the free English people and consequently giving it to his many Norman officers and soldiers, creating a division within England where those in power were of Norman descent while the poor oppressed people, who were forced to work for the Normans, were the true Englishmen.[33] This oppression of the English people by the Norman invaders, which increasingly became known as the "Norman yoke" throughout the 1640s, continued to Winstanley's day, where any elected official was chosen by the descendants of the Norman tyrants, the free-holders and landlords, maintaining the "binding and restraining laws" and perpetuating a cycle of violence against the English people.[34]

The king's defeat meant that these monarchical laws would be overturned, and the laws would return to those that existed before William arrived; however, this did not occur, and the "binding and restraining laws" remained. Winstanley followed this history until his present day,

[32] Winstanley, "A Letter to The Lord Fairfax," 49.
[33] Winstanley, "A Declaration to the Powers of England," 12.
[34] Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution – Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 361-365; Winstanley, "A Declaration to the Powers of England," 12.

examining the continuation of similar power dynamics, explicitly challenging those in power and claiming they lived in a "mighty delusion" as they "pretend to throw down that Norman yoke" while, in fact, maintaining it.[35] Solving this issue was simple to Winstanley: the commons. England was not free "till the poor that have no land, have a free allowance to dig and labour the commons, and so live as comfortably as the landlords that live in their enclosures."[36] Through statements like this, Winstanley began turning the commons into a distinct "place," using them both as a symbol of freedom and a way of achieving it.

Writing after the English Civil War, Winstanley used the idea of the English Commonwealth throughout his papers to further emphasize the rights to the commons. Addressing many letters to the Grandees of the New Model Army, members of parliament, and members of the council of state, notably Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax, Winstanley resisted the new overruling authority established by the Commonwealth government, equating it with the recently abolished monarchy, as lordships were maintained, and land remained the exclusive privilege of the "Norman yoke." These political pamphlets still used spirituality throughout, but their primary focus were the actions taken against the Diggers on St. George's Hill and the laws created to restrain the commoners' actions.

Primary to the Civil War was the promise of a free nation. Winstanley took issue with the upholding of this promise soon after the war ended, claiming that the people who had been promised "such protestations of liberty" continued to be "oppressed by the courts, [as]sizes, by thy justices and clerks of the peace," and "forced to spend that bread, that should save their lives

[35] Winstanley, "A Declaration to the Powers of England," 13.
[36] Ibid.

from famine."[37] Furthering this argument, Winstanley claimed to the powers of England that God had given universal freedom and liberty to all people as their birthright, and therefore, restricting these freedoms did not only break the promises of the war but went against God himself. Claims that many commoners did not fight directly in the war were also considered by Winstanley, noting throughout his papers that the commoners fought for this freedom with their bloodshed, but they also bought their freedom through taxes and provided free quarter to the roundhead army fighting against the monarchy. Because Winstanley declared almost all people of England as vital to the ongoing political changes, he established the commons as a "place" accessible to all who participated in creating the commonwealth.

Rights to the commons were not only grounded in the idealistic, as the land also served an essential need to those who used it. Winstanley evidently knew this, and while his writings primarily focused on the political, historical, and spiritual, he also established the lands' importance to commoners' everyday lives, stating in The Law of Freedom:

> True Freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is in the use of the earth: for as man is compounded of the four materials of the creation, fire, water, earth, and air; so is he preserved by the compounded bodies of these four, which are the fruits of the earth; and he cannot live without them: for take away the free use of these, and the body languishes, the spirit is brought into bondage, and at length departs, and ceaseth his motional action in the body.[38]

To Winstanley, the oppressing landlords who restricted the use of the commons "may as well say, their brethren shall not breathe in the air, nor enjoy the warmth of their bodies… unless they will

[37] Winstanley, "A Declaration to the Powers of England," 2: 9.

[38] Gerrard Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom in a Platform," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 295.

pay them rent for it."[39] The enclosure of the commons represented an "oppression and bondage; but the free enjoyment thereof is true Freedom."[40] These commons had to be maintained as a "place" that was free and equal to all to sustain the physical lives of the many who used them and to maintain those peoples' liberty.

Empathetic Superiority

Conservation

The term "sustainable," the idea of meeting current needs while preserving the resource for future generations, is relatively recent, coming into use in the mid-1960s. The term "environmental sustainability" is even more recent, emerging in the 1970s with the development of environmentalist movements.[41] However, ideas of preserving environments for future use have existed for much longer. As early as the 13th century, many protections were put in place, prescribing hunting seasons for various animals, which excluded their breeding seasons and allowed populations to regenerate. One law protecting the breeding seasons for fish within the Thames was among these laws and served as the first appearance of the term "conservation" regarding the natural environment. These laws established the Lord Mayor of London as conservator of the Thames and charged him with ensuring the preservation of its stream and banks along with the fish within.[42]

Winstanley demonstrates aspects of a desire to conserve nature in his writings. In *The Law of Freedom*, Winstanley established rules for how individuals would acquire food if

[39] Ibid.
[40] Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom in a Platform," 296.
[41] Jeremy L. Caradonna, *Sustainability: A History, Revised and Updated Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 1-8.
[42] John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster,* ed. John Strype (London, 1720), 34-38.

everyone shared the commons. As Winstanley saw the buying and selling of commodities as ungodly, he believed that all families should work collectively to gather crops during harvest season, storing the goods in a community storehouse. Additionally, if one wanted the meat of an animal, they could go to the butcher's shop, or they could go to the fields themselves and slaughter an animal. Winstanley importantly notes that families were only to take what they could eat, leaving enough for others. In his list of laws presented in Chapter IV of *The Law of Freedom*, Winstanley further emphasized this point, stating that no family should dress more meat than they can eat, and if they broke this law repeatedly, the master of the house would "be made a servant for twelve months under the taskmaster" so "that he may know what it is to get food."[43] These ideas likely came from a desire for all families to have equal access to natural resources rather than a preventative measure to maintain the environment and cattle populations. Nevertheless, Winstanley's ideas surrounding equal access to animals rejected the overexploitation of the commons, further establishing them as a "place" to be used by all English people. While equal access to the commons was paramount to his vision, an empathy for beasts and animals was also demonstrated throughout his writings.

Beasts

Favouring the utilization and improvement of the commons by all people, Winstanley nevertheless maintained an empathy for the land and animals surrounding him. This empathy did not stretch to the level that green scholars may suggest today, as Winstanley upheld the longstanding "chain of being" throughout his writing, placing man above other creatures. Combining this empathy for the land with his desire for improvement, it is evident that he held an empathetic superiority for the land. This feeling was crucial in his transformation of the

[43] Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom," 359-378.

commons into a "place," providing a networked history of interactions between man and nature rather than an emotionless transfer of material resources. Winstanley provided proof of this empathetic superiority throughout his work, recording his personal experiences with the commons and those of the other Diggers. Adding to these personal experiences, his theoretical works citing scripture and law demonstrate a close relationship with nature.

The "great chain of being" dominated the early modern conception of nature. This chain organized the various groups within nature into a hierarchy, with man dominating all things upon the earth while the angels and God remained above man.[44] Winstanley frequently expressed this idea throughout his biblical works, noting that God created man to be superior to the fish, fowl, and beasts while remaining equal with each other and subservient to the heavens. To Winstanley, God created all beings to preserve one another, and it was in this preservation that Christ lived.[45] Man was not the only creature to be cared for in Winstanley's reading of scripture, and it was through the actions of humanity that the other animals would also thrive. Therefore, righteous treatment of animals was necessary for the success of the commons, while evil intentions directed toward lower creatures would only bring the downfall of all men.[46]

"A Watch-Word to the City of London" records these evil intentions directed at animals on the commons.[47] In this pamphlet, Winstanley notes the violence done by local authorities against the Diggers who had established themselves upon the commons. Many Diggers had their animals stolen from them, including many cows that Winstanley had been watching. While

---

[44] Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World* Picture, 23-33.
[45] Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom," 295.
[46] Gerrard Winstanley, "The New Law of Righteousness, in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1: 493.
[47] Gerrard Winstanley, "A Watch-Word to the City of London," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 79-106.

Winstanley claimed he was only watching the cattle for someone else, he nonetheless expressed distress at these animals' apprehension, demonstrating empathy toward their beings. The Diggers having animals upon the commons was an act of protest and place-making itself. Authorities resisted the Diggers' claim to the commons and their right to graze their animals upon them, ignoring the historical precedent of the commons as grazing lands and removing the animals in any way possible. The Diggers' livestock grazing affirmed these historical rights, upholding the commons as a "place" for the communities' use instead of a "space" that authorities could restrict.

Removing these animals was not originally intended to hurt them but was meant to restrain Winstanley, as removing his livestock meant taking away meat, cheese, and milk, leaving him to "feed upon bread and beer" alone.[48] Nevertheless, authorities did undertake harmful actions, and the community's negative reaction to these animals' treatment was recorded by Winstanley, as the authorities "beat them with their clubs" until the "cows heads and sides did swell, which grieved tender hearts to see."[49] These animals served as a form of protest and functioned as a part of the "place," with many in the local community emotionally connecting with them. Many of these cows, in fact, were owned by others in the community who had hired Winstanley to watch them. Because of this connection, Winstanley records that strangers rescued livestock from the lord's hands, returning four cows to him. Nevertheless, these lords returned, setting another seven cows and one bull loose. The livestock was eventually brought back to Winstanley; however, some had already been sold or killed. The remaining livestock suffered from another form of abuse perpetrated against Winstanley to prevent his success.

[48] Winstanley, "A Watch-Word," 91.
[49] Winstanley, "A Watch-Word," 92.

Claiming to have bought three acres of grass from an unnamed lord of a manor, Winstanley arrived with money to mow the land and provide feed for his cattle but had the grass sold to someone else in front of him by the lord. Some time later, under cover of night, the bailiff opened the gates where Winstanley lived, and the cattle, facing starvation and being "little better than skin and bone," entered the fields of barley and other crops and began eating. Many fields were ruined, and cattle escaped. The relationship between Winstanley and his animals was undeniably one of economic security, as the violence done to them by authorities served to remove Winstanley from St. George's Hill. However, even with this economic perspective, he did not view these creatures as objects, feeling sympathy for them not because he suffered but because they both suffered.

Winstanley often addressed his writings to all his "fellow creatures," referencing other humans as such throughout his work. This was not entirely unusual during the period; however, the term was often used in association with the radical dissenters who arose following the Civil War, most prominently the Ranters. Ranters held a pantheistic belief that God lived within all creatures, seeing man as having no pre-eminence or superiority over them.[50] The Ranters, especially one of their most prominent members, Laurence Clarkson, additionally practised a form of antinomianism, believing that "sin hath its conception only in the imagination" and would not prevent them from doing what they would like.[51] Winstanley wrote a specific pamphlet distancing the Diggers from the beliefs of the Ranters, noting their "immoderate use of creatures" and propensity for idleness while equating their unchaste beliefs to a metaphorical

[50] Laurence Clarkson, *A Single Eye, All Light, No Darkness*, (London,1650), 15-16.
[51] Clarkson, *A Single Eye*, 8.

"kingdom of covetousness."[52] While disagreeing greatly with their antinomianism, Winstanley's characterization of creatures fits within the Ranters' pantheistic belief. His use of "fellow creatures" suggests an understanding that man was one of many creatures who all had God within them, promoting harmony among all beings upon the commons. Though the observance of pantheism in early modern England is not well documented, this similar thought by Winstanley and the Ranters, two largely oppositional forces among the dissenters, suggests a broader belief amongst commoners.

Winstanley frequently used natural allegories, many of which have been covered in previous sections. These allegories depict animals in many ways, from the evil imaginative serpent to the "void of understanding" beasts of the field. The depiction of these field beasts, likely cattle, is especially interesting compared to the above passages. While the above demonstrates empathy for these creatures, their depictions as "void of understanding" situates their position firmly below that of man, and the negative correlation relating to this condition further emphasizes his point. Winstanley lived closely with cattle throughout his life, working as a cowherd for large portions. Knowing these animals closely, it is clear that Winstanley had an affinity towards them but did not humanize them, as beasts remained far below humans.[53]

Winstanley was not alone in these complex feelings of empathy and superiority for animals, as many individuals held similar understandings. Within Winstanley's works, compassion from others is demonstrated, as many "tender hearts" grieved the sight of the bludgeoned cattle.[54] Some individuals dating to the medieval period expressed distress at seeing

---

[52] Gerrard Winstanley, "A Vindication of Those Whose Endeavours is Only to Make the Earth a Common Treasury, Called Diggers," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 235-236.
[53] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 174.
[54] Winstanley, "A Watch-Word," 92.

animals killed, including King Henry VI.[55] A more definitive work is the fifteenth-century exposition on the Ten Commandments: *Dives and Pauper.* This work explained that murder of animals is okay when it provides benefits like meat or clothing, but not for cruelty's sake. Continuing, it states that "men should have the ruth of beasts and birds and not harm them without cause."[56] Ignoring this commandment would be sinning, and Winstanley's portrayal of the lords and bailiffs who beat his cattle aligns with this, casting them as an evil in the world. Even further on the empathetic spectrum was John Bulwer, who postulated whether "it were lawful for him to destroy any one species of God's creatures, though it were but the species of toads and spiders."[57] The destruction of any creature on God's chain would remove "that which is the jewel at that chain… insomuch that we are not only inferior to the beasts, but we are ourselves become beasts."

The significant quantity of animals in early modern England contributed significantly to this empathy. With constant daily interaction, many believed that animals understood the language and could communicate.[58] This personification was intensified in rural areas, where animals frequently lived in shared long houses alongside their owners, with the human and animal quarters separated by only a wall. Cows were frequently given names, but these most often were non-human names, using flowers, emotions, or descriptors instead. The emotional connections and interactions shared between humans and these animals on a daily basis furthered the establishment of the commons as a "place" not only for man but for beasts as well. For

[55] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 152.
[56] *Dives and Pauper,* vol. 1, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 35-36, quoted in Thomas, *Man and the Natural World,* 153.
[57] John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphisis* (London, 1653), C.
[58] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 94-97.

Winstanley, this was the embodiment of living in godly harmony where man could be nourished while tending to the animals' needs.

Notably, the animals directly referenced by Winstanley were primarily working animals that contributed to the Diggers' success and well-being. These included cows and sheep, which were targeted by authorities who were attempting to remove the Diggers. Wild animals are less considered, but his thoughts on these beasts can be understood through Winstanley's frequent use of natural analogy. In *Fire in the Bush,* he considers the four evil beasts who rose from the sea to "oppress, burden, and destroy universal love."[59] Here, he compares the first beast, that of kingly power, to a serpent and a cockatrice that would devour its own body.[60] The other three beasts, representing the clergy, law, and buying and selling, are represented as mighty beasts with great teeth. Further, the law to Winstanley was like the Fox, who would pull the feathers from geese, the poor men, and devour them. It was primarily these predators who were viewed negatively, and other wild animals, especially birds and fish, were often acknowledged as representatives for good.

Plants

It was not only animals that Winstanley had empathy for, expressing certain connections with plants and the broader environment throughout his writings. He first expressed this when looking back in history, criticizing William the Conqueror. In his letter to Fairfax, Winstanley noted that William's New Forest, which was created to be the location of royal hunts, was preceded by the burning of thirty towns within the forest and some of the forest itself. Plants upon the commons were created to assist the commoners, so the burning of forests and removal

[59] Winstanley, "Fire in the Bush," 192.

[60] The cockatrice was a mythical beast common in early modern English literature, made from the body of a dragon or serpent-like creature with the head of a rooster.

of the commoners contradicted English law.[61] Winstanley further emphasized this right to the wood upon the commons in his *Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England,* which was explicitly addressed to the lords of the manors that had begun to, or intended to, cut down the common woods.[62] This pamphlet called for the ceasing of all lords from cutting down woods upon the commons, instead allowing the commoners to take advantage of the forests for their gain.

Between 1500 and 1700, many woodlands were logged in their entirety, leading one contemporary in 1690 to estimate that only six million acres of woodland remained.[63] These woods powered an industrializing England, serving as a fuel source and building material. Forests were largely understood as uncivilized, drawing those who could not afford to live anywhere else along with bandits and other criminals in hiding. Lords, not wanting this activity on their lands, cut down these forests, benefitting from the introduction of "civility" onto their land and, more importantly, the coin generated by the selling of the timber. Winstanley again demonstrates empathetic superiority in this document, as his call for the forests' preservation was not absolute. He instead called for the lords to allow the commoners to harvest the forests, where they would then sell the wood and make a profit, which they could then share amongst themselves. This felling would likely have been more equitable, giving the commoners access to the wood they needed to support themselves rather than going to market, yet the plants remained inferior to man, existing to support them. In calling for access to the woods, Winstanley created

[61] Winstanley, "A Letter to The Lord Fairfax," 49.
[62] Gerrard Winstanley, "A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 31.
[63] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 194.

the commons as a "place" where commoners could extract wood, serving their individual and collective needs.

In *The Law of Freedom,* Winstanley describes his utopian vision for England's administration and laws. The society he describes is predominantly agrarian and pastoral, and laws surrounding this way of living feature prominently throughout the text. The most essential way Winstanley featured this way of living is in his section concerning intellectualism. Winstanley saw learning as something which had become detached from its subjects of study and encouraged experiential learning through living with the commons.[64] Those who learned this way would then give speeches about what they had learned from nature to community members, disseminating knowledge at a grass-roots level. These natural discoveries would then be rewarded with titles of honour. Winstanley recognized that the knowledge of nature was being kept secret by those in power, benefitting only themselves. This unbound professing of knowledge would open the minds of all people, allowing them to be more effective in their agrarian work and form a deeper connection with the nature around them. This work was divided into five "fountains from whence all arts and sciences have their influences:" husbandry, mineral employment, ordering of cattle, ordering of woods, and the pursuit of knowledge itself.[65] The commons played a crucial role in the ability of a commoner to perform these tasks, as three of these five fountains were associated directly with jobs that benefitted from the open use of the commons.

A personal understanding of nature was possibly the most important thing Winstanley introduced. This pursuit of knowledge would be ingrained within one's everyday life, comprising

[64] Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom," 357-358.
[65] Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom," 355.

one of the five fountains. Responding to an imaginary professor advocating for the prioritization of the study of heavenly and spiritual matters over nature, Winstanley claimed that "to know the secrets of nature, is to know the works of God; and to know the works of God within the creation, is to know God himself, for God dwells in every visible work or body."[66] Maintaining the commons' availability to all people enabled any person to interact with the commons and the nature they contained, theoretically bringing all people in England closer to God. Through these assertions, Winstanley reformed the commons from an emotionless "space" where individuals gathered material to a spiritual "place" where one could connect with God on a deeper level.

Winstanley was once again not alone in his understanding of nature. While many lords believed the destruction and harvest of the woods was the only course of action, others began questioning this. As early as the Yorkist period, parliament passed certain acts to ensure the prevention of wood wastage. These laws protected certain groups of young trees, prevented certain areas from being turned into farmland, preserved a stated number of timber trees per acre, and forbade their use in the iron industry.[67] However, the primary motives behind these laws were not in the interest of commoners. Enclosures were permitted to be constructed around young groupings of trees, and many other laws were designed to keep commoners away until the lords could harvest them for profit. Further inequalities of nature occurred when lords created forest parks for their personal leisure and hunting purposes.

Accessing nature provided various social benefits. Many early protestants saw nature as a better venue for prayer than the churches made from material shaped by man. Trees also served as memorials or landmarks, acting as a physical barrier between places, guiding travellers,

[66] Winstanley, "The Law of Freedom," 342.
[67] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World,* 198.

commemorating families, or marking the location of historical events.[68] Perhaps the greatest representation of the relationship between man and nature within the period comes from Duchess Margaret Cavendish, whose 1653 publication *Poems and Fancies* contains three poems featuring man having a conversation with an aspect of nature: nature itself, an oak tree, and a beast. In the first conversation with man, nature scolds him for cutting down a tree, which was made to stand firm. Man responds that "trees are dull, and have no sense" and that beasts do not feel pain or fear death like humans do.[69] The oak's refutation of these claims is grotesque, questioning why, after providing a great service to man for many years, it must endure tortures from men: "first you do peel off my bark, and flay my skin, hew down my boughs, so chops off every limb."[70] The beast responds to man with a different approach, using allegory to compare man to various beasts, disputing that beasts cannot have sense if man is like them.[71] Being a Duchess, Cavendish was a Royalist, fleeing England during the Civil War. That Cavendish and Winstanley, two individuals with contrasting political opinions publishing simultaneously, shared a similar empathetic superiority for nature demonstrates that these ideas were pervasive within English society. These shared societal ideals would have made Winstanley's place-making argument for the rights to the commons resonate with more individuals.

---

[68] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 212-217.

[69] Margaret Cavendish, "A Dialogue Betwixt Man and Nature," in *Margaret Cavendish's Poems and Fancies: A Digital Critical Edition,* ed. Liza Blake. Website published May 2019. Accessed March 10, 2024. https://library2.utm.utoronto.ca/poemsandfancies/2019/04/27/a-dialogue-betwixt-man-and-nature/

[70] Margaret Cavendish, "A Dialogue between an Oak and a Man Cutting Him Down," in *Margaret Cavendish's Poems and Fancies: A Digital Critical Edition,* ed. Liza Blake. Website published May 2019. Accessed March 10, 2024. https://library2.utm.utoronto.ca/poemsandfancies/2019/04/28/a-dialogue-between-an-oak-and-a-man/

[71] Margaret Cavendish, "A Moral Discourse of Man and Beast," in *Margaret Cavendish's Poems and Fancies: A Digital Critical Edition,* ed. Liza Blake. Website published May 2019. Accessed March 10, 2024. https://library2.utm.utoronto.ca/poemsandfancies/2019/04/28/a-moral-discourse-of-man-and-beast/

Like his empathy for beasts, Winstanley's empathy for plants centred around those who brought benefits to the Diggers: the planted crops meant for cultivation. Wild plants also appear throughout his writings, notably in his natural allegory describing the weeds and herbs within the Garden of Eden.[72] These weeds represented the evil spreading over the land and had to be eradicated. This allegory shows that Winstanley did not empathize with plants that suffocated those that brought him benefits, like herbs and crops. However, many wild plants were more neutral than these weeds or herbs, and understanding Winstanley's position on them proves a more difficult challenge. The closest to neutral Winstanley holds an opinion on throughout his writings is that of trees, which the Diggers did not plant for personal gain. While not planted, these trees benefitted the Diggers and other commoners as fuel or building materials, increasing their empathy towards the plants. Evidently, these neutral plants received increased empathy when they benefitted individuals, even if that was not their original purpose, unlike the cultivated plants created to benefit their planters.

Common Thought

As demonstrated, many writers of the period had thoughts similar to Winstanley's, but did the general public of commoners sympathize with the Diggers and their understanding of the world? According to Winstanley, yes. On June 11, 1649, two freeholders, William Star and John Taylor, led other men "dressed in women's apparel" to the commons, where four Digger men were then heinously beaten.[73] Gender inversion in this way occurred for two primary reasons: as

[72] Winstanley, "Fire in the Bush," 172-174.

[73] Gerrard Winstanley, A Declaration of the Bloudie and Unchristian Acting of William Star and John Taylor of Walton," in *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. ed. Thomas N. Corns, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2: 58-64.

discipline or as part of a protest.[74] Additionally, agricultural roles were frequently divided by gender, and one role women held was gleaning. This long-held common right to glean the fields of leftover crops following a harvest by the lord could have played a role in these men dressing as women, possibly refuting the Diggers' position by stating that commoners did, in fact, hold common rights. It is unknown why these specific men dressed in women's clothing, but they likely did so either to evade identification by the Diggers or because they were forced to do so as punishment. Future actions on St. George's Hill and Little Heath further validate that these men were forced to accompany Star and Taylor.

In 1650, John Platt, rector of West Horsley and lord of the manor of Cobham through marriage, began interfering with the Diggers, urging General Fairfax to send his soldiers before soon taking immediate action himself and pulling down the house of a family. He and other local lords then sent servants "up and down the town," warning their tenants of the consequences if they were proven to have provided food or shelter to the Diggers.[75] The lords soon returned, forcing their tenants to tear down more of the Diggers' homes. Winstanley was not upset with the tenants, noting they "looked with a cheerful countenance upon the Diggers" but could do nothing as their lords looked on. These tenants could very well have feared repercussions from their landlords. In addition, many copyhold farmers could not make enough to sustain themselves from only farming, requiring additional wage labour to feed their families.[76] The "strangers" who rescued Winstanley's cattle offer another example of how support for the Diggers may have been quietly demonstrated. These strangers were presumably others within the village who did not

[74] David Cressy, "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 35 (1996): 438-465.
[75] Winstanley, "A New-Yeers Gift," 120.
[76] Wrightson, *English Society,* 14-15.

appreciate the actions Winstanley faced. It is also possible they were Diggers that Winstanley did not want to name for fear of persecution.

These sources are fundamentally biased as it is doubtful that Winstanley would portray tenants and other commoners as anything but sympathetic to his cause. Further evidence shows that not all within the community supported the Diggers, as the many names listed on the quickly filed indictment following the attack on the Diggers included many members of the middling sort. Others of the middling sort did support Winstanley, including shoemaker Thomas Starr and yeoman John Coulton.[77] While the full extent of the community's sympathetic feelings for the Diggers remains unknown, the inclusion of these feelings within pamphlets served as a significant act of place-making, establishing the Diggers' use of the land as a righteous cause and the commons as a "place" of communality.

Conclusion

Winstanley was not a paragon for an ecological movement in his time. However, his unique understanding of nature and humanity's place within it presented the commons as more than a "space" that the masses could have taken away from them. The inclusion of religion was vital in Winstanley's place-making. By establishing longstanding rights to the commons through biblical scripture, Winstanley portrayed them as a veritable Garden of Eden. Winstanley also used the Garden of Eden as a metaphor for man, explaining the evil weeds expanding over the earth that could only be defeated by living in communion with God, which meant living in harmony with one another and God's other creatures.

[77] John Gurney, "Gerrard Winstanley and the Digger Movement in Walton and Cobham," *The Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 790-792.

With the biblical history of man's greed established, Winstanley brought the conversation to England. King William I and his Norman yoke conquered England, burning villages and restraining the English people from their land. Winstanley understood this history to have passed down to the present day, hoping that the abolition of the monarchy would restore England's lands to the people. As this did not happen, Winstanley began writing to those in power, demanding these land rights as he and other Diggers began living on St. George's Hill. This protest was not only founded on biblical, historical, and political arguments, but Winstanley further noted the basic need of the land and how many could not survive without it. Protesting through interacting directly with the commons, the Diggers challenged authority figures and established the commons as a unique "place" of resistance. Place-making requires collective memories and emotions to form through interactions with a "space." These spiritual, historical, political, and practical writings established these memories, even for those who may not have experienced the commons themselves.

For Winstanley and the other Diggers who did interact with the commons, empathetic superiority strengthened this emotional bond. This superiority engaged with the "great chain of being," placing man above all other living things on Earth and below the heavens. To Winstanley, being superior did not justify cruelty, and he demonstrated empathy for other creatures throughout his works. Winstanley worked as a cowherd for much of his life, and when his cattle were stolen and beaten by oppositional figures, he expressed his distress and recorded the sympathy of others. This sympathy for animals was not unique to the Diggers, as the Ranters and many other thinkers questioned the cruelty done to animals as God lived within them just as much as he did man. This sympathetic interaction with animals established a deeper emotional connection than others more removed would have had. In deepening this connection, the

commons became a "place" where all of God's creatures, both man and animal, could interact for mutual prosperity.

Winstanley's environment, including the crops and trees, was also shown empathy. Essential to the Diggers was knowledge of their environment, as understanding nature meant understanding God himself, and therefore, if one wanted to become closer to the Lord, one was required to become closer to the land. This land served the people, as wood went towards building homes and fueling industry, so Winstanley argued that the people should have ownership over it. These views were grounded in an economic perspective and were not as extreme as some thinkers like Margaret Cavendish. Nevertheless, equal access to wood, grounded in fundamental rights to the commons, established the longstanding memories and processes essential in forming a "place."

Winstanley and the Diggers were a relatively peaceful group of protestors, even while being beaten and having their houses torn down. The publication of the violence perpetrated against them further enshrined the commons with memory and emotion. It is unknown exactly how many commoners supported the Diggers and how many resisted their improvement of the commons. However, Winstanley's publications demonstrated an underlying support amongst commoners and intertwined authoritative violence with the longstanding rights to the commons, establishing the common land as a "place" for all.

Through his writing, Winstanley transformed the commons from a "space," made of barren heath and waste lands, into a "place" founded on the Diggers' emotions and interactions with the land. This "place" was one of resistance, spirituality, and equality, resisting authority by engaging all people to live with an empathetic superiority for nature, bringing them closer to God. Understanding the commons in this way, it is evident why Winstanley became idolized by

some in the Marxist and Green communities. 9, he was neither of these things, permitting the private holding of property and the improvement of land, including the harvesting of forests.[78] Winstanley's messages of resistance, spirituality, and equality upon England's common and waste lands have instead been applied to his entire life by those anachronistically placing modern ideas upon him.

This study, while extensive in its examination of Winstanley, is not complete. Many scholarly works have addressed Winstanley and the Diggers, yet they frequently neglect to include geographic considerations. Christopher Hill's works are one such example, where he outlines the Diggers' fight for land rights yet largely ignores their emotional connection to the commons, instead favouring a purely economic perspective. More recent works, like John Gurney's biography of Winstanley, explain the land where the Diggers worked in greater detail but still fail to mention any connection with it other than one of material gain. Understanding the Diggers from this perspective is crucial in understanding their entire motivations, as land comprised a great majority of what defined social order. Studying Winstanley's relationship with the land allows one to better understand his relationship with the social order and those in control.

Further work building from this paper may include a more exhaustive reading of the Diggers' works, including those not written by Winstanley, to better comprehend their shared emotional connection with the commons. Consideration of other radical groups would also be of interest in further study, comparing the Diggers' emotional connection to the land with more established groups like the Levellers or those with certain similar beliefs, such as the Ranters and

[78] Winstanley goes as far as saying that the Lords and Gentry should have full access to their enclosed lands to do with what they would like. It was only the common and crown lands which he wanted to see returned to the commoners; Winstanley, "A New-Yeers Gift," 126.

their pantheism. Additional studies of the land they dug could present further findings, allowing the researcher to empathize with the Diggers and the conditions they faced. Studying the land would also allow for assessing similarities and differences amongst all English commons and how this may have led to certain "hotspots" of enclosure resistance. Finally, a more exhaustive study of the emotional connections all people shared with the land would be beneficial, allowing for a more advanced understanding of social order.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A Narrative of the Proceedings of His Excellencie the Lord General Fairfax in the Reducing of the Revolted Troops. Oxford, 1649.

Barnum, Priscilla Heath, ed. *Dives and Pauper*. Vol. 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Blake, Liza, ed. *Margaret Cavendish's Poems and Fancies: A Digital Critical Edition*. University of Toronto, 2019.

Bulwer, John. *Anthropometamorphisis*. London, 1653.

Clarkson, Laurence. *A Single Eye, All Light, No Darkness*. London, 1650.

Corns, Thomas N., Ann Hughes, and David Loewenstein. *Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Corns, Thomas N., Ann Hughes, and David Loewenstein. *Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Harrison, William. *The Description and Historie of England*. 1587.

Levellers. *An Agreement of the People for a Firme and Present Peace.* 1647.

Stow, John. *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*. Edited by John Strype. London, 1720.

Secondary Sources

Bradley, Ian. "Gerrard Winstanley: England's Pioneer Green?" *History Today*, August 1, 1989.

Campbell, Courtney J. "Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in Past and Present." *Past and Present* 239 (2018): 23–45.

Caradonna, Jeremy L. *Sustainability: A History, Revised and Updated Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Carter, Jennifer, and others. "Dis-Placed Voices: Sense of Place and Place-Identity on the Sunshine Coast." *Social & Cultural Geography* 8 (2007): 755–73.

Cressy, David. "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England." *Journal of British Studies* 35 (1996): 438-465.

Freestone, Robert, and Edgar Liu. *Place and Placelessness Revisited*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Gurney, John. *Gerrard Winstanley: The Digger's Life and Legacy*. London: Pluto Press, 2013.

Gurney, John. "Gerrard Winstanley and the Digger Movement in Walton and Cobham*." The Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 790-792.

Hessayon, Ariel. "Restoring the Garden of Eden in England's Green and Pleasant Land: The Diggers and the Fruits of the Earth." *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 2 (2008): 1-25.

Hill, Christopher. *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution – Revisited.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.

Hill, Christopher. *Winstanley: 'The Law of Freedom' and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Johnson, Daniel. "Winstanley's Ecology: The English Diggers Today." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 65:7 (2013): 20–31.

Johnson, Nuala C., and others. *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Cultural Geography*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Pierce, Joseph, and others. "Relational Place-Making: The Networked Politics of Place." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011): 54–70.

Relph, Edward. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion, 1976.

Thomas, Keith. *Man and the Natural World*. London: Allen Lane, 1983.

Tillyard, E. M. W. *The Elizabethan World Picture*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1943.

Wall, Derek. *Green History: A Reader in Environmental Literature, Philosophy and Politics*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Wrightson, Keith. *English Society 1580-1680*. London: Routledge, 1982.

Undergraduate History Journal of the University of Calgary

Rules for Submission

The Undergraduate History Journal of the University of Calgary has a "house style" that all submissions must follow.

All work must be from a history class at the University of Calgary submitted for a grade. Students from past years may submit work, but it will be accepted at the discretion of the editorial board.

No anonymous work will be accepted. The nature of academic work is that authors do not hide behind anonymity, but offer their research and insights openly and freely.

One copy of your submission must be sent electronically in Word (.doc file), double-spaced in Times New Roman 12pt font with footnotes in Chicago style. Authors submitting a paper are encouraged to review the History Student's Handbook essay writing guide, available on the History Department website.

Suggestions of work for submission may be from students or from instructors, but they must have achieved a superior grade in a course, normally an A or A+. Faculty should first obtain permission from students before offering works for consideration.

Publication will be annually in Fall Term, making the deadline for submissions the last day of the Winter Term, usually the end of April. However, submissions are encouraged at any time.

Electronic submissions should be sent to: uhj@ucalgary.ca.