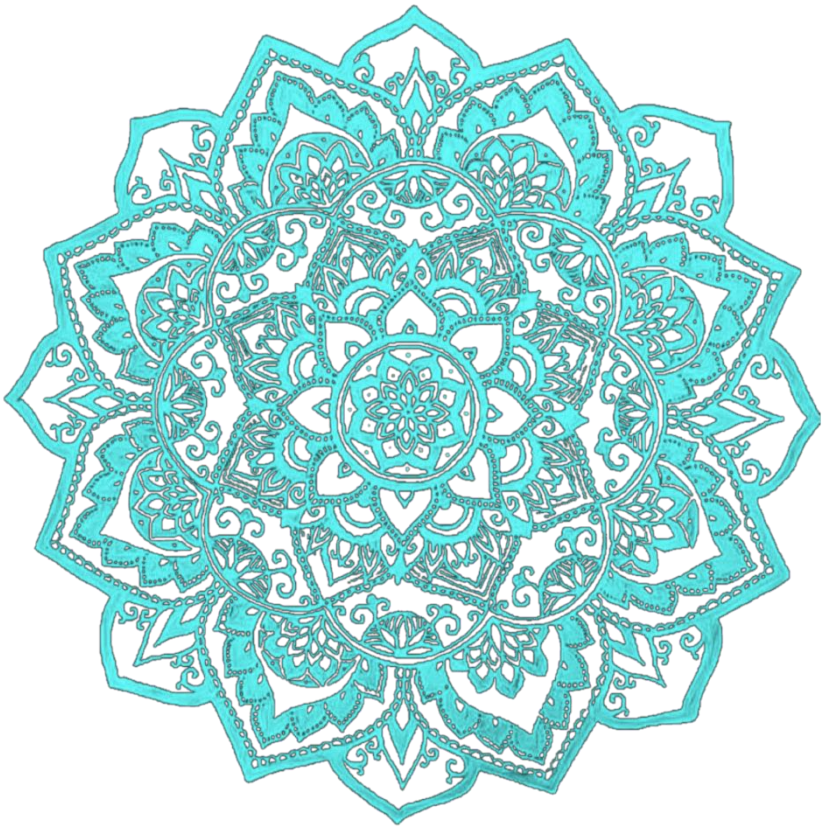
PANGAEA

The Dalhousie Undergraduate History Journal 2022



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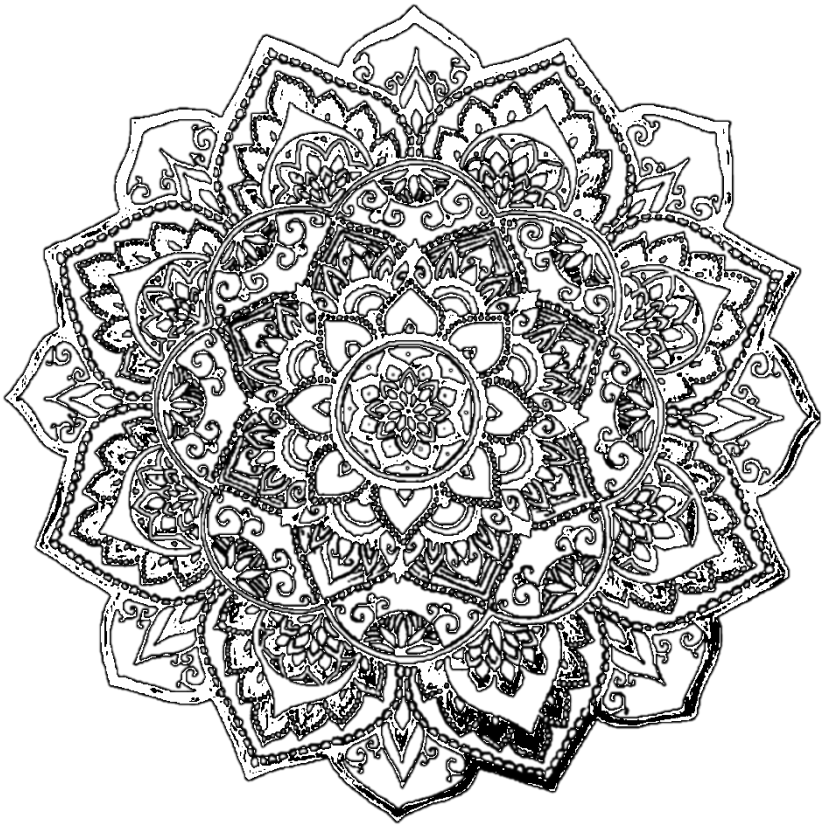

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Pangaea

The Dalhousie Undergrad History Journal 2022

Special Thanks
Dalhousie Department of History
Dalhousie Undergraduate History Society

From the Editors

Welcome to the 2022 edition of *Pangaea*! It has been another strange year, with the Covid-19 pandemic continuing and school being partially online. The publication of this journal represents the perseverance and skill of Dalhousie's undergraduate history student community. From the contributors to the Honours cohort responsible for producing the journal, many hands helped create this journal. Through all the challenges of this past year, students throughout the Department of History worked hard to produce historical research to the best of their ability. This is evidenced through the record 27 submissions we received for *Pangaea*. These essays display the diversity and vibrancy of Dalhousie's undergraduate history students. We tried to fit as many papers in as we could, but unfortunately, we could not include them all. We believe the final journal represents the best our student community has to offer for 2022. Each paper conveys a high degree of skill and creativity.

Pangaea 2022 also includes reflections from this year's Honours students. The History Department's Honours program gives graduating undergraduate students the opportunity to dive deeply into a topic of their choosing in at least 60-70 pages. A key aspect of this program is that each student gets a supervisor from the Department to help them throughout the process. As experts in their field, supervisors offer advice on research material, methods, and writing. Students wrote their theses on an array of topics this year. From espionage and Polish historical memory during World War II to soccer in Ghana to cultural hybridity in eighteenth-century India, this group explored many regions and themes.

Another key aspect of the program is the Honours Seminar. The Honours program is challenging, and completing it bonds each year's Honours class together. Officially known as the Varieties of History, the seminar gives students the chance to engage with new fields of history. A different professor joins each week to run a seminar on a field of history they research. Topics covered include oral history, counterfactual history, slavery, Big Tech, and more. The assigned readings and class discussion helped to foster new perspectives on history as a discipline and as it relates to students' own work.

The reflections embody the class's experience throughout this long journey. They may also become historical documents themselves because the Honours program is entering a new phase of its history next year. The seminar is being transferred to a second-year historical methods class, and the Honours seminar will be geared more toward completing the Honours thesis. We hope *Pangaea* 2022 offers a glimpse into this phase of the Honours program and inspires anyone considering entering the program in the future. Enjoy!

Ronald Blanchard and Lucy Carolan
Pangaea 2022 Editors

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About the Contributors

Ronald Blanchard

Ronald Blanchard has just completed his Combined Honours in History and International Development Studies. His academic interests lie in mid-twentieth century African and global history and the history of slavery.

Lucy Boyd

Lucy Boyd is in her fourth year at the University of King's College and Dalhousie, studying Early Modern Studies and History. She is particularly interested in the historical intersections between gender and religion, and the social and personal impacts of convents.

Elli Brown

Elli Brown has just finished her second year at Dalhousie, where she is pursuing a major in History and a minor in Computer Science. She is fascinated by all fields of history, but especially enjoys contemporary social history and historical linguistics.

Cassandra Burbine

Cassandra Burbine is currently pursuing a Combined Honours in English and History with a Minor in Early Modern Studies. She is fascinated by archival sciences and cares deeply about Canadian literature.

Anna Gaudet

Anna Gaudet is a fourth-year student completing a Combined Honours degree in ESS (Environment, Society, and Sustainability) and History, with a minor in Early Modern Studies. Her historical research focuses on how self-perception influences societal and structural change, particularly through a post-colonial lens.

Gideon Morton

Gideon Morton is a fourth-year History student, with a minor in the History of Science and Technology. His interest in history is very broad, but mostly contained to the Modern era with a special interest in anything he does not know about the twentieth century.

Megan Osler

Megan Osler has just completed her combined honours in Early Modern Studies and History with a Certificate in Art History and Visual Culture. She is interested in female voices in the Early Modern period, Catholic, devotional art and sometimes likes to read Spinoza.

Amy Paleczny

Amy Paleczny is pursuing a Bachelor of Arts at Dalhousie University, with a major in History and a minor in Political Science. She has been accepted into the Honours program for her final year and is planning on specializing in second-wave feminism and the historiography of gender and political activism.

Drew Stanley

Drew Stanley is in her fourth year at University of King's College. She studies Psychology and the History of Science and Technology and next year she will be starting her Masters at the University of St Andrews.

Ireland Wright

Ireland Wright is a fourth-year student with Honours in History, and a minor in Anthropology. She has an interest in historical memory and its use in different contexts, especially in relation to the Holocaust and Russia.

Ellen Yarr

Ellen Yarr just finished the third year of her major in LJSO (Law, Justice, and Society), and minor in Gender Studies. Her academic interests involve interactions between marginalized populations and the law.

African Culture as Resistance to Slavery: The Transmission and Application of African Culture in the Americas

Ronald Blanchard

There is a persistent debate among historians of slavery about the extent to which enslaved Africans transmitted their culture to the Americas via the Atlantic slave trade. Franklin Frazier argues that the trauma of being abducted into slavery disoriented and stripped Africans of their cultures, and Sidney Mintz claims that Africa was too diverse to transmit culture to the Americas. They both argue that Africans were forced to rely on Indigenous American cultures to reorient themselves during slavery. Others, such as Melville Herskovits, claim we should instead see enslaved cultures as extensions of African cultures.[1] By the 1980s, some scholars began to challenge Mintz' notion of creolization because it lacked an appreciation of the continuity of African culture in the Americas.[2] The publication of the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* in 1999 allowed scholars to connect Africans more accurately to their approximate places of origin throughout the continent.[3] Gwendolyn Hall argues that scholars should supplement their use of the Database with studies of transshipment and other documents created for the slave trade.[4] Explorations of cultural transmission, however, rest on our understanding of West and Central African identity as local, fluid, and changing rather than static constructs.[5]

Synthesizing recent scholarship on slavery, resistance, and culture by Vincent Brown, James Sidbury, and Gwendolyn Hall, and others, this paper argues that enslaved Africans engaged critically with their past and present to create a system of cultural continuity and adaptation, which they applied when resisting the conditions of their enslavement. This system had less to do with the transplanting of static African culture into the Americas and more to do with Africans trying to reorient themselves after the trauma of the Middle Passage and their enslavement more broadly. In other words, enslaved Africans used their African heritage in

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[1] James Sidbury, "Resistance to Slavery," in Gad J. Heuman and Trevor G. Burnard, eds., *Routledge History of Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 205.
[2] Matt D. Childs, "Slave Culture," in Gad J. Heuman and Trevor G. Burnard, eds., *Routledge History of Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 171,
[3] Sidbury, "Resistance to Slavery," 207.
[4] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 26.
[5] Sidbury, "Resistance to Slavery," 207.

various ways to navigate and resist the conditions of their enslavement while not directly copying what had come before. Through this lens, the Middle Passage is a link between Africa and the Americas rather than a means through which Africans lost their culture – as some creolizationists would suggest. This paper will first explore the shifting sociopolitical landscape of West and Central Africa during the 18th century. Next, it will examine cultural transmission in religion and daily activities to show how African culture mattered concerning the so-called "weapons of the weak" and daily resistance. African culture was furthermore influential in organized, widespread revolt. This paper will conclude with an analysis of slave rebellions influenced by African cultures, such as Tacky's Revolt in 18th Century Jamaica, to demonstrate how African culture mattered for large-scale rebellion and war in the Americas. The fact that the enslaved were African mattered significantly for the ways in which slavery was constructed over time.

Atlantic African Cultures

Culture can be cumbersome if ill-defined. Defining a specific culture can often freeze it temporally and depict it as a static construct rather than a dynamic process of continuous adaptation, reformation, and continuation.[6] Childs observes three main geographic regions of Atlantic African cultural groups: Upper Guinea, Lower Guinea, and Central Africa. He claims that enslaved Africans built upon these broad shared cultural and linguistic elements to form new cultures in the Americas. Hall argues that scholars should navigate these definitions carefully because they can become unclear or inconsistent if little consideration is taken for the often-sporadic use of the terms in the ship catalogues or by fellow scholars.[7]

Critical here is a general understanding of transformations in African Atlantic culture due to social, economic, and political developments initiated by the slave trade. During this period, political and military leaders sought to centralize their control using warfare and captured slaves for domestic use and exportation.[8] Culture is similarly muddled when the Diaspora is considered because the remembering of ethnic markers – such as names, language, and religion – conveys new meaning in the new conditions of the Americas.[9] For example, due to the slave trade, a disparate Yoruba identity more or less formed in the Americas as

[6] Childs, "Slave Culture," 170.
[7] Hall, *African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 28-9.
[8] Childs, "Slave Culture," 174.
[9] Hall, *African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 46.

specific differences faded in the face of enslavement; enslaved Yoruba circumvented rigid cultural distinctions that would have been more significant within Africa.[10] Specifically, diverse languages spoken by Yoruba in Africa such as Oyo, Ijebu, Ekiti, Aku, among others morphed into a mutually intelligible language written in Roman script;[11] over time, they began to self-identify as Yoruba.[12] In this context, slavery becomes the system through which these communal bonds were crystallized.

It is important to note that when enslaved Africans embarked on slave ships, they were not complete strangers, as Mintz and Price suggest, but instead had several kinship and kingship (state/community) connections with some of their shipmates.[13] These connections are usually not obvious and require meticulous examination by historians to uncover, but there are many. The terms used for ethnic or regional designation varied depending on a variety of factors such as European buyer, intended location, and embarkation port. For example, French records contain significantly more detail about enslaved Africans' place of origin and their ethnic identity compared to English sources.[14] Furthermore, the political and social organization also changed over time, as evidenced by the transformation of the Kingdom of Kongo from a highly centralized state in the 17th century to a collectively-ruled state by the 18th century.[15] These limitations notwithstanding, through alternative databases and nuanced examinations of other documents generated alongside the slave trade, scholars have shown that African ethnic groups were not randomized, but were often clustered in the Americas.[16] Hall cross-references the paths of individual slave trading ships as well as the distribution of new Africans after their final sale to locate some of these clusters.[17] Locating these clusters is significant because they allow scholars to examine more specific examples of cultural transmission. For example, the Akan-speaking Coromantee and other groups from the Gold Coast were clustered in Jamaica,[18] which was pertinent for Tacky's revolt, as we shall see.

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[10] Childs, "Slave Culture," 178.
[11] Lorand J. Matory, "The Illusion of Isolation: The Gullah/Geechees and the Political Economy of African Culture in the Americas," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 4 (2008), 950.
[12] Matory, "The Illusion of Isolation," 952.
[13] Childs, "Slave Culture," 179.
[14] Hall, *African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 33-4.
[15] John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, ACLS Humanities E-book, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 205-6.
[16] Hall, *African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 34.
[17] Hall, *African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 56.
[18] Hall, *African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 110.

African Culture and Daily Resistance

Resistance to slavery took many forms. Resistance should not necessarily be examined in terms of anti-slavery because, before the 18th century, slavery appeared to be a permanent institution.[19] Seemingly ordinary acts of resistance such as breaking tools, slowing the pace of work, or gossiping – known as the "weapons of the weak" – were prevalent and influential. These tools created informal power that the enslaved could wield to various ends. The enslaved could force planters to negotiate the terms of enslavement; these negotiations were inherently unequal, but it is crucial to showcase the power the enslaved could and did possess.[20] Working within Orlando Patterson's definition of slavery as "the permanent, violent domination of socially alienated and generally dishonoured persons,"[21] engagement with African social and cultural traditions can be seen as resistance by their very nature. As Sidbury notes, "the enslaved carved out arenas of life that remained relatively insulated from their masters" through "music, kinship, religion, economic participation, labour slowdowns, and a host of other activities or cultural achievements," which shaped new cultural worlds and allowed the enslaved to find meaning in their lives despite the stark realities of slavery.[22] These seemingly minor instances of resistance are necessary to the story of slavery and enslaved lives.

Religion was a fundamental aspect of African cultural transmission and adaptation in the Americas. As Sylvia Frey writes, the history of African Atlantic religions is "an epic story of continuous creation" that has moved through multiple transformations.[23] The first stage is their origins in Africa. The second stage of this history begins in the Americas with the establishment of the Luso-Hispanic Catholic world and transitions into the third stage with the growth in imports of enslaved Africans. Of course, religious continuity varies according to geographical and temporal location, but deep patterns still trace back to Africa.[24] When Africans were trafficked via the Atlantic slave trade, most retained religious beliefs and practices of their past along with certain cosmological constants and a cultural memory that facilitated coexistence between disparate religious elements.[25] Sometimes, as is the case among

[19] Sidbury, "Resistance to Slavery," 216-7.
[20] Sidbury, Resistance to Slavery," 208.
[21] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982), 13.
[22] Sidbury, Resistance to Slavery," 209.
[23] Sylvia R Frey, "Remembered Pasts: African Atlantic Religions," in Gad J. Heuman and Trevor G. Burnard, eds., *Routledge History of Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 153, ProQuest Ebook Central.
[24] Frey, "Remembered Pasts," 153.
[25] Frey, "Remembered Pasts," 156-7.

the enslaved exported from the Bight of Benin, specific deities – such as those associated with smallpox or cholera – became more prominent in the Diaspora than in Africa due to the overwhelming presence of disease.[26] Religious lineage reveals a transnational history of Africa and the Americas.

Religion played a unique role for enslaved Africans; it created conscious and unconscious bonds through blood and memory. Enslaved Africans could wield magic and medicine against Europeans in symbolic and practical ways to assert their agency and heal or protect their communities.[27] For example, enslaved Africans in Jamaica engaged with Obeah – a complex system of shamanistic practices derived from various parts of Africa – to heal and protect their communities physically, socially, and spiritually through herbal medicine and the utilization of rituals.[28] The importance of Obeah elevated the social status of practitioners and allowed adherents to assert their power over life and death; it also acted to govern enslaved communities and serve justice.[29] More common religions, such as Islam, transcended ethnic and linguistic divisions: Yoruba Muslims in Brazil drew upon these communal bonds for labour and wage networks to use available profits to manumit fellow believers.[30] The retention and adaptation of religious elements in the Americas allowed many enslaved Africans to resist the conditions of their enslavement through the formation of social bonds, spiritual connections, and complex systems of belonging.

The enslaved adapted other aspects of African culture as well. In *The Reaper's Garden*, Vincent Brown discusses how death and mortality shaped the culture of the enslaved. The ways in which enslaved Africans engaged with death reveal how they used and adapted African ontologies. He notes that enslaved Africans in 19th century Jamaica used songs and music to challenge the authority of their enslavers and help them cope with the brutal conditions of slavery.[31] Enslaved market women performed songs that taunted newly recruited white people by insisting that disease and high death rates neutralized a lot of their privilege. Burial ceremonies and death rituals created spiritual bonds among enslaved communities and the deceased. For example, the Akan icon "Nyame mw una mawu" – loosely translated to "God

[26] Childs, "Slave Culture," 179.
[27] Frey, "Remembered Pasts," 167.
[28] Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 145-6.
[29] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 146-7.
[30] Frey, "Remembered Pasts," 166.
[31] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 4-5.

does not die, so I cannot die" – symbolizes cultural continuity from Africa into the Americas.[32] Suicide was common as it was sometimes seen as the ultimate resistance to slavery, but it was often viewed through a specific cultural lens. In the Akan understanding of death, the deceased are not necessarily gone but assist the enslaved in their future struggles; the living allied with the dead in their struggle against the conditions of enslavement. The religiosity associated with the deceased and mortality more broadly represents practical efforts by the enslaved to reject white authority and struggle to survive under colonial domination.[33] Enslaved Africans' desire to assert their own power over death and mortality displays a level of agency and culture that should not be understated.[34] Death was imminent and inescapable in Jamaica during this time. As such, the ways in which enslaved Africans engaged with death and the dead are essential to our understanding of African culture and resistance in the Americas.[35]

African Culture and Rebellion

Beyond daily resistance, African culture played a role in slave rebellions. Warfare was endemic in West and Central Africa due to the Atlantic slave trade. As John Thornton notes, military enslavement was commonly used to produce captives to sell to Europeans. The fact that many exported slaves were captured this way meant that they were those who had yet to be given employment elsewhere. The enslaved who were not integrated into the domestic economy were exported across the Atlantic or the Sahara.[36] Broadly speaking, enslaved people rather than land – as in the European context – facilitated the acquisition of wealth and power without requiring an extension of administration to new areas.[37] Ubiquitous warfare, primarily initiated by the quest to fill an ever-growing demand for captives during this period, meant that many captives were familiar with African warfare strategies. The presence of African soldiers in the Americas had significant implications. Enslaved rebels engaged with and adapted their African roots to resist slavery on a grand scale.[38]

Vincent Brown's analysis of Tacky's Revolt and the Coromantee War in 18th century Jamaica illustrates how important African elements of slave rebellions were. Led by an

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[32] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 3.
[33] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 151.
[34] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 132-3.
[35] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 5.
[36] Thornton, *The Making of the Atlantic World*, 99-100.
[37] Thornton, *The Making of the Atlantic World*, 106.
[38] Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), 3.

enslaved named Tacky, who was formerly Fanti royalty and a warlord, the revolt saw a group of enslaved people overthrow several plantations, killing white overseers in the process.[39] The 1760-1 revolt was a complex web of journeys and military campaigns that historians should examine as an episode within the broader Coromantee war to assert political control over Jamaica. Rather than a "typical" rebellion – which depicts the enslaved in a unified struggle against their enslavers – Brown places Tacky's revolt within the nuanced context of the Coromantee war, which saw disparate groups vying to assert their dominance over the territory.[40] There were tensions among those Gold Coast Africans who had fought each other in Old World wars; among strangers connected through the misery of enslavement; between black people born in Africa and those born in America; and among Coromantees with conflicting interests and beliefs. One of the leaders, Apongo, was a military leader in West Africa during a period of imperial expansion and intensive warfare. In Jamaica, he was elected through Coromantee oathing and enthronement ceremonies[41] and aimed to continue a Coromantee war in Jamaica which attempted to assert political control over the island.[42] The rebels used African guerilla warfare techniques to defeat the British military and colonial militias.[43] They even referred to themselves as a nation with a common Akan language.[44] The revolt was deeply influenced by Obeah as well; many conspirators relied upon Obeah practitioners for counsel.[45] Even when the British eventually quelled the rebellion, the maroon militia[46] turned the tide, demonstrating how Africans influenced sociopolitical conditions in the colonies. Apongo's journey from a military leader in Africa to a leader of a Coromantee war in Jamaica underscores the interconnectedness of Africa and the Americas. The slave trade linked Africa and the Americas together through war and enslavement.[47]

Other rebellions were influenced heavily by African culture, beyond Tacky's Revolt and the Coromantee war. The Stono Rebellion in South Carolina is a prominent example of how Kongo culture impacted slave resistance. These rebels were connected through their

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[39] Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 54.
[40] Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 6.
[41] Thornton, *The Making of the Atlantic World*, 220.
[42] Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 7.
[43] Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 4.
[44] Thornton, *The Making of the Atlantic World*, 220.
[45] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 149.
[46] Maroons are run away slaves. By the 1760s in Jamaica, there was a substantial community of maroons. They formed militias to protect themselves and operated independently of the British and plantation armies and miltias.
[47] Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 2.

common origins in the Kingdom of Kongo – a Christian nation in modern Angola that used Portuguese as a secondary language in its extensive education system.[48] Christianity and creole Portuguese played essential roles in the uprising since the rebels could communicate and forge a shared sense of belonging.[49] Civil wars meant that many enslaved Kongolese were ex-soldiers, which impacted the strategy and contours of the rebellion.[50] They marched under banners similar to African unit flags and used drums; they also danced, which was unique to African militaries.[51] The Stono Rebellion reveals the connections between Kongo social, cultural, and political elements and the avenues through which the enslaved resisted their enslavement. African culture mattered for slave rebellions.

Conclusion

African culture, religion, politics, and social organization mattered for the structure of slavery in the Americas. Observing the specific ways in which the enslaved engaged and adapted their African heritage to resist slavery reveals many new connections between regions of Africa and the Americas. Africans shaped slavery in the Americas in dramatic and subtle ways that were equally important. Religion was a fundamental African legacy that assisted the enslaved in daily resistance through social bonds and weaponizing spiritual authority to reject dehumanization and white power; it also allowed defiant leaders to mobilize patrons against slavery or the conditions of their enslavement. Enslaved Africans were always more than just "slaves;" they were men, women, and children who occupied various sociopolitical strata in Africa and the Americas. The trauma of the Middle Passage and slavery was significant, but it never erased Africans' ties to their cultural, political, and ancestral origins. Of course, the specificities vary tremendously across time and space, but that only underscores the importance of viewing enslaved Africans as people who carried individual and communal motivations, who shaped the contours of slavery and culture in the Americas. In some respects, like religion and religiosity, African heritage was a driving force behind culture and resistance in the Americas. Sometimes, as is the case with the Jamaican perception of death, the new circumstances in the Americas were substantial in the formation of new cultural, social, and political spaces.

[48] John K. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *The American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991), 1103, 1108.
[49] Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," 1106-7.
[50] Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," 1103, 1113.
[51] Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," 1111-2.

Africans retained elements of their "African-ness" while also remaining highly adaptable in the face of unique geography and enslavement. The agency of enslaved Africans to resist and navigate slavery connects Africa to the Americas. Therefore, the Middle Passage links Africa and the Americas in a transnational history of the search for belonging, power, and identity.

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"I have woven for them a great shroud / Out of poor words": Moral Witnessing and the Literature of Testimony During Stalin's Great Purges

Lucy Boyd

In *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*, Jay Winter coined the term "moral witness." Moral witnesses, Winter writes, are "storytellers of a special kind," those who have experienced "radical evil" and traumatic events that have defined their lives.[1] Having endured these experiences, moral witnesses feel compelled to speak on behalf of those who perished and correct inaccurate or sanitized images in public memory. Winter notes that moral witnesses thus bear a double burden: both that of their "knowledge of acquaintance by suffering" and that of the personal risks they take in speaking out about their profound suffering.[2] And yet, he suggests, something of the moral witnesses' survival depends on their ability to tell their story; storytelling, after all, is predicated on an act of hopefulness that someone else will listen and remember.[3]

In *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub further explore the intersection between moral witnessing and literature in Holocaust writing. The authors assert that the Holocaust is an event whose history is "not simply omnipresent…in all our cultural activities, but whose traumatic consequences are still *actively evolving* in today's political, historical, cultural, and artistic scene."[4] While Felman and Laub focus on the Holocaust, in this paper, I will illustrate how the spectre of Stalin's Great Terror of 1937-1938 haunts Soviet literature, as both writers and citizens were transformed into moral witnesses through their documentation of it. This essay will analyze the act of testimony in response to the Great Terror through three primary literary forms: the poet Anna Akhmatova's *Requiem*; Lidiia Chukovskaya's novella *Sofia Petrovna*; and the diaries of Alexei Arzhilovsky, Lyubov Shaporina, Vladimir Stavsky, and Stepan Podlubny. In doing so, I will argue, in the vein of Felman and Laub, that the literature of testimony is a critical lens through

[1] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 238-239.
[2] Winter, *Remembering War*, 240-241.
[3] Winter, *Remembering War*, 240-241.
[4] Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), XIV.

which subsequent generations can relate to—and come to terms with—this historical trauma on both personal and national fronts.

Among the most notable works composed on the Great Terror is Anna Akhmatova's poetic cycle *Requiem*. Written over three decades, between 1935 and 1961, it is the fruit of the author's long struggles against the forces of totalitarianism.[5] A previously renowned poet, Akhmatova fell out of favour with contemporary Soviet tastes after the 1917 revolutions, causing her career to suffer. More painfully still, her ex-husband Nikolay Gumilov was arrested and executed by the Cheka in 1921 after being accused of counter-revolutionary activity.[6] His death placed a stigma on both Akhmatova (whose poetry was later unofficially banned) and their son, Lev.[7] Despite these challenges, Akhmatova termed the 1920s her "Vegetarian Years," in contrast to the bloodier decade of the 1930s, which saw Lev imprisoned while Akhmatova herself barely escaped arrest on several occasions as her literary circles were increasingly persecuted.[8] As her friend and fellow author Lidiia Chukovskaya writes, during this time Akhmatova was destitute, with little food and money.[9] Her literary career had stalled: she neither published nor gave public readings, though Nadezhda Rykova notes that many still remembered her work.[10]

Not only did Akhmatova face day-to-day challenges alongside the repression of her literary career, but she was also spending hours each day lining up outside of Leningrad's Kresty Prison in order to hear news of her son, who was arrested in 1937 and held there for seventeen months.[11] These experiences would form the backdrop of *Requiem*, a poem that broke Akhmatova's literary silence of thirteen years.[12] *Requiem* is a cycle of fifteen poems and a prose paragraph that not only articulates Akhmatova's personal trials but, crucially, reaches beyond the author's lived experiences to memorialize the Great Terror and its victims against cultural amnesia. As such, the poem serves as testimony and embodies the poet's profound act of moral witnessing.

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[5] David N. Wells, *Anna Akhmatova: Her Poetry* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 69.
[6] Roberta Reeder, *Anna Akhmatova: Poet and Prophet*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 155-156.
[7] Reeder, *Anna Akhmatova*, 202.
[8] Reeder, *Anna Akhmatova*, 191.
[9] Lidia Chukovskaya, *The Akhmatova Journals Volume I: 1938-1941*, translated by Milena Michalski and Sylvia Rubasheva, (London: HarperCollins, 1994), 8-10.
[10] Reeder, *Anna Akhmatova*, 192.
[11] Sharon M. Bailey, "An Elegy For Russia: Anna Akhmatova's *Requiem,*" *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (1999), 324.
[12] Galina Rylkova, *The Archeology of Anxiety: The Russian Silver Age and its Legacy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 72.

Poetry is a key lens through which historical trauma can be framed. In *Testimony*, Felman touches specifically on the significance of poetic testimony concerning the verse of Stéphane Mallarmé, who, in an 1895 lecture at the University of Oxford, presciently addressed concerns that would gain added relevance in a post-Holocaust world: namely, the importance of "testimony of an accident" that "pursues" its witness.[13] Felman suggests that his ideas can be extended to the relationship between witnessing and the act of composing verse.[14] Key to "the accident" are two intertwined notions: first, that its impacts are not yet fully understood but continue to evolve "even in the process of the testimony."[15] Also important is the witness' pursuit of it: if accidents pursue witnesses, Mallarmé suggests, they are "compelled and bound" by testimony, while if witnesses pursue accidents, "a liberation can proceed."[16] Ultimately, Felman argues that, for Mallarmé, the witness is transformed into a "medium of testimony."[17]

Using this framework, I suggest that through the writing of *Requiem*, Akhmatova was both pursued by and in pursuit of an "accident" — the Great Terror — and becomes a medium of testimony. Lev's internment implicated Akhmatova in the fabric of the story she tells, as one of the hundreds of women lined up outside of Kresty Prison. As such, the poem articulates Akhmatova's own lived experiences: "My friends of those two years I stood / In hell—oh all my chance friends lost / Beyond the circle of the moon, I cry / Into the blizzards of the permafrost: / Goodbye. Goodbye." [18] Although *Requiem* stems from personal experience, it is not merely an individual's account of suffering. Lev is only featured in a few oblique lines, along with the similarly spectral presences of the murdered Gumilev and Mandelshtam. Instead, Akhmatova uses her vulnerability—which for Felman is a key connection between poetry and witnessing—to access reality through the wounds inflicted by it.[19]

Akhmatova is not merely "pursued" by the "accident" of the Terror; by establishing herself as the "Madonna, or village wailer," she becomes the "pursuer" who fights to memorialize a shared experience of trauma.[20] Indeed, in the prose paragraph that opens the

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[13] Felman and Laub, *Testimony,* 18.
[14] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 19-21.
[15] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 21-22.
[16] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 23.
[17] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 24.
[18] Anna Akhmatova, *Requiem and Poem Without a Hero*, translated by D.M. Thomas, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2018), 24.
[19] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 28-29.
[20] Reeder, *Anna Akhmatova*, 212.

poem, Akhmatova portrays herself as one who is called upon to compose the work: a woman "with blue lips" asks her: "'Can you describe this?' And I said: 'Yes, I can.' And then something like the shadow of a smile crossed what had once been her face."[21] Here, the recognition of Akhmatova as a well-known poet humanizes both her and the unknown woman, who breaks out of her stupor to offer the "shadow of a smile." Through the writing of *Requiem*, then, Akhmatova becomes a witness to her own private suffering and that of the broader national tragedy.

Requiem lacks a defining plot, instead articulating organic cycles of grief. In *Requiem*, however, the broken stanzas are made whole again—united through accounts of the shared experiences of women in the prison lines and especially through Akhmatova's commitment to remembrance: "And I pray not only for myself, / But also for all those who stood there / In bitter cold, or in the July heat, / Under that red blind prison-wall."[22] These lines are at once an act of memory for the hardships of her fellow women but also an act of faith in the power of writing itself; the poem becomes a monument that allows the freeing power of verse to transcend the suffering it details. Looking back at herself as a witness who has undergone a personal transformation, Akhmatova considers the possibility of a memorial dedicated to her and suggests that such a statue should, as a rebuke against forgetting, be placed at the site of Kretsy Prison, "where I stood for three hundred hours / And where they never, never opened the doors for me."[23] Ultimately, Akhmatova's poetic vocation acted as a moral witness to the sufferings wrought by the Great Terror.

Akhmatova was not alone in the preservation of this poetic monument, as her output during the Great Purges "had only a tenuous claim on existence," and her poems could never be written down due to their "dangerous" content.[24] As Kathleen Parthé asserts, the Soviet government viewed as dangerous those texts that failed to cultivate national values articulated in the state-sanctioned Socialist Realist style.[25] Certainly, *Requiem*'s direct critique of the Great Purges would have had profound consequences for its composer, of which she was well aware:

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[21] Akhmatova, *Requiem*, 23.
[22] Akhmatova, *Requiem*, 31.
[23] Akhmatova, *Requiem*, 32.
[24] Nancy K. Anderson, *The Word That Causes Death's Defeat: Poems of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 82.
[25] Kathleen Parthé, *Russia's Dangerous Texts: Politics Between the Lines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 44-45.

the paranoid Akhmatova refused to "recite her poems aloud, even in her apartment."[26] However, her call to witness was so strong that she worked around these repressive forces and found another conduit for saving her work: oral transmission. In drawing upon the oral and memory gifts of members of the intelligentsia, especially those of Lidiia Chukovskaya, *Requiem* was preserved for decades.[27]

As Dori Laub notes, listeners play an essential role in the act of moral witnessing. Witnessing relies upon a listener, whose role is not passive: rather, listeners "come to be…co-owner[s] of the traumatic event: through [their] very listening, [they] come to partially experience trauma in and of [themselves]."[28] The testimony, he writes, is no "monologue" but instead a bonding with an "other."[29] In several entries in the *Akhmatova Journals*, Lidiia Chukovskaya touches upon this very interplay in her descriptions of how Akhmatova's poems were preserved through oral memorization.[30] In this way, Chukovskaya (and others) saved *Requiem* through their own faculties of personal memory, bolstering a work that speaks to national moral remembrance through the act of listening.[31]

However, unlike Laub's case studies, those who memorized *Requiem* did not stand outside of the events they helped witness. Ultimately, the great personal risks they undertook to save Akhmatova's work are acts of moral witnessing that parallel the writer's and embody the profound responsibility that Leon Weliczer Wells outlined in his 1961 Eichmann trial testimony, in which he spoke of "will of responsibility" and the need for "somebody…to remain to tell the world" the truth of what had happened.[32] As such, they too become part of the fabric of the poem-monument itself.

Lidiia Chukovskaya was a younger contemporary of Akhmatova's, and she was both the author's mentee and her first biographer. Interestingly, Beth Holmgren notes that, before the Great Terror, Chukovskaya did not "establish [herself] as a writer prior to the Stalinist period […] [she] willingly served and conceived of [herself] as a caretaker for repressed artists."[33] The trauma engendered by Chukovskaya's personal experience of loss under Stalin

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[26] Anderson, *Death's Defeat*, 82.
[27] Anderson, *Death's Defeat,* 82-83.
[28] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 57.
[29] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 70-71.
[30] Lidiia Chukovskaya, *The Akhmatova Journals Volume I: 1938-1941*, translated by Milena Michalski and Sylvia Rubasheva, (London: HarperCollins, 1994), 6.
[31] Anderson, *Death's Defeat*, 83.
[32] Quoted in Winter, *Remembering War*, 260.
[33] Beth Holmgren, *Women's Works in Stalin's Time*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 25.

ultimately pushed her to write her most exceptional works. Indeed, the Purges decimated both Chukovskaya's personal and professional circles: the editorial section that she worked for was shut down, and most of her coworkers were fired.[34] Meanwhile, her husband Matvei Petrovich Bronshtein was arrested in 1937 and executed the following year.[35] Like Akhmatova, she barely escaped arrest twice.[36] It was while she was waiting for news from her husband that she composed her magnum opus — the novella *Sofia Petrovna*.[37]

At the outset, *Sofia Petrovna* touches upon similar themes to *Requiem*. Both centre on the experiences of women whose lives have been indelibly marked by the Great Purges. The titular character, Sofia Petrovna, has her world shattered when her beloved only son Koyla is accused of treachery and arrested. In attempting to reconcile her faith in her son's innocence with her confidence in the Soviet Regime, Sofia suffers a psychotic break as her personal and career crumble around her, and the novella's closing scene is one of surrender and despair.

Unlike Akhmatova, however, Chukovskaya's artistic process is accidental — she is not "called upon" to testify like her mentor, but she cannot help but record some aspect of the events that unfold around her. Chukovskaya's humility and attentiveness are also underscored in the preface: she predicts that Russian literature "will turn often" to the Great Terror and works will be composed by those with "greater analytic skill and greater artistic talent."[38] Yet she identifies a key dimension of *Sofia Petrovna* that will make it even more important than these later, more sophisticated works: it was actually composed during the period it seeks to capture.[39] In the final paragraph of the preface, Chukovskaya harnesses the language of moral witnessing to assert the validity of her experiences: "Let my *Sofia Petrovna* speak today as a voice from the past, the tale of a witness striving…to discern and record the events which occurred before his eyes."[40] This passage directly echoes several of the key elements of moral witnessing, in which individuals "claim the status of truth-tellers, with a story to tell and retell" and are "determined to stop others from lying about the past or from sanitizing it."[41]

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[34] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 41.
[35] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 41.
[36] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 41.
[37] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 42.
[38] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 1-2.
[39] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 1-2.
[40] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 1-2.
[41] Winter, *Remembering War*, 240.

That Lidiia Chukovskaya was driven to speak out about the grim truth of the Great Purges is clear. Why, however, would she choose fiction as the medium for her story—a genre that is notoriously slippery when it comes to ideals of "truth?" Why not, as others did, write an autobiography or work on a diary? On a literary level, the fictional elements of *Sofia Petrovna* serve an important allegorical function; Beth Holmgren notes that the story begins seemingly as a Socialist Realist work, featuring a relatable "Soviet everywoman."[42] Sofia Petrovna is not a particularly remarkable heroine, but a typist who initially exemplifies many of the feminine qualities valued by the Soviet regime — especially "loyalty" and "obedient service."[43] However, Chukovskaya uses Sofia's ordinariness to cleverly undercut the Soviet regime. First, by demonstrating how prioritizing these qualities has left the protagonist with "no grounds for resistance," setting up the devastating scene that closes the novella.[44] Furthermore, Sofia's suffering effectively demonstrates the devastation wrought by the Great Terror — including on the "ordinary people" it proclaimed to uplift. In this way, Holmgren writes, Chukovskaya draws on the Russian trope of the "little man," where it is precisely the simple, limited perspective of a character that provides the most trenchant social critique.[45] Where Akhmatova self-consciously sought to create a literary monument, Chukovskaya attends to the particularity of one woman's experiences. As such, fiction serves as a convenient medium for relaying the story Chukovskaya sought to tell.

Chukovskaya was not, of course, the only writer to use fiction as a conduit for moral witnessing. In *Testimony*, Shoshana Felman uses Albert Camus' novel *The Plague* to interrogate the relationship between narrative and history, especially as it relates to the Holocaust.[46] She observes that *The Plague* presents itself as a "pure chronicle" where "acting" and "seeing" are conflated to become "testimony": "The Plague (The Holocaust) is disbelieved because it does not enter, and cannot be framed by, any existing frame of reference."[47] Stalin's Great Terror had arguably a similarly totalizing effect on its victims, many of whom, like the fictional Sofia Petrovna, could not conceive of the actuality of what was happening to them. By Chukovskaya's own admission, Sofia Petrovna serves as an allegory for the Soviet people who

[42] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 51.
[43] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 55.
[44] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 55.
[45] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 55.
[46] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 93-95.
[47] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 103.

cannot "make sense of deliberately planned chaos."[48] As such, the Great Terror has several key parallels with the Holocaust: that it was a bureaucratically organized set of events, one in which individuals were "cut off" from everyone else through a "wall of terror"[49] that fundamentally obliterated prior notions of "truth," "narrative," and "history."

Chukovskaya's act of witnessing employs an "imaginative" medium like fiction to testify on the "unimaginable."[50] As Felman writes, by "bearing witness to the body," literary writing "transforms history" from being an abstraction whose ideological or administrative processes render death "invisible."[51] In *Sofia Petrovna*, the protagonist's body is deeply implicated; she privately repeats Soviet propaganda to herself, and in doing so suffers from a nervous breakdown. Given the depth of Chukovskaya's critique of the Great Terror, both as an event that marked a historical rupture and the institutions that orchestrated it, it is unsurprising that the novella was not released in the Soviet Union until 1988.[52]

Verse and fiction were not the only literary forms to serve as avenues of moral testimony, however. Diary-writing was also an important medium. Diaries are intriguing genres, ones that, in the words of Véronique Garros et al., articulate a "space of tension between different—often heterogeneous—times, between the personal, the intimate, sometimes the bodily, and the social."[53] Given their form's intense privacy and intimacy, everything that comprises a diary has meaning—the content, style, delivery, and understanding of time, revealing what Garros et al. call the "quivers of the soul."[54]

While diary-writing, as a private, individual expression of consciousness, might initially seem at odds with the Soviet project, the Bolsheviks initially encouraged diary-keeping in their revolutionary soldiers as a form of political education.[55] In the following decade, there is evidence to suggest that diaries were used in the school system as a teaching tool.[56] The medium was also of great interest to left-wing artists and was widely encouraged among

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[48] Lidiia Chukovskaya, *Sofia Petrovna,* translated by Aline Werth (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 112.
[49] Chukovskaya, *Sofia Petrovna*, 112.
[50] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 105.
[51] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 108.
[52] Holmgren, *Women's Works*, 58.
[53] Véronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the* 1930s, translated by Carol A. Flath (New York: The New Press, 1995), X1V.
[54] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror*, X1V.
[55] Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution On My Mind: Writing a Diary Under Stalin*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 38.
[56] Hellbeck, *Revolution On My Mind*, 41.

workers.[57] However, Jochen Hellbeck notes that, in the 1930s, it "remained a matter of doubt whether the diary was a suitable tool for self-training and individualization in a Soviet setting," with some activists suggesting that diary-writing was a useless, solipsistic exercise and that individuals should define themselves instead through work and actions.[58] Furthermore, while pedagogues had been the primary interpreters of diaries in the preceding decades, during the 1930s, this task was assumed by the NKVD.[59] Much like the pedagogues before them, the NKVD believed that the diaries revealed something true about their writers: as such, they were closely examined for "counter-revolutionary" content.[60]

Indeed, Andrei Arzhilovsky was arrested and executed, in part, for the content of his diary; his life story is a testament to the decades of upheaval that followed the revolutions of 1917 and subsequent Soviet regimes.[61] Arzhilovsky got into trouble with the authorities several times over the course of his life; he was first arrested by the Cheka in 1919, liberated from prison in 1923, accused of counter-revolutionary activity in 1929, and interned in a labour camp for seven years before being released due to poor health.[62] He was arrested for the third time in 1937 and subsequently executed.[63]

Despite the inherently private nature of diaries, and the trauma he endured, Arzhilovsky wanted to preserve some sense of the past (and his own story) for future generations. In the diary's first entry in 1936, he writes: "I feel the need to salvage something in my memory…and get as much as I can down on paper."[64] It is, in large part, traumatic memories that Arzhilovsky commits to paper; he addresses his "recollections of the camps" first.[65] He critiques the harsh rejection of Imperial Russian culture, juxtaposing Soviet slogans about life having become "better" and "happier" under Stalin with images of his own family's day-to-day suffering.[66]

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[57] Hellbeck, *Revolution On My Mind*, 42-43.
[58] Hellbeck*, Revolution On My Mind*, 47-48.
[59] Hellbeck, *Revolution On My Mind*, 48.
[60] Hellbeck, *Revolution On My Mind*, 50.
[61] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror*, 111.
[62] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusan, 111-112.
[63] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusan, 111-112.
[64] Andrei Stepanovich Arzhilovsky, "The Diary of Andrei Stepanovich Arzhilovsky," in *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, edited by Véronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, (New York: The New Press, 1995), 112.
[65] Arzhilovsky, "The Diary of Andrei Stepanovich Arzhilovsky," 112.
[66] Arzhilovsky, "The Diary of Andrei Stepanovich Arzhilovsky," 131.

Lyubov Shaporina also addresses some of these traumatic themes in her diary. Shaporina was an immediate witness to the devastation wrought by the Great Purges on intellectual and artistic circles.[67] Yet her diary does not merely chronicle people's suffering; Shaporina also deals with her own personal grief at having lost her only daughter, and implicitly dedicates the diary to her.[68] Shaporina acknowledges that in shared suffering that she can connect with others: "I've lost my interest in other people. Only when someone suffers some misfortunate that I feel the need to help, I feel closer to that person."[69] In some ways, Shaporina's willingness to stare into the "gloom of the abyss" makes her the moving narrator of the trauma of the times.[70] Shaporina's view of the political and social realities of her time is rooted both in nihilism and history. While she writes that it is "better to die than to live in continual terror, in abject poverty, starving,"[71] she also places herself within history, writing that she "keeps getting the feeling" that she is within Bryullov's painting *Pompeii's Last Day*.[72] Even as this allusion suggests continuity with the past, with its dramatization of scenes of terror and destruction, Shaporina highlights the extraordinary nature of these years, for which there is no historical precedent: "NEVER in the world have people and parties struggling among themselves worked to destroy their own homeland."[73] She critiques at various moments the sham elections and baseless arrests—even naming Yagoda and Yehzhov for their roles in the Great Purge.[74]

Furthermore, Shaporina's diary is an emotional portrait of "life in the slaughterhouse"[75] where the routine of violence had assumed a disturbingly quotidian form: "The nausea rises to my throat when I hear how calmly people can say it: he was shot, someone else was shot, shot, shot...I think that the real meaning of the word doesn't reach our consciousness—all we hear is the sound."[76] Given that both the Shaporina and Arzhilovsky diaries were private and unpublished, both were clearly composed in part to process and move

[67] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror*, 333.
[68] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, 333.
[69] Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina, Notebook 1: 1935-1937" in *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, edited by Véronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen (New York: The New Press, 1995), 363.
[70] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 352.
[71] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 366.
[72] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 352.
[73] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 358.
[74] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 358.
[75] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 359.
[76] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 352.

through individual traumas and grief. Yet both works also make explicit reference for the need to preserve memory in writing, an ideology they attribute to earlier generations. Shaporina writes that she does not fear death but that the things that she "cherishes" will be "discarded, burned, and given away to strangers."[77] Arzhilovksy and Shaporina also share a concern for the younger generation, and the ways in which their environment has warped their lives and minds.

Both diaries can thus be read as indicative of their authors' desire to leave something of themselves that will survive them through writing that may ultimately have pedagogical value. As such, they too are acts of moral witnessing, albeit ones that lack the monumentality of literary works like *Requiem* and *Sofia Petrovna*. The diaries also represent their writers' struggles against "entrapment," which occurs, according to Dori Laub, when individuals are subject to "ceaseless repetitions and reenactments" of their trauma.[78] In writing their diaries, Arzhilovsky and Shaporina "construct a narrative, reconstruct a history […] and, essentially, re-externalize […] the event" and in so doing are able to "transmit" their stories before taking them back within themselves.[79]

Diaristic writing, then, is a therapeutic act that may assert the individual's identity and experiences within a totalizing regime. However, diaries are also fascinating for what their writers choose to omit. The final section of this paper will consider two diaries that alternately demonstrate both the failure to witness (and, by extension, to acknowledge guilt) and how the preservation of a diary may serve as an act of sorrow and contrition.

Vladmir Stavsky occupied an important place in Soviet society, one that existed at the junction between state politics and literature; in 1937, he was General Secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers and Chief Editor of the journal *Noyvi mir*.[80] The Writer's Union had a troubled and complex place in society. John and Carol Garrard note that it "simultaneously acted as an agency of Stalin's Terror against its own members, and as a cornucopia of privileges and luxuries.""[81] This tension is well personified in Stavsky, whose diary at once demonstrates his social privileges and political anxieties, yet who remains silent on the actions that gave him

[77] Shaporina, "Diary of Lyubov Vasilievna Shaporina," 339.
[78] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 68-69.
[79] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 68-69.
[80] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror*, 219.
[81] John Garrard and Carol Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writer's Union* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 45.

the moniker of "executioner of Soviet literature."[82] Stavsky countersigned arrest warrants of members of the Writer's Union.[83] By December 1938, he had authorized the arrest of hundreds of Union members.[84]

None of this is mentioned in Stavsky's diary, as he neither defends his actions nor expresses remorse for them. Instead, he turns his attention to recurrent themes: scenes of natural beauty at his dacha, his struggles with alcoholism, and his growing fear and paranoia. In *Testimony*, Felman examines the question of omission through the case study of Paul de Man, a professor who was posthumously revealed to have written for a pro-Nazi journal in his youth.[85] She argues that de Man — even though he never addressed his past directly — spent the latter half of his career "bearing witness" to the "lesson" of totalitarianism by incorporating ideas of the "failed" mute witness into his writing and translation work.[86]

There is little evidence to suggest that Stavsky went to such lengths in his own writing, but his diary nevertheless leaves faint traces of a troubled conscience. For instance, Stavsky's paranoia speaks to the disquiet that permeated every facet of Soviet life, one that follows him to the natural beauty of his dacha: "Sometimes an oppressive mood takes over me, a feeling that something is going away and leaving, leaving me behind."[87] Additionally, the command to write — externally from his superiors and internally from himself — is repeated to almost claustrophobic levels: "Everybody is wondering why Stavsky isn't doing any writing. Why is he silent?"[88] Armed with the context of Stavsky's actions, the modern reader is compelled to read this acknowledgement of his "silence" on both a literal and a moral level.

Stavsky's diary is not the only one that engages in acts of omission. The diary of Stepan Podlubny, written between 1931 and 1939, is patchy and riddled with gaps.[89] One such gap is the year 1937 — widely considered to be the apex of the Great Terror. In his first entry of that year, dated December 6, Podlubny addresses this conspicuous omission: "[N]ot a single day of my life this year has been illuminated in this so-called diary…[I'll] banish it from my

[82] Garrard and Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writer's Union*, 51.
[83] Garrard and Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writer's Union*, 51.
[84] Garrard and Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writer's Union*, 57.
[85] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 120.
[86] Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 137-139.
[87] Vladmir Petrovich Stavsky. "Diary of Vladmir Petrovich Stavsky" in *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, edited by Véronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, (New York: The New Press, 1995), 245.
[88] Stavsky, "Diary of Vladmir Petrovich Stavsky," 230.
[89] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 166.

mind…like a thick blood stain on my clothes."[90] Given the time of its composition, this passage necessarily references the increasing political violence around Podlubny — at least in part. However, it is also deeply connected to his political and personal past.

Podlubny's family were Ukrainians who were dekulakized (victims of a repressive Soviet political campaign against prosperous peasants) in 1929, an act that saw his father deported for three years.[91] He and his mother relocated to Moscow, where he began working for the *Pravda* printing plant, became involved with the local Komsomol, and distinguished himself as a model worker and activist while concealing his origins.[92] He was approached in 1932 to work with the Joint State Political Directorate (GPU), the secret police division that sought out opponents of the regime.[93] In his diary entries throughout the early 1930s, Podlubny reveals himself to be a sincere follower of Soviet ideology, one who strives to fulfill his duties as an informer while trying to reinvent himself as a Soviet "New Man."[94] There is a troubling undercurrent in the diary's entries, however; even as he seeks to reinvent himself, Podlubny is deeply aware of both his past and the violence that accompanies his denunciations.[95]

The diary entries of 1936 onwards mark an important shift in Podlubny's writing. Having been exposed as a "class alien" that year, he was expelled from the Komsomol, though he was allowed to remain a student in the medical school.[96] Here, Podlubny begins using his diary to record the regime's terror. The 1937 entry, then, can be interpreted as a manifestation of lingering guilt over his role in previous repressions. For instance, one recurring image in the entry is that of a noose slowly choking the writer himself.[97] Given his prior experience working with the GPU, Podlubny knew of the violence that was coming.[98] The Purges would reach the Podlubny household in December 1937, when his mother was arrested.[99]

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[90] Stepan Filippovich Podlubny, "Diary of Stepan Filippovich Podlubny," in *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, edited by Véronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, (New York: The New Press, 1995), 302.
[91] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror*, 291.
[92] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 166.
[93] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 173-175.
[94] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 171.
[95] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 183.
[96] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 211.
[97] Podlubny, "Diary," 302.
[98] Hellbeck*, Revolution,* 214.
[99] Podlubny, "Diary," 304-305.

In a series of scenes that echo both *Requiem* and *Sofia Petrovna*, Podlubny describes (in an interesting reversal of gender roles) waiting in prison lines, amid many mothers, to hear news of his mother's fate.[100] He learns that she has been sentenced to eight years in prison.[101] Podlubny's final entry for 1938, written after having been allowed to see his mother briefly, is indicative of many of the inner conflicts he experienced during the decade: "Many people have perished in the name of justice, and as long as society exists, people will be struggling for justice. Justice will come. The truth will come."[102] Hellbeck writes that this passage "echoes" the rhetorical devices and language used by revolutionary freedom fighters, ubiquitous in Soviet literature, but is here used against the state.[103] In many ways, these lines articulate the contradictory problems that Podlubny expresses throughout his diary: his sincere desire to reinvent himself on Soviet terms; his collusion with and later victimization by state forces; his "bloodstain" of guilt; and his quest for "justice" that cannot be expressed in a language outside of state rhetoric. These complexities are highlighted again in the tale of the diary's preservation: Podlubny placed it in Moscow's Central Popular Archives as an "act of repentance," but in a later interview, he refused to see himself as anything but a victim of Soviet repressions.[104]

Despite the heavy repressions and control exerted by Soviet authorities on the literary output of the late 1930s, many citizens felt compelled to write. Given the significant personal risks undertaken by the authors—and their representation of Stalin's Great Terror—these pieces are acts of moral witnessing and important examples of what Elie Wiesel termed the literature of testimony. A range of literary forms—verse, fiction, and diaristic writing—reveal different intersections between memory and writing. Collectively, they speak to how this tragic moment in Russian history—one during which "The mountains bow[ed] before this anguish, [and] / The great river d[id] not flow,"[105] in the memorable opening lines of Akhmatova's *Requiem*—was traumatic on both a personal and a national scale.

[100] Podlubny, "Diary," 314-317.
[101] Hellbeck, *Revolution,* 214.
[102] Podlubny, "Diary," 330.
[103] Hellbeck, *Revolution*, 216.
[104] Garros, Korenevskaya, and Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror*, 219.
[105] Akhmatova. *Requiem*, 24.

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A Divided Childhood: Black Youth in the Aftermath of the Watts Rebellion

Elli Brown

The Watts region of Los Angeles was once "an urban portal for the poorest and most recent migrants from the South" and a hotbed for "intense racial and class segregation."[1] In the 1960s, nearly 70% of LA's 650,000 African American residents lived substandard conditions in Watts.[2] In 1965, after decades of increasing resentment in the Black community, Watts became the setting of the "largest urban riot of the post-World War II era" in which tens of thousands of Black civilians demonstrated against racial discrimination.[3] While the riot's effects on the adult population of Watts have been thoroughly studied, its consequences on the region's children have not received as much attention. By examining local children's experiences and perceptions surrounding the incident, this paper argues that the youth of Watts were forced to endure heightened racial divisions in the aftermath of the riot. The contrasting reactions of the white and Black communities to the revolt support this argument; whites distanced themselves from Blacks by vilifying the African-Americans more broadly, while Blacks distanced themselves from whites by strengthening their racial pride.

Children growing up in Watts in the 1960s sensed a dismal economic future for themselves and for their community. The postwar economic boom that the preceding generation experienced had begun to unravel and reverse in the region, leaving 60s-era youth with meagre educational and professional opportunities.[4] Unemployment rates in Watts were two to three times higher than those of neighbouring white communities due to racial discrimination and deindustrialization.[5] The relocation of dozens of factories from Watts to suburban areas of Los Angeles contributed to growing unemployment; 28 factories, once reliable providers of jobs for many Watts residents, left the region from mid-1963 to mid-1964

[1] Donna Murch, "The Many Meanings of Watts: Black Power, Wattstax, and the Carceral State," *OAH Magazine of History* 26, no. 1 (2012), 38.
[2] Elizabeth A. Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sky: Watts on Television, August 1965," *Journal of Film and Video* 54, no. 2/3 (2002), 13.
[3] David C. Carter, "The Music Has Gone Out of the Movement: Civil Rights and the Johnson Administration, 1965–1968," The Journal of American History 97, no. 1 (2010), 256.
[4] Josh Sides, "Black Community Transformation in the 1960s and 1970s," L.A. City Limits (2019): 176.
[5] Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sky," 13.

alone.[6] The quality and accessibility of public schools and career training in African American regions of Los Angeles were in steep decline as well.[7] The combination of deteriorating educational quality and rising unemployment in Watts led its young residents to adopt a hopeless outlook of their future prospects. As they attended inadequate schools and witnessed their parents being ruthlessly laid off from no fault of their own, children were forced to grasp "the fruitlessness of playing by the rules."[8] As a discharged Watts factory worker testified at a California Senate hearing, "We have it so bad in some high schools … they don't show up to school because they don't see no use working and going to school."[9] In addition to economic difficulties, children in 1960s Watts faced rampant abuse at the hands of the Los Angeles Police Department.

Los Angeles's police force has strong historical roots in racial discrimination, and the Black children of Watts experienced their oppressive, violent practices firsthand. The LAPD used militarist strategies in Black neighbourhoods as a means of controlling and surveilling the community, and their forceful presence was felt disproportionately by the region of Watts.[10] Police Chief William Parker promoted the notion that Black people were inherently criminal,[11] and used his "authoritarian" power to disrupt their lives with discriminatory, violent police tactics. In 1965, the LAPD carried out one arrest for every three reported incidents in the predominantly Black 77th Division, while in the white West Los Angeles Division, only in every ten reports resulted in arrest.[12] Unjust arrests were commonplace in Watts, and were at times targeted at minors. For instance, in 1961 a 17-year-old African American boy was arrested for riding a carnival ride without a ticket, resulting in a confrontation between 200 local onlookers and the police.[13] From the perspective of Blacks, police-community relations were inequitable and atrocious. Unsurprisingly, the US Commission on Civil Rights discovered "widespread distrust of police among" African Americans in 1962.[14] Consequently, Watts children were raised in a culture that feared and despised the LAPD and were themselves

[6] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 180.
[7] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 176.
[8] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 181.
[9] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 182.
[10] Max Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD*, (University of North Carolina Pr., 2020), 19, 21.
[11] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 22.
[12] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 23.
[13] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 182.
[14] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 24.

"conditioned in such a way that they [got] butterflies in their stomach when they [saw] a policeman."[15] In the summer of 1965, tension between the police force and the community of Watts reached a breaking point.

The Watts Rebellion was "six days of rage in August 1965."[16] In a 46 square mile area of Los Angeles, locals set fire to buildings, looted businesses and rioted fiercely against the police. The extremely forceful response of the LAPD escalated the situation, leading to mass violence and fatalities.[17] The uprising was motivated by "a legacy of frustration with racism, employment discrimination, … residential segregation" and oppressive policing practices,[18] but was ultimately sparked by the arrest of Marquette Frye on August 11th by California Highway Patrol officer Lee Minikus.[19] Frye and his brother were pulled over for suspected drunk driving in front of their mother's home.[20] When Frye resisted arrest, a crowd of 250-300 local onlookers gathered and a "scuffle" ensued between the crowd and the police officers.[21] More police arrived on the scene, which intensified the agitation of the crowd and thus the reactionary behaviour of the officers. Marquette, his brother and his mother were beat by the police as the crowd continued to grow in size and in energy. The officers perceived the crowd as a dangerous "mob" and indiscriminately arrested onlookers.[22] Eventually, the Fryes were forcibly shoved into patrol cars and the police retreated. The news of the incident travelled rapidly through the neighbourhood, "igniting the spark that set South Central aflame in open rebellion against the police."[23] After three days of riots in which the LAPD felt they lacked sufficient control over the situation, three battalions of California National Guard troops were delivered to support the police in asserting power over the rioters.[24] The police force's massive, violent reaction to the riots demonstrated their desire to maintain and increase their control over the streets and the residents of Watts.[25] Historians' estimates of the number

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15 Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 71.
16 Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 19.
17 Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 174.
18 Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 19.
19 William Boone, "Watts Rebellion of 1965," in Molefi Kete Asante and Mambo Ama Mazama, Encyclopedia of Black Studies (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2004): 475.
20 Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 174.
21 Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 26.
22 Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sky,"13.
23 Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 26.
24 Gerald Horne, "Chapter 7: Iron Fist," In Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the 1960s (New York: Da Capo Press, 1997), 159.
25 Felker Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 20.

of Black participants in the riots range from 10,000 to 80,000.[26] There were an additional 934 LAPD officers, 719 sheriff's deputies and 13 900 California National Guard troops on the scene.[27]

There are few reports of children's involvement and experiences in the Watts riot, however it is apparent that local youth directly experienced and, in some cases, participated in the terror and violence of the event. Over 500 minors were arrested throughout the uprising for petty crimes such as loitering and small theft.[28] Several sources claimed they witnessed children participating to various degrees in the rioting. One adult rioter claimed he saw police officers beating "little kids."[29] An independent Muslim newspaper published within weeks of the revolt included a photo of three policemen beating "an unarmed and totally subdued Negro teenager."[30] According to a KNXT television reporter, "young people, many of them boys only twelve and thirteen years old, stood along the curbs and rained their missiles on the KNXT camera car."[31] Children in Watts who managed to avoid directly facing violence in the streets were not shielded from the turmoil, as the fires and chaos were visible and audible from their homes. Police officers arbitrarily shot into private residences "without any justification"[32] – residences that could have contained children. In psychological interviews conducted with preschool-aged children within two days of the riot, young Watts residents described their perspectives of the event. One of these children said he saw a dead man on the street and a little girl with a broken arm. Another child described the sounds of shots firing and the scene of hordes of police officers pointing guns out of windows, stating that her father and brother were jailed during the riot and were yet to be released. Another young witness said that his house and possessions were burned by police, and yet another child admitted she "thought the whole world was burning" during the uprising.[33] With 34 casualties, 200 million dollars in resulting property damage, over 1,000 people injured and over 4,000 people jailed, the Watts rebellion touched the lives of every single young resident of the region, whether they

[26] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 175; Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 38.
[27] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 32.
[28] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 30.
[29] Horne, "Iron Fist," 143.
[30] "Muhammad Speaks," *Muhammad Speaks* 4, no. 41 (Sept. 1965), 2.
[31] Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sky," 16.
[32] Horne, "Iron Fist," 141, 145.
[33] Ralph L. Dunlap, et al. "Young Children and the Watts Revolt," *Community Mental Health Journal* 4, no. 3 (1968), 205.

experienced the riots directly or through the arrest, death or injury of a loved one.[34] A resulting mass trauma lingered among the children of Watts as racial divides deepened in Los Angles as a result of the uprising.

The most direct impact of the Watts rebellion on local children was the lasting personal trauma they experienced in its aftermath. Of the 107 four to five-year-old Black Watts children interviewed shortly after the riot, 92% said they were aware of the uprising and 47% expressed fear over the events that had occurred.[35] These violent and frightening experiences likely traumatized young children for decades. 25 years after the event, a former Watts resident who had participated in the riots in his youth shared that he continued to be "haunted by the searing image of two of my neighbours lying dead in the street, their bodies riddled with bullet wounds as young guardsmen stood over them."[36] While it is difficult to track exactly how these fearful scenes affected youth throughout their lives, one can infer that such vivid trauma at a young age had a lasting impact on Watts children's worldview. Examining the indirect effects of the riots on Watts' young population provides hints as to how their perception of their identity and community was affected.

The riot's effect on local youth can be extrapolated by examining its effect on Watts residents more broadly. The rebellion most strongly affected Watts children by leading them to grow up in a more racially divided culture, which is evidenced by the white and Black communities' distinct reactions to the incident. It led to a white mainstream backlash against the Black population of Los Angeles, as is clearly demonstrated in the region's post-Watts politics, white press coverage of the riots, and the increase of the power of the LAPD. 71% of whites surveyed soon after the rebellion believed the conflict had "increased the gap between the races," and 79% expressed support for extremist LAPD Chief Parker.[37] On the other hand, the uprising brought the Black community together and led to a surge in anti-racist activism.

In the white mainstream press, rioters and, by extension, the Black community as a whole were intentionally vilified during and after the rebellion. The riot dominated the news for months; there were 606 articles about the event written in news outlets from August 12th

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[34] Murch, "The Many Meanings of Watts," 37.
[35] Dunlap et. al., "Young Children," 204, 205.
[36] Horne, "Iron Fist," 161.
[37] Ronald N. Jacobs, "The Watts Uprisings of 1965," In *Race, Media, and the Crisis of Civil Society: From Watts to Rodney King* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 59.

to December 10th, 75% of which were featured in local LA outlets.[38] Overall, the white press successfully promoted an 'us versus them' approach in their portrayal of the riots.[39] The Los Angeles Times was especially conservative and sympathetic to the LAPD in its portrayal of the events.[40] It framed the riots as "an organized campaign of terror"[41] and "the four ugliest days in our history," claiming that "terrorism is spreading" and thus vilifying the Black community.[42] The newspaper characterized LAPD Chief Parker and his police force as the heroes of the incident, insinuating that the Black rioters were entirely to blame for the resulting violence and damages.[43] The KNXT television network framed the event as a Black issue that necessitated an intense law and order response from the white power structure.[44] Black youth, in particular, were categorized by "the Los Angeles propaganda machine" as dangerous and in need of repression.[45] News coverage focused on capturing the violence and criminality of the riot rather than exploring the rioters' grounds for discontent;[46] it viewed the riot as "random criminal chaos," not political mobilization.[47] "Most whites willingly accepted this dominant narrative" in the press that antagonized Black people and "approved the use of force to quell the uprising."[48] As a result, much of the white public increasingly viewed African Americans as inherently criminal, dangerous and needing powerful law enforcement,[49] causing much of the Black community to feel frustrated and victimized. These divisive racial narratives were quickly understood by Watts' children as "the exposure of children to complexities and conflicts in the broad social environment is an inevitable consequence of mass communication media."[50]

A political shift to the right occurred among white voters after the Watts rebellion. In an election that centred around the issues of "crime, drugs, … juvenile delinquency," and

[38] Jacobs, "The Watts Uprisings," 56.
[39] Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sky," 13.
[40] Weena Perry, "'An Outpost of Strength': the Los Angeles Times Performs Law and Order versus Chaos during the Watts Rebellion of 1965," *Afterimage* 33, no. 1 (2005), 34.
[41] Horne, "Iron Fist," 150.
[42] Jacobs, "The Watts Uprisings," 58.
[43] Jacobs, "The Watts Uprisings," 59.
[44] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 29.
[45] Damien M. Sojoyner, *First Strike: Educational Enclosures in Black Los Angeles*, (University of Minnesota Press 2016), 127.
[46] Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sun," 16.
[47] Wheeler, "More Than the Western Sun," 11.
[48] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 34.
[49] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 20.
[50] Dunlap et. al., "Young Children," 203.

"racial problems," Ronald Reagan won the Governorship of California in 1966,[51] defeating "popular two-term incumbent" Pat Brown.[52] In his eight years as governor running a moderate liberal platform, Pat Brown had achieved progress in anti-discrimination legislation on housing, employment, and welfare.[53] This legislative progress was crucial to developing poor, segregated regions such as Watts, but Reagan's far-right platform strongly opposed such public assistance measures. Instead, Reagan's successful campaign promoted increased policing and the criminalization of the Watts community. The "vicious political backlash against Watts" rioting led white voters to prioritize increased law and order tactics in Black communities, which strongly contributed to Reagan's electoral success.[54] The uprising "intensified this groundswell of white conservatism" and heightened racial divides in Los Angeles.[55] Children of Watts were thus left to grow up in a political environment that fostered racial discrimination and heightened police power over Blacks. Due to their rising political skepticism of Black people, many white families moved out of Black communities after the rebellion.[56] As a result, Los Angeles schools became increasingly segregated, forcing the children of Watts to face even more racial isolation.[57] In addition, the rising political popularity of "law and order" empowered the LAPD to tighten its authoritarian grip over the residents of Watts.

As a backlash to the Watts rebellion, the LAPD increased its control of the African American population and extended its presence into virtually all areas of their lives.[58] Watts residents, already painfully familiar with discriminatory police practices, were forced to endure even greater discrimination as the LAPD's "apparatus of coercive repression was ramped up in response to the Black urban riots."[59] The force "expanded its intelligence apparatus in response to Watts … they reacted by wanting to snoop around to know, beforehand, who the 'troublemakers' were."[60] They invested in tons of new technology, including weaponry, helicopters, and raid gear, to exercise mass surveillance and control over Watts. By 1967, the

[51] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 47.
[52] M. Dallek, "Liberalism Overthrown the 1966 Gubernatorial Campaign in California Between Brown, Pat And Reagan, Ronald," *American Heritage* 47, no. 6 (1996), 2.
[53] Dallek, "Liberalism Overthrown," 3.
[54] Murch, "The Many Meanings of Watts," 39.
[55] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 194.
[56] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 170.
[57] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 195.
[58] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 3.
[59] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 72.
[60] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 141.

police force owned ten times as many shotguns as in 1965.[61] The development of SWAT teams and the painting of address numbers on the roofs of public housing for airborne identification occurred as a backlash against the riots.[62] Black Los Angeles residents also experienced a surge in police brutality in the weeks after the uprising. LAPD officers entered homes and businesses and assaulted their patrons, apparently "recovering loot" stolen during the riot.[63] For example, the predominantly Black West Side Social Club was raided, and its customers were beaten within weeks of the event.[64] The expansion of police presence in Watts "ensured daily contact between the criminal justice system and black and brown residents" of all ages, including children.[65] In fact, youth were arguably the principal victims of increased police power; by the late 1960s, the LAPD obsessed over their "need to have continual police surveillance on Black youth."[66] As a result, juvenile arrest rates in Los Angeles increased each year from 1965 to 1969,[67] and educational systems were altered to facilitate greater police control over youth.

After the riot, public schools in Watts became the setting of intensified repression and segregation. White school officials and teachers increasingly perceived Black students as criminal and dangerous due to the vilification of the Black community in the press. Disciplinary approaches in school were thus significantly expanded. "In the late-1960s school systems began employing security staffs in order to deal with such student conduct far more aggressively and punitively."[68] Police officers were hired by Los Angeles schools to enforce discipline and encourage law abidance.[69] Predictably, these new school-based police officers mirrored the tyrannical, discriminatory practices of the regular LAPD force. Surveillance cameras, metal detectors and advanced security systems were installed in Watts schools, bringing the mass surveillance of the streets into pedagogic institutions.[70] In addition, "city and school board officials and the LAPD developed a "Police in Government" course taught by LAPD officers." Its curriculum and delivery belittled Black students and treated them as inherently criminal.[71]

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[61] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 52.
[62] Horne, "Iron Fist," 165.
[63] Horne, "Iron Fist," 166.
[64] Horne, "Iron Fist," 144.
[65] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 42.
[66] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 36.
[67] Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles*, 106.
[68] Heather Ann Thompson, "Criminalizing Kids," *Dissent* 58, no. 4 (2011), 24.
[69] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 126.
[70] Thompson, "Criminalizing Kids," 26.
[71] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 35.

After implementing school policing, Black Watts students began receiving criminal punishments or expulsions for simple misbehaviours such as skipping class or doodling.[72] More students were expelled in the Los Angeles school district in the year after the uprising than ever before.[73] "All lived in fear of being patted down, hit by a wand, and even strip searched at the whim of school police personnel."[74] Not all students personally received criminal punishments at school, but every child "suffered the daily humiliations, and hostile learning environments, that the post-1960s criminalization endured."[75] Additionally, there was a general lack of investment in improving the quality of schooling in Watts. In the late sixties, young African American Angelenos "primarily attended old, decrepit schools that were so overcrowded that many still ran half-day sessions" and that lacked experienced teachers and essential services such as libraries and cafeterias.[76] Meanwhile, schools in white neighbourhoods "were new, spacious," peaceful, and filled with experienced staff.[77] In post-rebellion Watts, the brutality and tyranny of new school policing programs and the growing educational disparity between white and Black regions indicated growing racial divides in Los Angeles that deeply affected the youth of Watts. The Black community of Watts as a whole, and the youth of Watts, in particular, responded to racial tension by furthering the Black Power movement.

The shared struggles of growing racial segregation and intensifying police practices among African Americans in the post-Watts era fostered a strong sense of solidarity in the neighbourhood. The Black community was bonded by their collective anger towards whites' lack of acknowledgement of the inadequate conditions in Watts. The riots promoted the notion that "whites are devils" and led more Black people to become involved in anti-racist activism.[78] Black rage was directed towards Police Chief Parker, with his brazenly racist command of the LAPD.[79] Politically, the Watts rebellion was "crucial in galvanizing African-American opposition against Los Angeles Mayor Samuel Yorty, and … central to" the eventual

[72] Thompson, "Criminalizing Kids," 25.
[73] Judith Kafka, "Chapter Four: Struggle for Control in the 1960s," in *The History of "Zero Tolerance" in American Public Schooling* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 81.
[74] Thompson, "Criminalizing Kids," 26.
[75] Thompson, "Criminalizing Kids," 26.
[76] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 78.
[77] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 78.
[78] Horne, "Iron Fist," 143.
[79] Horne, "Iron Fist," 152.

victory of Black mayor Thomas Bradley in 1973.[80] It "nurtured a strong sense of community pride that reached its zenith in the Black Power and Black Arts movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s."[81] "The very destructiveness of the riot" helped to convince African Americans that their community had the power and the strength in numbers to induce change in the racial fabric of Los Angeles.[82] Growing Black pride was showcased and celebrated in the annual Watts Summer Festival beginning in 1966.[83] The festival was highly successful in its first two years, with strong turnouts in all age groups of the Black community.[84] While the Black Power movement eventually led to decreased antipathy between whites and Blacks, it only fuelled racial divides direct following the rebellion, as it led to more potent racial identity politics on both sides. Youth were at the forefront of Black activism in the late 1960s, and thus directly experienced the increase in racial division.

Black youth activism flourished at high schools and universities after the Watts Rebellion. At high schools in Watts, Black students participated in protests and walkouts to raise awareness of the low educational quality and unfair disciplinary practices that disproportionally affected their neighbourhood.[85] Student demonstrations in the aftermath of the uprising were "unusually large and widespread" – walkouts occurred in at least three dozen South Central schools in the late sixties.[86] For instance, in October 1967, approximately half the students at Manual Arts High School in Watts participated in a walkout in an effort to cause the termination of their racist school principal.[87] Young activists broadly called for "a greater respect for the concerns" of their community.[88] "While many of the protestors' demands were not new," the riots had "transformed the political contours of Los Angeles and its school district," causing heightened racial tension and thus heightened desire for change among Black youth.[89] Young activists acknowledged that newfound "racial pride" derived from the riots motivated their efforts,[90] which further demonstrates the intensified racial

[80] Jacobs, "The Watts Uprisings," 54.
[81] Murch, "The Many Meanings of Watts," 37.
[82] Sides, "Black Community Transformation," 170.
[83] Bruce M. Tyler, "The Rise and Decline of the Watts Summer Festival, 1965 to 1986," *American Studies* 31, no. 2 (1990), 62.
[84] Tyler, "The Rise and Decline," 73.
[85] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 77.
[86] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 82.
[87] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 85.
[88] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 79.
[89] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 79.
[90] Kafka, "Struggle for Control," 83.

divides in Los Angeles after the rebellion. At Californian universities, similar Black pride movements took shape. African American students from Los Angles founded the Black Student Union (BSU) at Stanford University in 1967. At a 1968 public forum at Stanford, BSU members interrupted the university president's speech, seized the microphone and assumed control over the remainder of the event to share a list of proposed improvements for the institution.[91] The suggested improvements were focused on better welcoming African Americans to Stanford, and included the hiring of more Black staff and faculty and the foundation of a Black Studies department.[92] Another noteworthy example of Black youth activism in universities after the riots was the San Francisco University student takeover in the 1968/69 academic year.[93] Increasing racial pride and activist mobilization among African American youth after the Watts uprising gave them a stronger sense of racial identity, which further distanced Black youth from white culture and thus contributed to the increasing racial divides of the post-riot era.

After the Watts Rebellion, some efforts were made on both private and public levels to decrease poverty and discrimination in the African American community. Ultimately, though, these efforts failed and only further exposed and increased Blacks' cultural, political and economic separation from whites. War on Poverty programs that were implemented in Watts did very little to increase prosperity and employment in the neighbourhood;[94] in 1967, two years after the riot, 42% of male Watts residents were still unemployed. A mere few hundred jobs were made available as a result of public War on Poverty programs in Watts, which were not nearly enough to substantially improve economic conditions.[95] Public and private employment and job training programs were "doomed to fail" due to their failure to address and solve the systematic discrimination against Blacks in the workforce.[96] Instead of improving conditions in Watts, these unsuccessful programs brewed disillusionment and resentment towards white power structures. This resentment further distanced the Black community from white Los Angeles.

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[91] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 130.
[92] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 131.
[93] Sojoyner, *First Strike*, 132.
[94] Tyler, "The Rise and Decline," 65.
[95] Donald Wheeldin, "The Situation in Watts Toda," *Freedomways* 9, no. 4, (Jan. 1969), 55.
[96] Wheeldin, "The Situation in Watts Today," 57.

The Watts Rebellion of 1965 led to heightened racial divides between Black and white Los Angeles residents, and children directly experienced this intensified segregation. The Black community of Watts and the white community of greater Los Angeles grew apart in the late sixties due to increased police power, a surge in white conservatism, discriminatory mainstream press coverage, the rise of Black pride and the failure of anti-poverty programs. The Black youth of Watts were thus forced to endure an increasingly divisive culture in which their schools, activism efforts and future outlooks were shaped and defined by racial divides.

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The Purity Flour Cookbook: An Example of Women's Resilience in Wartime Canada

Cassandra Burbine

There is a major precedent for studying recipe books as historical documents. In her article "Irish Manuscript Recipe Books as Sources for the Study of Culinary Material Culture," Madeline Shanahan explains that recipe books can inform researchers about "people's changing relationships with goods, and an emerging consumer identity."[1] For Shanahan, by understanding people's relationship with food, we can further explore their relationships with economics, art, and their loved ones. In other words, food is foundational to the world we build and inhabit. By applying this logic to recipe books from the twentieth century, we can gain a better understanding of the major political and societal changes that took place. In particular, these methods of thinking can allow us to think about the people who owned those objects, and learn about the stories hidden within them. I will be approaching my analysis with these ideas of socioeconomics and culture in mind, considering how recipe books hold a special kind of materiality.

In this essay, I will argue that recipe books can be understood as legitimate historical sources, both through their written information and materiality as physical objects. I will do this by examining two specific copies of Purity Flour Cookbooks, instructional recipe guides that were at the height of their popularity in the mid twentieth-century. Discussing the history of Purity Flour as a brand and its foundations in the wheat boom, the synthetic flour debate, and overall Canadian identity will contextualize the cookbooks themselves. This will then allow me to study a cookbook from about 1930 in relation to the Great Depression, exploring how it affected the production of food and Canadian cuisine. Expanding this analysis, I will turn to a copy of the 1945 edition, explaining the significance of food rationing during the Second World War. Considering all of this information in relation to the biography of the 1945 cookbook will unveil a story of resilience showcased through a maternal line of women from small-town Nova Scotia.

[1] Madeline Shanahan. "'Whipt with a Twig Rod': Irish Manuscript Recipe Books as Sources for the Study of Culinary Material Culture, c. 1660 to 1830," in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 115C (2015), 197.

Methodology

In *Visual Methodologies*, Rose outlines the basic concepts surrounding the "social lives of objects," followed by the materiality and subsequent observability of her objects.[2] She breaks these main ideas down further through the analysis of specific objects. Rose approaches her writing with the idea that material objects gain meaning and history with each new owner or creator.[3] By doing so, she introduces the idea that people's lives influence and revolve around the objects they engage with. Building off this approach, I will also consider Kopytoff's conception of the biographical approach. He outlines this idea in his chapter of Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Lives of Things*. For Kopytoff, objects can be studied through their own biography, representing a relationship between the object, its owner(s), and commodification.[4]

Likewise, Gvion's ideas concerning the intersections between poverty and cuisine are useful in exploring the Purity Flour Cookbooks. In her article, *Cuisines of Poverty as Means of Empowerment: Arab Food in Israel*, Gvion explains that "[cuisines] of poverty constitute gender-based domestic stocks of knowledge."[5] Although these structures and traditions change culture to culture, poverty cuisines are most often based around women's unpaid time and labour. Gvion goes on further to explain that food that rises out of poverty is intrinsically linked to power, culture, and identity.[6] These elements all work together to form ideas, emotions, and memories that are born out of this poverty. There is empowerment, then, in the foods that people of lower socioeconomic backgrounds can create and can also serve as a sign of resilience. Although Gvion's article mainly discusses contemporary Palestine and the dynamics of that specific nation, her mode of thinking can be applied to wartime cuisines. Following Gvion's logic we can recontextualize Canadian wartime recipes as proof of women's resilience. Overall, I will be combining these three methods, studying the lives of the objects I draw on through the experiences of the women who owned them, and using their socioeconomic situations as backdrops for the entire discussion.

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[2] Gillian Rose, "An Anthropological Approach," *Visual Methodologies* (2001): 217.
[3] Rose, "An Anthropological Approach," 224-226.
[4] Igor Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commodification as process" in *The Social Lives of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 67-68.
[5] Liora Gvion, "Cuisines of Poverty as Means of Empowerment: Arab Food in Israel," *Agriculture and Human Values* 23, no. 3 (2006), 299-312.
[6] Gvion, "Cuisines of Poverty," 299-312.

Purity Flour as a Brand

The two cookbooks I will be studying are two different editions of the *Purity Flour Cookbook*. The first, printed sometime around 1930, is coverless. The pages are tattered and frayed, browning along the edges. A few central pages are slowly disintegrating, and the entire book is heavy with age (fig. 1). The book's introductory pages have also been lost to time, and as

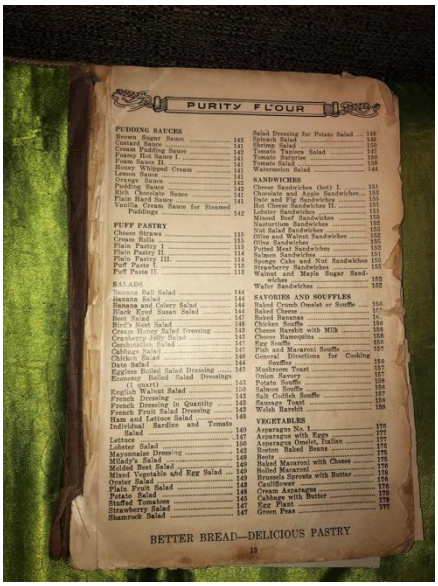

Figure 1

such, it begins with the middle of the table of contents, the first recipe listed on page 142. The illustrations of the book, however, remain vibrant and colourful, standing starkly against the aged parchment. The second book, printed in 1945, has a dark burgundy cover with a

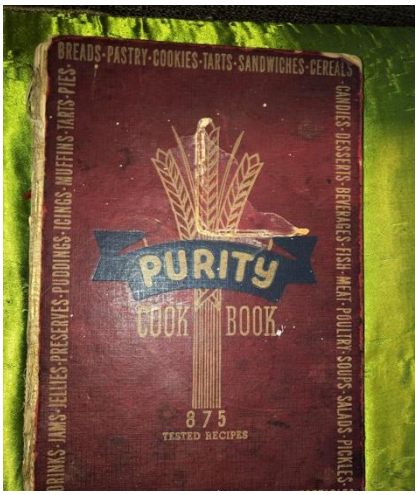

Figure 2

minimalist illustration of wheat (fig. 2). It reads "Purity Flour Cookbook; 875 Tested Recipes," with each section title of the book used as a border. Its pages are tattered but not nearly as frayed as the earlier edition, and it includes an introduction, conversion and temperature charts, as well as an early version of the Canadian Food Guide.

Likewise, there are tables in the back of the book outlining how to properly can and preserve a variety of ingredients and diagrams of livestock explaining each cut of meat. The book serves as a how-to guide for housewives, new and old, grounded in cooking techniques and styles that benefited those just coming out of the Second World War. Nearly every recipe includes one key ingredient — Canadian Purity Flour. Flour became tied to Canadian identity when the wheat industry began to expand significantly around 1890. This was the result of a wave of immigration from Eastern-European countries, such as Ukraine and Germany, to the Canadian Prairies.[7] These settlers farmed the land, and the economic growth associated with this period became known as "Canada's wheat boom," which lasted from about 1890 to 1910.[8] The combination of product, income, and settler culture worked to form a new aspect of Canadian identity.[9] This Prairie-settler identity viewed the landscapes of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta as tameable in terms of economic growth and geographic expansion, and worked as an inherently anti-Indigenous mindset to inspire a capitalist culture which led to the mass production of flour in Canada.

Purity Flour originated in Manitoba in 1905 during the "wheat boom."[10] The brand grew out of the organization known as Western Canada Flour Mills and later amalgamated with other milling companies into what is now called Maple Leaf Foods.[11] Western Canada Flour Mills branded their product as Purity Flour Mills in order to communicate the idea of a "pure" and "untouched" product with their customers.[12] Purity Flour Mills, unsurprisingly, mainly functioned as a flour milling and processing plant, but grew their corporation to include the manufacturing of recipe books.[13] This move allowed them to advertise their product in a

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[7] Gordon W. Bertram, "The Relevance of the Wheat Boom in Canadian Economic Growth," *The Canadian Journal of Economics / Revue Canadienne d'Economique* 6, no. 4 (1973), 552.
[8] Tony Ward, "The Origins of the Canadian Wheat Boom, 1880-1910," *The Canadian Journal of Economics / Revue Canadienne d'Economique* 27, no. 4 (1994), 867.
[9] Nathan Smith "Labour Pains: Thunder Bay's Working Class in Canada's Wheat Boom Era (review)," *The Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (2011), 560.
[10] "Purity Flour Cook Book," University of Guelph, accessed November 28, 2021.
[11] Murray Peterson, "Historic Sites of Manitoba."
[12] Brian Payne, "Nature's Bread: The Natural Food Debate in Canada, 1940–1949," in *Agricultural History* 93, no. 4 (Fall, 2019), 615.
[13] "Purity Flour Cook Book," University of Guelph.

truly intimate way, bringing the company into the homes of thousands across the country. As the pressure for housewives to provide top-notch ingredients and nutrition for their families grew, so too did the product's popularity.[14]

Beginning in the 1920s with the discovery of vitamins in food, there was a cultural shift, particularly in the United States and Canada, in favour of "whole foods" like grains and vegetables.[15] Food insecurity became more apparent because of the Great Depression, and worsened leading into the Second World War. The drive for the wealthy and working classes to provide not only food, but "whole" and "healthy" food strengthened the divide between them.[16] Bread was seen as the "material and symbolic value as the principal foodstuff of the masses,"[17] it held significance as a unifying force, and as a cultural symbol of wealth, health, and happiness. In this way, flour was the thing that brought the lower and upper classes together, but also the thing that ripped them apart.

Since much of the bread that was produced in the wake of the Great Depression had few vitamins and held little nutritional value, Canadian flour companies sought to combat this by showcasing their flour's naturality and "purity."[18] By moving away from synthetic vitamins and minerals, Canadian flour milling companies created both a sense of national pride during these troubled times, as well as a sense of panic. Families, and especially housewives, struggled while attempting to get the best flour and products for their families as a way to support the economy and later the war effort.[19] Most of the Purity Flour Cookbooks were not purchased in store, and had to be requested for in the mail. The copy from the 1930s includes a coupon section to exchange with friends, encouraging women to send away for a copy with thirty cents in the mail. Other women were able to exchange tabs of flour for a copy of the book, as proof that they were a deserving and loyal Purity Flour customer. This sales technique furthered the sense of pride the Canadian government was trying to foster, and clearly shows that Purity Flour was selling much more than cookbooks — they were selling patriotism.

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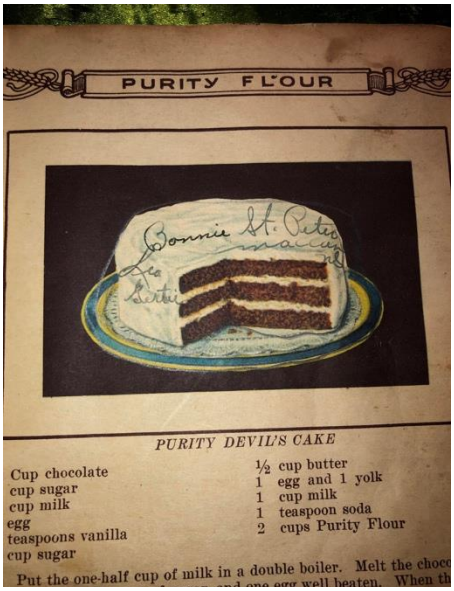
[14] Eric Strikwerda, "Canada Needs All Our Food-Power," *Industrial Nutrition in Canada, 1941–1948*, *Labour / Le Travail* 83 (2019), 20.
[15] Glenville Jones, "The Discovery and Synthesis of the Nutritional Factor Vitamin D," *International Journal of Paleopathology* (2018), 96-99.
[16] Payne, "Nature's Bread," 608.
[17] Payne, "Nature's Bread," 608.
[18] Payne, "Nature's Bread," 618.
[19] Ian Mosby, "Radical Housewives: Price Wars & Food Politics in Mid-Twentieth Century Canada by Julie Guard (review)," *Labour / Le Travail* 86 (2020), 202.

Food in the Great Depression

The Great Depression greatly affected Canadians across the country, with one in five relying on government relief for survival.[20] The reason I speculate that the cookbook without a cover is from these trying times is largely due to its recipes. The majority of the baking section includes cookies, cakes, and other treats that substitute lard for the more expensive products like butter or milk. An excellent example of this is the recipe for "Johnny Cake," which calls for "lard or butter" as well as "sour milk." Many of the recipes that do include butter often have very little or have it as an optional component. This points to times of economic hardship and the adaptability of housewives during those times.[21] Likewise, this speculation aligns with the family history surrounding the book. The coverless book belonged to a woman named Gertrude "Gertie" St. Peter from Maccan, Nova Scotia. Her only daughter, Bonnie, was born in 1926.[22] There's evidence throughout the book of a small child tracing each illustration with pencil, as if practicing shapes. Likewise, the names "Bonnie," "Leo," and "Gertie" are written in scrawling handwriting, the kind of script you would expect from a small child learning cursive (fig. 3). Bonnie would have been learning to write around 1931 or 1932,[23] and if the


PURITY FLOUR

PURITY DEVIL'S CAKE

Cup chocolate
cup sugar
cup milk
egg
teaspoons vanilla
cup sugar

½ cup butter
1 egg and 1 yolk
1 cup milk
1 teaspoon soda
2 cups Purity Flour

Put the one-half cup of milk in a double boiler. Melt the choco

Figure 3

[20] James Struthers, *Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983).
[21] Julie Guard, "A Mighty Power against the Cost of Living: Canadian Housewives Organize in the 1930s," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 77 (2010), 27.
[22] Trudy St. Peter-Burbine (Alma Hurley's daughter) in conversation with author, November 2021.
[23] St. Peter-Burbine.

book was relatively new, as the recipes suggest, this would place its publication around 1930.

The fact that this book was possibly printed, and if not printed, then heavily used throughout The Great Depression, situates it in a very precarious moment in Canadian history. It is clear from the tattered edges, stained pages, and lack of cover that the book was used by Gertie, possibly Bonnie later in her life, and passed on to granddaughters. There's a sense of use from this object that cannot help but remind you of its origins. The handwritten recipes alongside the printed ones suggest a reforming of ingredients to make them more accessible depending on one's economic situation. These handwritten recipes intermingling with printed ones hint at that reality, pointing to housewives' adaptability that was becoming more and more relevant in everyday life.

World War II Rationing and Food Propaganda

The 1945 edition that we will be focusing on is *Purity Flour Cookbook: 875 Tested Recipes*, which is the revised second edition printed in 1945. This edition, released towards the end of the war, offers an even greater focus on flour, as it was no longer being rationed in most parts of the country.[24] It is a rewrite of the 1932 and 1937 editions, edited and reorganized by Mrs. Kathleen M. Watson. She did this work after graduating from the University of Manitoba with a degree in Home Economics.[25] The introduction to the book notes that "despite food shortages, [Watson] has personally tested and carefully selected all recipes,"[26] contextualizing the direct aftermath of the Second World War. This introduction offers a glimpse into the daily lives of average Canadian women immediately following the war. Not only does it communicate the food that they were eating and feeding their families, but it can also tell us about the social and emotional ties to that food.

During the Second World War, food and supply rationing was implemented in several countries to allow for shortages and the redistribution of materials; the Canadian government introduced ration coupons in 1942. Gasoline was the first item to be rationed, shortly followed by sugar, coffee, tea, butter, and meat.[27] Rationing was a great source of tension among many

[24]Robert S. Goodhart and L. B Pett, "The War-Time Nutrition Programs for Workers in the United States and Canada," *The Milbank Memorial Fund* (1945), 161.
[25] Kathleen M. Watson, *Purity Flour Cookbook: 875 Tested Recipes* (Toronto, Purity Flour Mills, 1945), 3.
[26] Watson, *Purity Flour Cookbook*, 3.
[27] "Second World War Discovery Box," Canadian War Museum, (accessed November 28, 2021).

families and added to the sense of anxiety and responsibility among housewives that were left to manage households.[28] For many, it felt like the country was on their shoulders. In order to purchase the items their families needed to survive, people would hand over rationing coupons to be allowed the essential items listed above.[29] We can see the effects of rationing by comparing recipes like "Angel Food" and "Mock Angel Cake." Where the recipe for Angel Food includes an entire cup of egg whites, the mock version only requires two, or about a third of a cup.

Towards the end of the war, rationing ended for coffee, tea, and meat, but remained for other essential items. From 1945 to 1947, rationing of certain meats was reintroduced.[30] This is an example of the long-lasting effects of the war and suggests that those effects forever changed certain family traditions and recipes. There are several handwritten recipes throughout the book that highlight this phenomenon, some of which are from long after the war ended, but still include rationing of certain items. One such example is a recipe for "molasses sugar cookies" which only calls for one egg despite needing four cups of flour (fig. 4).

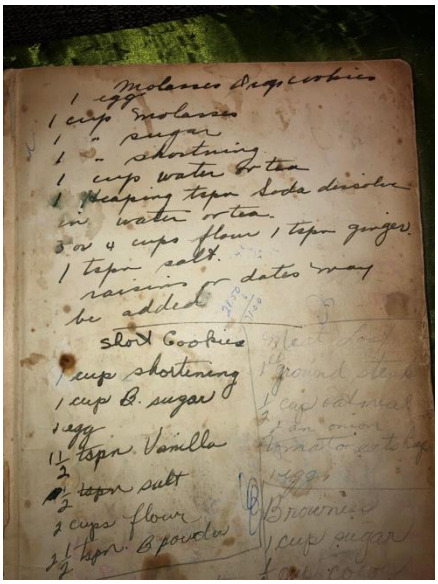


Figure 4

[28] Irina D. Mihalache, "Tuna Noodle Casserole is Tasty? The Information Network of Recipes," *Library Trends* 66, no. 4 (2018), 474.
[29] Ian Mosby, *Food Will Win The War* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2014), 7-8.
[30] Donna Gabaccia, "Food Will Win The War," *Canadian Historical Review* (University of Toronto, 2015), 622.

Food propaganda was a huge part of the Canadian government's attempts to unify the nation through nutrition. Canada had made significant promises to Great Britain, saying they would export mass amounts of cheese, evaporated milk, flour, and grains, among other household staples.[31] Before rationing programs were implemented, the government began pushing for Canadians to purchase surplus items and branded them as patriotic. This was done in the hope that Canadians would then eat less of the items that Britain needed. Among the first foods to be targeted as "proudly Canadian" were apples, which were marketed with sayings such as "[serve] apples daily and you'll serve your country too."[32] Advertisements became more aggressive as the war went on, and every household became all too familiar with the idea of food as "a weapon of war."[33] Although the majority of Canadians responded enthusiastically to these calls to action, it was no doubt a time of immense stress.

The push to purchase the "right" kinds of foods and ingredients to feed your family was largely effective because of peer pressure. The idea was that everyone was taking part in this responsible consumerism as a collective, and so people did not want to let their communities down. Likewise, the government pushed for housewives to be inventive and stingy in the kitchen. The Department of National War Services advertised for women to save certain scraps which could be recycled into war materials.[34] Throughout the war, the Winnipeg Patriotic Salvage Corps division alone collected 900 000 pounds of fat and bones from housewives and cooks across the city and outer communities.[35] All of these working parts and influences greatly shaped how women ran their kitchens during the war. We can see these themes of adaptability and perseverance between the lines of the Purity Flour Cookbooks we have been considering.

Putting It All Together

The 1945 cookbook belonged to a woman named Mary Hurley, and it serves as an interesting case study for the culmination of the information discussed above. Mary (née Allen) Hurley was born in 1908 to Ida and Bert Allen.[36] She grew up in St. Andrews, New Brunswick and

[31] E.C Hope, "Canada's Contribution to the War Food Supply," *Journal of ASFMRA* 8, no. 1, (1944), 10-11.
[32] "Second World War Discovery Box."
[33] "Second World War Discovery Box."
[34] James Whalen, "The Scrap that Made a Difference" (1998).
[35] Whalen, "The Scrap that Made a Difference."
[36] Certificate of Marriage, Gardener Sylvanius Hurley to Amanda Mary Allen, 18 December 1929, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Digital Copy.

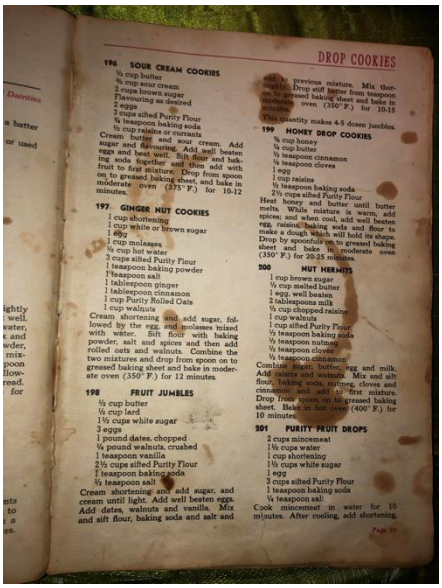
mainly spoke Acadian French until she was in her teens, when she properly learned English.[37] She married a man named Gardner Hurley in 1930, and they had five children together: Alma "Tis" born in 1931, Gardner "Bud" Jr. born in 1932, Anna born in 1934; Inez was born in 1936, and, Gary in 1943.[38] While Gardner Sr. worked as a labourer in Maccan, doing odd jobs and tending to farm animals, Mary stayed at home. Shortly following the war, while raising her children, Mary built a small shack across the road from her house on land that belonged to the Canadian National Railway. She sold convenience-style items and contraband that would fall off cargo trains as they flew by her house.[39] The money she earned doing this and her incredibly savvy shopping and crafty projects were just enough to supplement Gardner Sr.'s income to make sure the family never went without.

Purity Flour was a huge part of the family's everyday life. Mary bought as much as the family was allotted during times of rationing, and plenty more once they were allowed to buy in bulk again. She used the flour to make cakes, sweets, and of course, bread.[40] Mary used every last bit of every bag of flour, and even turned the leftover flour bags into dresses for her three daughters. Anecdotally, her family remembers her baking bread every day.[41] Based on the tattered edges of the "How to Bake Bread" pages, this is very likely correct.

After Mary died from an aneurysm in 1967, Alma inherited the book. Alma was married to James "Jim" St. Peter in 1949. Alma and Jim had three children: Bruce in 1950, Laurie in 1952, and Trudy in 1971.[42] Where her mother had the book for about twenty-five years, Alma had it for over forty. She covered nearly every inch of it in handwritten recipes, added pages from other magazines, and notes from friends. Alma was known for being uncannily like her mother—stubborn, resourceful, and an expert bread-maker. She was also a proud supporter of Purity Flour and frequently baked with the product.[43] She was, however, not a housewife; Alma worked several jobs throughout her life. For a time, she was a labourer, a chocolate-maker, and finally, a florist. She loved creating and perfecting all that she created, as is evident from her precise handwriting and the number of times she visited her favourite

[37] Trudy St. Peter-Burbine in conversation with author, November 2021.
[38] St. Peter-Burbine.
[39] Laurie St. Peter (Alma Hurley's son), in conversation with author, November 2021.
[40] St. Peter-Burbine.
[41] St. Peter-Burbine.
[42] Trudy St. Peter-Burbine in conversation with author, November 2021.
[43] St. Peter-Burbine.

recipes. The cookies and cakes sections are coated in leftover cake batters and molasses from decades ago, stained in the shape of mixing bowls and measuring cups (fig. 5).



DROP COOKIES

196 SOUR CREAM COOKIES
½ cup butter
½ cup sour cream
2 cups brown sugar
Flavouring as desired
2 eggs
3 cups sifted Purity Flour
¾ teaspoon baking soda
½ cup raisins or currants
Cream butter and sour cream. Add sugar and flavouring. Add well beaten eggs and beat well. Sift flour and baking soda together and then add with fruit to first mixture. Drop from spoon on to greased baking sheet, and bake in moderate oven (375° F.) for 10-12 minutes.

197 GINGER NUT COOKIES
1 cup shortening
1 cup white or brown sugar
1 egg
1 cup molasses
½ cup hot water
3 cups sifted Purity Flour
1 teaspoon baking powder
1 teaspoon salt
1 tablespoon ginger
1 tablespoon cinnamon
1 cup Purity Rolled Oats
1 cup walnuts
Cream shortening and add sugar, followed by the egg, and molasses mixed with water. Sift flour with baking powder, salt and spices and then add rolled oats and walnuts. Combine the two mixtures and drop from spoon on to greased baking sheet and bake in moderate oven (350° F.) for 12 minutes.

198 FRUIT JUMBLES
½ cup butter
½ cup lard
1½ cups white sugar
2 eggs
1 pound dates, chopped
¼ pound walnuts, crushed
1 teaspoon vanilla
2½ cups sifted Purity Flour
1 teaspoon baking soda
½ teaspoon salt
Cream shortening and add sugar, and cream until light. Add well beaten eggs. Add dates, walnuts and vanilla. Mix and sift flour, baking soda and salt and add to previous mixture. Mix thoroughly. Drop stiff batter from teaspoon on to greased baking sheet and bake in moderate oven (350° F.) for 10-15 minutes.
This quantity makes 4-5 dozen jumbles.

199 HONEY DROP COOKIES
¾ cup honey
¼ cup butter
½ teaspoon cinnamon
¼ teaspoon cloves
1 egg
1 cup raisins
½ teaspoon baking soda
2½ cups sifted Purity Flour
Heat honey and butter until butter melts. While mixture is warm, add spices; and when cool, add well beaten egg, raisins, baking soda and flour to make a dough which will hold its shape. Drop by spoonfuls on to greased baking sheet and bake in moderate oven (350° F.) for 20-25 minutes.

200 NUT HERMITS
1 cup brown sugar
½ cup melted butter
1 egg, well beaten
2 tablespoons milk
½ cup chopped raisins
1 cup walnuts
1 cup sifted Purity Flour
½ teaspoon baking soda
½ teaspoon nutmeg
½ teaspoon cloves
½ teaspoon cinnamon
Combine sugar, butter, egg and milk. Add raisins and walnuts. Mix and sift flour, baking soda, nutmeg, cloves and cinnamon and add to first mixture. Drop from spoon on to greased baking sheet. Bake in hot oven (400° F.) for 10 minutes.

201 PURITY FRUIT DROPS
2 cups mincemeat
1½ cups water
1 cup shortening
1½ cups white sugar
1 egg
3 cups sifted Purity Flour
1 teaspoon baking soda
¼ teaspoon salt
Cook mincemeat in water for 10 minutes. After cooling, add shortening,

Figure 5

In many ways, Alma appears to have used the book as a sort of diary. In it, she kept unfinished grocery lists, recipes torn out of magazines and newspapers, and notes from friends. One of the most notable examples is an instructional list detailing how to make "pomander balls," referring to oranges, limes, lemons, or apples that have been inserted with cloves, coated in cinnamon, and then baked (fig. 6). This particular guide is written in another

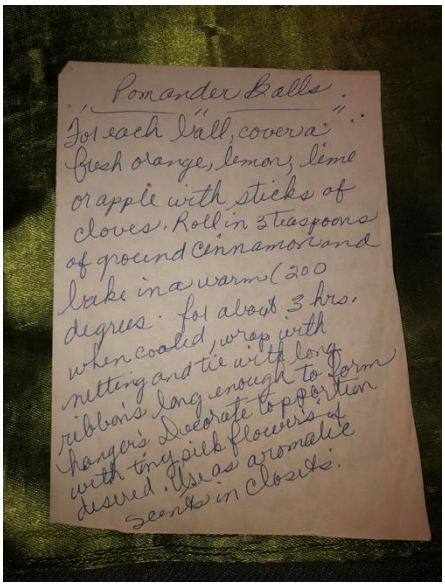


Figure 6

woman's handwriting and scribed on the back of a ripped United Church pamphlet. It is very possible that one of Alma's friends was trying to explain how to make them while the pair whispered in the back of the church, only to rip her booklet so she could write it down for her. It's a moment that points to the importance of women's friendship and shows that the act of sharing and creating was integral to the social lives of rural women in the 1970s and 80s. It points to an idea of shared pride and ownership in domesticity.

After Alma passed away due to cancer in 2001, her only daughter, Trudy, made sure she was the one who got the cookbook. She promptly stashed it away from her older brothers and took it to her home in the nearby community of River Hebert, NS. Here, she wrote many of her favourite recipes onto cards so she would be able to access them without risking damaging the book.[44] This allowed her to process the death of her mother while her newborn napped in an afghan Alma had made. The book's recipes live on for Trudy and are still actively used. However, the book itself normally rests in her closet in a Ziploc bag of other family cookbooks and recipes. She takes it out from time to time to double-check things, as evidenced by a package of active dry yeast that expired in 2009 that I found tucked in between the quick bread recipe sections. Trudy says she kept it there as a way to remember the conversion for one packet of yeast equalling two and a quarter teaspoons. In this way, she interacts with the book in similar ways that her mother did, using it to store memory aids to improve her baking.

[44] Trudy St. Peter-Burbine in conversation with author, November 2021.

Conclusion

Even though Trudy rarely takes the physical copy of the book out, its history and contents influence her everyday life. It serves as a reminder of her mother's cooking and is allowed to live on even in its tattered state, in the form of her recipe cards and memory. Although this raises interesting questions concerning the book's materiality and life as an object, I would argue its life is ongoing. So long as someone is engaging with its history in some way, the book lives on as a family heirloom. It contains a record of a very specific and fraught time in Canadian history and highlights the resilience and adaptability of the women who happily devoured each and every page. In some way, that history that it represents is captured in the recipes connected to it, whether they are recited from memory, written on a new card, or in their original form. Furthermore, the history in question represents much more than a nation at war. It serves as a case study for Canadian women's resilience, showcased through a maternal line. From mother to daughter, these women showcase the adaptability and drive the Canadian government pushed for with their food propaganda campaigns. They took food scarcity, poverty, and uncertainty, and turned it into a vibrant and distinct cultural practice.

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Misplaced Pride: British Anti-Slavery Rhetoric, Continental Contradictions, and the Livingstone, Burton, and Stanley Illustrations

Anna Gaudet

Throughout the nineteenth century, the continent of Africa saw an unprecedented amount of European influence and interaction. Economic activities across the continent fueled the rapid expansion and technological development of European nations, such as Great Britain. Missionaries crossed harsh terrains on cultural and religious campaigns, pushing European social norms of monogamy and Christianity. Elsewhere, political powers rose, and borders were redrawn as different countries scrambled for influence and control over nations. Throughout this era of fervent social interactions and cultural clashes, some Europeans began to take issue with the violence of the African continent, pointing to export slavery as its main catalyst and driver.[1] This sentiment gained popularity as the century progressed, eventually leading to a series of British-led emancipation campaigns. Starting with the abolishment of the oceanic slave trade in 1807, the legal use of slavery began to slowly decline under the British, eventually leading to the complete Emancipation Act of 1833, granting all slaves of the British Empire their freedom.[2] Consequently, Victorians maintained a strong moral aversion towards slavery of the African interior, even after the abolishing of slavery throughout the British Empire and its territories. As a result, abolitionists began to push for the termination of more than just foreign export-based slavery but called for continent-wide abolition. This new moral agenda was adopted by politicians, foreign explorers, and general members of society, leading to new social movements and interest-based group coalitions.[3] All of this raises an important question – why were the British still so concerned with African humanity and slavery?

This curious concept of how internal African abolition became such an important moral undertaking for the British is not a new concern for scholars of the period. By examining cultural history, Linda Colley has highlighted how transatlantic abolition heightened British superiority and self-satisfaction within European politics, pushing further calls for internal

[1] Hannah-Rose Murray, *Advocates of Freedom: African American Transatlantic Abolitionism in the British Isles* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 2. 9
[2] Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 8.
[3] Huzzey*, Freedom Burning,* 12.

abolition.[4] Hannah-Rose Murray has investigated how testimonies by formerly enslaved individuals developed into performances on the British stage, driving societal intrigue.[5] Others such as Richard Huzzey have leaned on the analysis of language in Victorian political speeches and publications to argue that anti-slavery became a political ideology of its own.[6] However, few have turned to contemporary illustrations to unpack anti-slavery sentiments in Victorian England and, more importantly, how these images drove abolition within the African interior.

Throughout the mid- to late nineteenth century, illustrations of African slavery began to penetrate the minds of influential Victorian decision-makers in Africa and back home. This process was driven by the sensationalized expeditions of famous explorers David Livingstone, Henry Stanley, and Richard Burton. Throughout their travels, these men produced a plethora of images capturing their encounters with slavery throughout the African continent. In combination with their written personal reflections, these primary sources serve as important clues in the plight to uncover how images influenced nineteenth century British abolition agendas and actions. Through analyzing these images and the social climate that contextualized their creation, the effectiveness of expedition illustrations as anti-slavery propaganda becomes evident.

To form this argument, it is useful to first chronicle the advent of abolition-oriented social movements in Great Britain and the ways in which nineteenth century ideas about African slavery influenced the production of propaganda campaigns, particularly the tensions between British and African concepts of slavery and? ownership. Next, a summary of the key expeditions by Livingstone, Stanley, and Burton will provide context on how expedition illustrations became so popular and thus influential. Finally, a visual analysis of multiple primary sources will be juxtaposed against the aforementioned arguments of prominent abolitionist scholars. Ultimately, this synthesis will demonstrate that visual culture created by mid to late nineteenth century British explorers served as effective propaganda for internal abolition in Africa given the contemporary pride in British emancipation efforts, the celebrity of Livingstone, Stanley, and Burton, as well as the artists use of compositional devices to depict slavery as perpetrated and perpetuated by Africans themselves.

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[4] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 8.
[5] Murray, *Advocates of Freedom*, 82.
[6] Richard Huzzey, "The Slave Trade and Victorian Humanity," *Victorian Review* 40, no.1 (2014): 43.

British Abolition – Chronology and Social Movements

> *"Slavery was a sin. From that sin we have cleansed ourselves. But the mere fact of doing so has not freed us from our difficulties. Nor was it to be expected that it should. The discontinuance of sin is always the commencement of a struggle."*[7]

By the mid-nineteenth century, slavery had been abolished within the British empire, yet enthusiasm for foreign anti-slavery campaigns did not subside in Victorian England.[8] Scholars such as Richard Huzzey have argued that anti-slavery sentiment was embedded in Victorian culture by the end of the century[9]. Thus, looking at this social consciousness of British Victorian society is important to understand the resulting on the ground campaigns and legal actions against slavery within Africa. Similarly, understanding how this British understanding varied from the African actualities of abolition is also useful when looking at propaganda. To holistically capture the possible motivations behind foreign anti-slavery movements in Great Britain, a historiography of this sentiment, the most prominent activist groups, and their most successful campaigns are discussed and compared to the contemporary actualities of slavery within the continent.

Prior to early abolition efforts of the nineteenth century, there was an existing social affinity for abolition within the British Empire, however, these efforts failed to coalesce or form a common agenda.[10] Indeed, as coined by Huzzey, it was "the era of anti-slavery pluralism,"[11] during which many Brits had difficulty agreeing on how best to implement their shared moral ideology through the legislature. Leading into the 1820s, groups started to get together and discuss their various opinions, methods, and ideas about how slavery ought to be abolished.[12] Campaigners began to further divide themselves as politics entered the equation, pushing the conversation beyond shared moral ideology. One of the earliest examples of coalescence was the 1823 formation of The Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions.[13] The group was an integral force in driving the Emancipation Act of 1833 but seemed to dissolve following this success.[14] However, scholars such as Huzzey argue that by the 1830s, the anti-slavery movement in Great

[7] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 18.
[8] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 5.
[9] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 6.
[10] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 9.
[11] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 7.
[12] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 7.
[13] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 10.
[14] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 12.

Britain had become more than just a self-centered moral agenda – it was now a shared political ideology.[15] As a result, the group decided to regroup and reorganize their efforts by taking on foreign abolition campaigns. The successor organization, the British Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS), was founded in 1839 and was a major driver in the push for continent-wide emancipation in Africa.[16] This new society was particularly frustrated with parliamentary delays in taking action against attacking foreign slavery.[17] While BFASS failed to have any true impact on the ground in Africa, its ability to provide the British government with information about foreign slavery remained influential. Other groups lobbying for the foreign abolitionist agenda were also active during this period, including the Anti-Slavery Society of 1832 and the British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade of 1834.[18] It is important to mention these groups, given their role in pushing Victorian Great Britain towards the nation that contemporary Western press called "the leading anti-slavery nation of the world."[19] This idea is also important to keep in mind when analyzing visual culture of the period. The ways in which the British saw themselves in relation to African slavery is a common theme within the pieces to be examined. These popular movements show that British pride in emancipation clearly penetrated the minds of many individuals beyond politicians and legislators. To that end, some remaining questions arise. What external factors were motivating the formation of this political agenda apart from moral convictions? Was Great Britain really achieving the foreign anti-slavery successes they were congratulating themselves for? In the case of African slavery, many have argued that British abolitionism efforts did more harm than good.

Inspired by the work of BFASS and other societies, the British campaign to emancipate all of Africa took off at different moments across time and place. Evidently, abolishing slavery across an entire continent took an immense amount of effort and dedication on the part of colonial powers. Even more important however, is the fact that British pride in the success of African abolitionism was widely misplaced as early as 1807 when the Atlantic Slave Trade was abolished. This argument, as made by several scholars such as Gordon and Adu-Boahen. By tracing the histories of various countries and regions, these authors have

[15] Huzzey, *The Slave Trade and Victorian Humanity*, 43.
[16] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 9.
[17] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 10.
[18] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 10.
[19] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 20.

demonstrated that British political and commercial activity upheld and intensified African slavery long after even the earliest abolition attempts. The majority of this chaos was caused by the pivot in British trade towards what were deemed more "legitimate goods" for exchange and export.[20] Legitimate goods were considered to be physical material items such as ivory, beeswax, rubber or foodstuff, with the intensification of these industries often intended to replace economic activity associated with the maritime slave trade.[21] The growing demand for legitimate goods in Europe would, in turn, intensify African slavery due to labour demands. This contemporary consciousness was succinctly summarized by Brantlinger: "In the past, Africans had learned to trade in human lives; in the future, they must learn to produce something other than slaves."[22] For the case of the South-Central African Interior, Gordon has supported this claim by illustrating how the abolition of the coastal slave trade perpetuated indebtedness and the exchange of human beings, causing slavery to paradoxically skyrocket in the continent's interior.[23]

A West Coast focus was adopted by Adu-Boahen, who presented British abolitionist expectations as quite disparate from their reality, notably in terms of how conspicuously women began to acquire slaves throughout the mid-nineteenth century.[24] It should be noted that some of these negative effects were the result of multiple colonial powers imposing their cultural or economic influence, not just the British. However, given the popular abolitionist campaign adopted by the British both before and after their withdrawal from the maritime slave trade, their actions are most important to examine when looking at their imagery of slavery as expressed through expedition propaganda. When combined, the influence of British abolition politics and commercial trade played a significant role in perpetuating the growth of subsistence household slavery and resource extraction-based slavery within Africa. As a result, slaves became more commercialized as merchandise and profitable as multifunctional assets. Auxiliary effects of abolition also increased slave labour, including heightened political uncertainty leading to state dissolution and warlord violence due to the availability and

[20] David M. Gordon, "The Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Transformation of the South-Central African Interior during the Nineteenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (2009): 920.
[21] Gordon, *The Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 920.
[22] Patrick Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (1985): 166.
[23] Gordon, *The Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 915–17.
[24] Kwabena Adu-Boahen, "Abolition, Economic Transition, Gender and Slavery: The Expansion of Women's Slaveholding in Ghana, 1807-1874," *A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 31, no.1 (2010): 117-119.

necessity of guns.[25] In turn, this demonstrates how African governments and societies were highly intelligent entities, moving in tandem with regional and global commerce as opposed to archaic tribes stuck in the past, and trapped in tradition. In conclusion, British abolitionists failed to recognize the shortfalls of their progress made within the continent of Africa during the nineteenth century. This period also saw a huge association of abolitionism with British nationalism, as demonstrated by the formation of foreign anti-slavery societies. After reviewing the actualities of internal African slavery, the British pride in their abolitionist agenda is contradictory. However, the formation of this cultural ideology was not dependent on the accounts and stories of colonial administrators actually stationed with the country. Other external influences had a greater effect on the formation of foreign anti-slavery rhetoric, notably the ingestion of contemporary media, depicting sensationalized encounters with the African continent.

In the decades leading up to the famous British expeditions and their images, scholars have identified that the most consumed media about Africa can be considered anti-slavery propaganda.[26] This popular media, often in the form of books, art, poetry, and performance, would have been accessible to various individuals across social classes, highlighting the dominant themes in entertainment of the time.[27] The nature of this propaganda can be characterized according to two separate periods of art and literary history that overlapped with the famous expeditions of Livingstone et al.: the Romantic and Victorian movements. On one hand, Victorian visual manifestations of African slavery were often extremely intense and graphic, painting both the oceanic slave trade and internalized slavery as barbarically inhuman.[28] Sensationalized news articles and novels depicting African cannibals and savages with sawed-down teeth also circulated to the masses, shocking Victorians.[29] On the other hand, romantic poems such as those by William Wordsworth and William Blake were more idyllic and played on archetypes such as the "noble savage," painting Africans as innocent and naïve tribesmen.[30] Both of these motifs changed after the end of the American Civil War in 1865. Once slavery was abolished in North America, exploitation of black bodies was

[25] Gordon, *The Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 917.
[26] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 166.
[27] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 170.
[28] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 170.
[29] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*,175.
[30] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 170.

considered to be isolated to Africa.[31] Literature or images depicting slavery soon became synonymous with that depicting Africa, leading the British public to soon view all portrayals of slavery as "a direct extension of African savagery."[32] This great overhaul in popular consciousness and opinion towards African slavery from 1820 leading into the period after 1865 would greatly influence how expedition imagery was interpreted and used as propaganda.

Livingstone, Stanley, and Burton

> *"The name of Livingstone was sufficient to attract an assembly larger than any room in London could hold"*[33]

Over the course of the 1850s, a series of expeditions by well-known explorers led to a great public interest in the continent and its culture.[34] David Livingstone is known as one of the most popular explorers of the Victorian period, and perhaps of all time. After joining the London Missionary Society in 1838, Livingstone became fascinated with the prospects of travelling abroad, and eventually ended up in South Africa in 1841.[35] He would go on to live in various regions across the continent over the course of nearly twenty-three years, journeying upwards into the central African interior.[36] Notably, Livingstone's 1852 expedition from South Africa up to the Zambezi River was a momentous undertaking, earning him the acclaim of being the first European explorer to accomplish a transcontinental exploration of Africa and the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society.[37] His celebrity became truly apparent following his return to Britain in 1856, upon which he was prompted to publish a book documenting his travel.[38] Enthusiastic to carry on the great tradition of missionary writing, Livingstone published *Missionary Travels* in 1857.[39] The book was a sensation, and the dozens of illustrations of the continent provided Victorians with a seldom-seen glimpse of the African interior. Notably, Livingstone documented the persistence of slavery within the continent, as seen in images such as *Gang of captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette* (Figure 1). As will be

[31] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 175.
[32] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 175.
[33] John M. Mackenzie, "David Livingstone – Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myths and Misconceptions," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129, no. 3 (2013): 278.
[34] Brantlinger, *Victorians and Africans*, 175.
[35] Justin D. Livingstone, "Livingstone's Life and Expeditions," Adrian S. Wisnicki and Megan Wards, eds. *Livingstone Online: University of Maryland Libraries*, (2015): 2.
[36] Livingstone, *Livingstone's Life and Expeditions*, 2.
[37] Livingstone, *Livingstone's Life and Expeditions*, 3.
[38] Livingstone, *Livingstone's Life and Expeditions*, 3.
[39] Livingstone, *Livingstone's Life and Expeditions*, 3.

discussed further, these images would serve as both reflections and modifications of contemporary British abolitionist rhetoric.

Popular explorer Sir Richard Burton would also go on to become a notable purveyor of interpretations of African slavery through the dissemination of expedition illustrations throughout the 1850s and 1860s. Burton began his first expedition in Eastern Africa, near Somalia, in 1854.[40] He would explore the Great Lakes of Central Africa, continuing the trend among European explorers of finding the source of the Nile River.[41] Burton would publish his own sensationalized piece of literature, titled *Lake Regions of Equatorial Africa* in 1860, three years after Victorians got an appetite for adventure from Livingstone.[42] This piece of literature was also rich in illustrations, including those of slavery within the continent. A decade later, in 1871, explorer Henry Morton Stanley travelled to the country of Zanzibar, famously meeting up with Livingstone in Tanzania to continue exploring the Nile River.[43] Stanley would continue the work of Burton on mapping and documenting the Great Lakes and also publish a series of books chronicling his travels.[44] Notably, *How I Found Livingstone,* and *Through the Dark Continent* both reflect his attitudes towards African people (and slavery) through illustrations and literary descriptions. Considering the Victorian social consciousness towards African slavery, examining these images as anti-slavery propaganda is a compelling undertaking.

Visual Analysis and Final Discussion

This paper examines three illustrations from the infamous expeditions of Livingstone, Burton, and Stanley for their content and composition as a key aspect of this analysis. These observations will then be supported by introducing secondary images, excerpts from their respective travelogues, and comments by scholars of British foreign abolition. The synthesis of the elements produces a more complete picture of how expedition illustrations were critical pieces of abolitionist propaganda, reflecting anti-slavery rhetoric in Europe, and contradicting the realities of slavery's decline in the continent.

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[40] Baker, J.N.L, "Sir Richard Burton and the Nile Sources," *The English Historical Review* 59, no. 233, (1944): 49.
[41] Baker, *Sir Richard Burton and the Nile Sources*, 49.
[42] Baker, *Sir Richard Burton and the Nile Sources*, 51.
[43] Felix Driver, "Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire," *Past & Present*, no. 133 (1991): 134.
[44] Driver, *Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics*, 134.

To begin, Livingstone's 1857 book *Missionary Travels* served as a catalyst for the export of African slavery illustrations back to Europe.

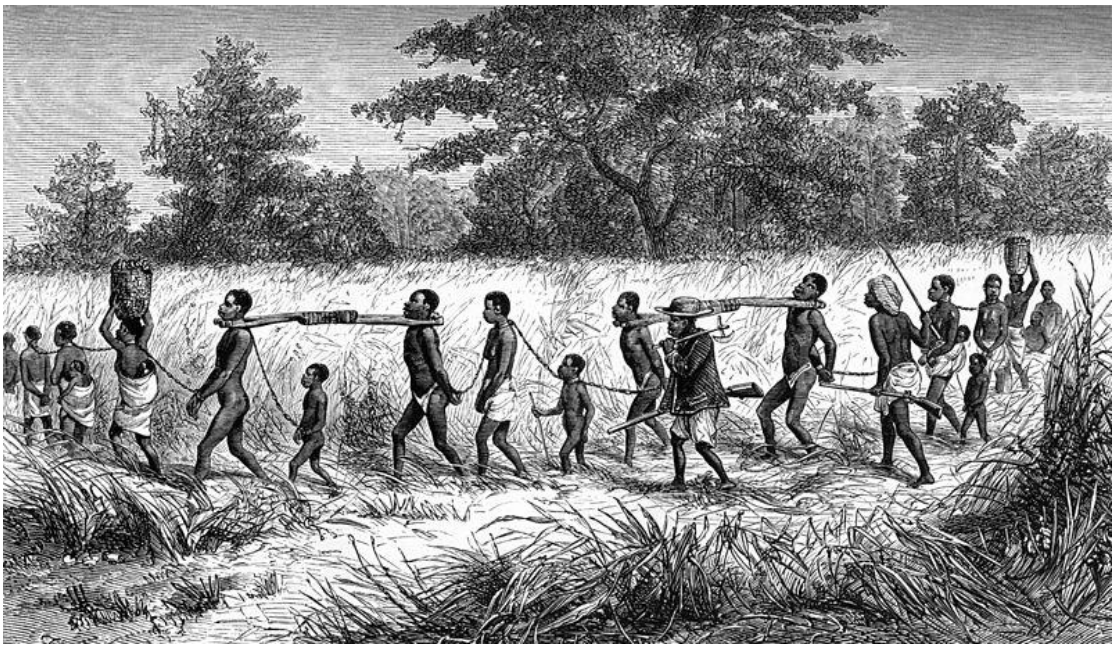

Figure 1. Livingstone, David. "Gang of captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette.", etching, Harvard University Libraries, In *Missionary Travels and Researches in Africa* by David Livingstone, 344, London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1857.

Figure 1 depicts Livingstone's account of a slave party he intercepted while travelling in East Central Africa. The image shows multiple men, women, and children, chained by the feet and neck, heaving their tired bodies along. A slave trader is seen peering over the crowd with a rifle in one hand and a cane in the other, raised and ready to strike. Apart from his aggressive body language, the slave trader appears to blend into the crowd of figures. This can be interpreted as a visual depiction of how the brutalities of African slavery were executed by Africans. This conclusion is even more compelling when the paragraph accompanying this illustration is integrated. As Livingstone writes:

> We resolved to run all risks, and put a stop, if possible, to the slave-trade, which had now followed on the footsteps of our discoveries ... the slave party cam wending their way round the hill and into the valley, on the side of which the village stood... but the instant the fellows caught a glimpse of the English, they darted off like mad into the forest .... The captives knelt down, and, in their way of expressing thanks, clapped their hands with great energy.[45]

[45] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. (1857), 355-357.

Thus, Livingstone served as a witness to African slavery as an extension of their inherent brutality that the British sought to mediate through abolition. This image was incredibly powerful and influential. Livingstone's preceding description of how he freed the slaves from their wooden yolks would stay in his readers' minds and even reappeared on a 1923 book cover recounting his travels (Figure 2). In turn, this image demonstrates the "intellectual baggage"[46] of ideas about African slavery that European explorers brought with them on their expeditions, informed by both the social consciousness of the time and the lack of attention to how abolition perpetuated slavery.

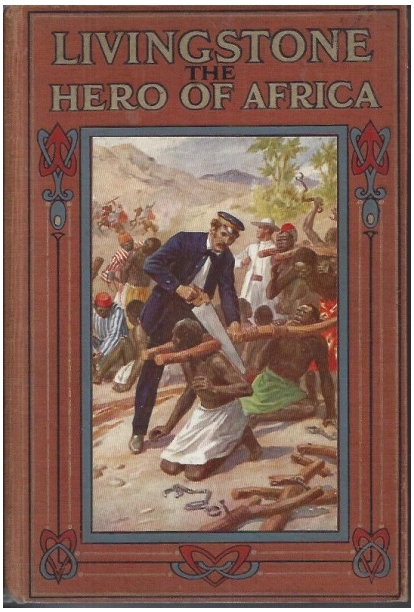

Figure 2. Dawson, R.B. Cover Image for *Livingstone the Hero of Africa*, London: Seeley, Service & Co, 1923.

Sir Richard Burton's 1860 text, *Lake Regions of Equatorial Africa,* contains similar imagery of porters and slaves, both visual and literary. Figure 3 shows Burton's depiction of an ivory porter, representing the majority of slaves and traders with whom he describes

[46] Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth Century British Travel Accounts*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2008), 21.

interacting. The scale of the figure is very large when compared to the natural background,

Figure 3. Burton, Richard. "The Ivory Porter", watercolour, Princeton University Library, In *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration* by Richard Burton, 341, London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860.

demonstrating the porter's dominance within the landscape. In the section following this image, he states "They [slave porters] work with a will, carrying uncomplainingly huge tusks, some so heavy that they must be lashed to a pole between two men ... their shoulders are often raw with the weight, their feet are sore, and they walk half or wholly naked."[47] Burton contrasts this image of a half-dressed slave carrying a massive tusk with his description of slave traders in a later section.

> The assertion may startle the reader's preconceived opinions concerning the savage state of Central Africa and the wretched condition of the slave-races, negroid and negro; but it is not less true that the African is in these regions superior in comforts, better dressed, fed, and lodged, and less worked than the unhappy ryot of British India. His condition, where the slave-trade is slack, may, indeed, be compared advantageously with that of the peasantry in some of the richest of European countries.[48]

[47] Richard Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), 341.
[48] Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 461.

This passage is a powerful example of how these documents sought to separate the African slavery from Europeans. Burton shows the reader a porter, dominating the landscape yet still looking barely dressed. He contrasts this image with the wealth enjoyed by the slave traders, and cleverly compares their status to that of the European peasants or the British Indians.

In doing so, Burton distinguishes the colonial powers experience in the continent from that of the slave traders. However, as scholars such as Gordon show, the colonial powers were the largest driver of slave usage in the production of goods such as ivory. Thus, this image is another example of how expedition illustrations served as anti-slavery propaganda depicting Africans as their own enemy in the plight for abolition.

The expeditions of Henry Stanley were also documented using similar imagery (Figure 4). This depiction of a group of slaves arriving at the village in which Stanley was residing paints a compelling picture. Stanley occupies a powerful role within the scene, stationed to the left of the centre and gesturing towards the men in bondage, describing their state to the two other men in his company. In his writing, Stanley expresses his disdain for African slavery. "And if my disclosures regarding the terrible Ujijian slavery should lead to the suppression of the East Coast slave trade, I shall regard that as a greater matter by far than the discovery of all the Nile sources together. Now that you have done with domestic slavery for over, lend us powerful aid towards this great object. This fine country is blighted, as with a curse from above."[49] This passage combined with the image clearly outlines how Stanley felt as though the British were moral observers of slavery, not participants. The "curse from above" section is particularly ironic, given that the main driver behind slavery in the African interior was

[49] Stanley, Henry M. *The Life, Labours, and Perilous Adventures and Discoveries of Dr. Livingstone, nearly thirty years a missionary explorer in the wilds of Africa with a thrilling count of his resurrection*. Toronto: Maclear & Co. (1873), Accessed through the University of Alberta.

British coastal abolition, not an omnipotent force. This image and text serve as

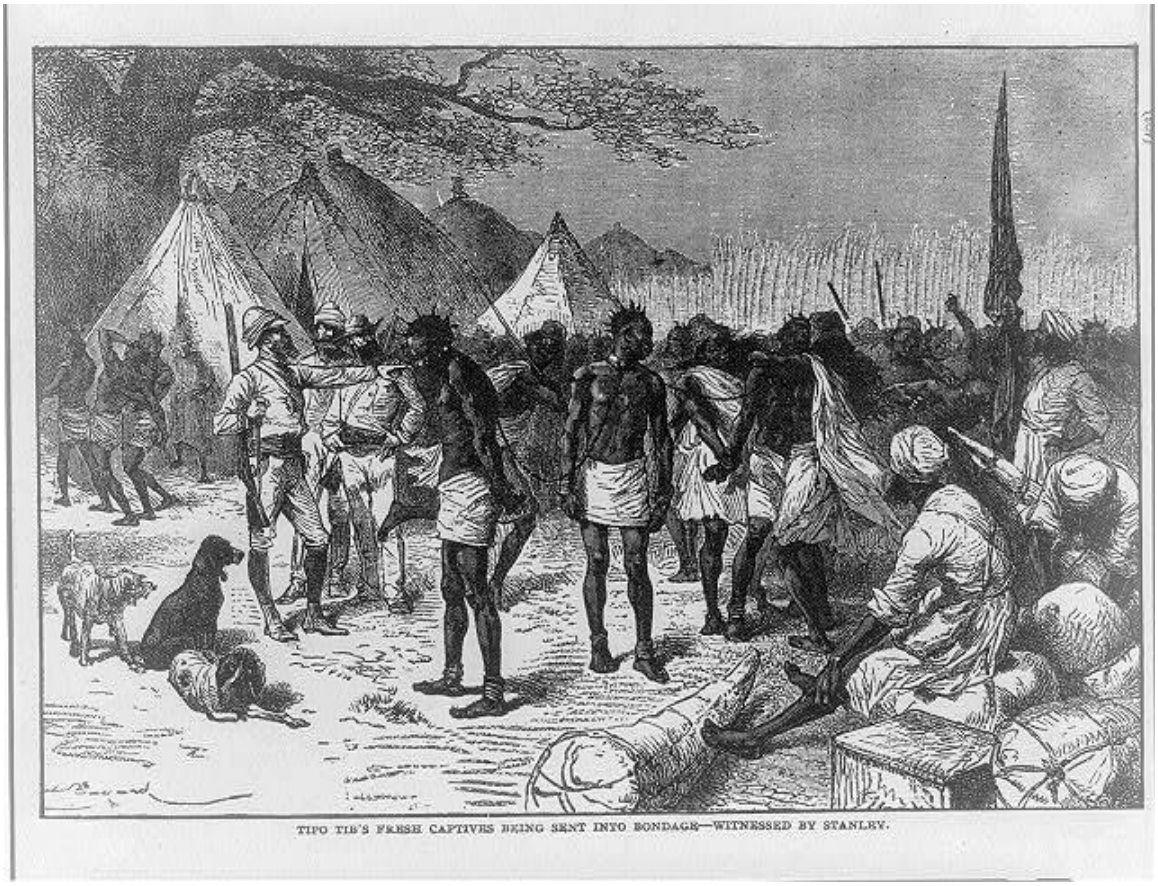

Figure 4. Reproduction of a wood engraving from *Heroes of the Dark Continent: and How Stanley found Livingstone* by James W. Buel, 1890, c1899, p. 489.

effective anti-slavery propaganda, given they describe the evil of slavery within the continent while simultaneously applauding their own aversion and removal from the process after abolishing domestic slavery within the colonies.

Conclusion

Illustrations coming from British-led expeditions both reflected and informed misplaced colonial ideas about the success and necessity of abolition within the continent. Of the same token, these images and excerpts from the texts show that African slavery was considered to be a fight between the British forces who sought emancipation and the Africans who were more or less 'doing this to themselves.' As summarized by scholars such as Gordon and Brantlinger, colonial emancipation often had negative auxiliary effects on slavery that remain undocumented in Western archives. This is due primarily to the ideological nature of anti-slavery rhetoric amongst the Victorians who preferred representing their personal heroism as

opposed to documenting the actualities within the continent. Given the celebrity of figures such as Livingstone, Burton, and Stanley, they were understandably considered to be trusted sources in representing Britain's plight against foreign slavery. However, this research demonstrates the disparity between their depictions of African slavery as an act of savagery going against the work of the British and the continental actualities of abolition increasing slave labour. This all speaks to the broader issue of colonial archives as convoluted and often misrepresentative chronicles of African slavery. As a result, it is essential to approach these sources with hesitancy and examine abolition through the unique African historical context. By doing so, a more representative history of African slavery can be crafted that exists outside of Victorian social consciousness or expeditionary heroism.

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The Epistemology of Colonial Rule: Science, Religion, and Systems of Meaning in Northern Rhodesia

Gideon Morton

To say that misconception dogged the British colonial project in Africa is an understatement of the highest degree. Much of the European approach to managing colonial holdings was influenced by their conceptions of culture, religion, and people, formed in environments vastly different from what they experienced in Africa. A critical aspect of the colonial project, especially in its early years, was the dissemination of European religious thought, chiefly Christianity. Christian notions of what religion should consist of were transposed onto the African people who composed the would-be subjects. The developing fields of anthropology and ethnography contributed to the treatment of the African as an object to be observed. Both science and religion served colonial interests. This intersection of science and religion created the atmosphere in which the first depictions of African religions emerged, which were compared directly to European religion and examined by the burgeoning scientific study of culture. By placing this tripartite interaction in terms of the models of Ian Barbour, a foundational scholar in the field of science and religion dynamics. The aim of this exercise is to demonstrate how science and religion, filtered through the political landscape of their time, can work together in unexpected ways, leading to an obscuration of the object they are attempting to understand.

Knowing an Englishman's Africa

The first reports by the English on the nature of African people, from methods of harvest to religious practices, were confused by the European's presumption of superiority and ignorance. The period with which this paper is concerned covers the first real attempt by British imperial officials to solidify colonial rule in the territory of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). The English had no way of escaping the preconceptions that they brought into each new interaction with African peoples. As such, European conceptions of Africans were shaped greatly by the notions they had received in the metropole about other cultures. The historical landscape of European colonialism in Africa is clouded to this day by one sided accounts of

historical events, particularly in the late 1800s.[1] The consolidation of colonial rule in Africa coincided with the professionalization of the study of humans and their culture, but this was of little use to the first Englishmen of to venture into the new claimed colonial territories in Northern Rhodesia. The growing influence of scientific ways of knowing the world created friction in the colonial system of gathering knowledge about African people. Disciplines such as comparative religion and ethnography sought to gather data in a manner which we today would recognize as typically scientific, offering detached and "unbiased" accounts of other cultures, to be whisked far away and compiled by "experts." By the 1930s, this "scientific" model of knowing Africa was establishing itself with some success, but the predecessor to this system will be our subject.[2] In the first decade of the twentieth century, Englishmen with secondary school education found themselves woefully unequipped to act as reliable observers of African life. As Diana Jeater, a professor of African history at the University of Liverpool put it:

> [European] models of African society consistently drew on ideas from their European cultural backgrounds. They perceived Africans through many different lenses-the Bible, the classics, popular fiction, popular history, and social/ethnographic theory. Most of these lenses distorted rather than clarified their view of the African people in front of their eyes. In the 1890s, awash with ignorance about the peoples around them, whites flailed around for parallels and metaphors that would both explain what they saw and justify what they did.[3]

Missionaries and Native Commissioners (NCs) were among the colonials who spent the greatest deal of time observing Africans going about their daily lives. A critical skill of the observer was mastery of the local language.[4] The British colonials fit the African people into the frameworks of comparative religion (a now defunct scholarly field), anthropological, and ethnographic theory they were privy to, as well as popular "science" which was consumed by fashionable and important Englishmen. Individual observers across British colonial Africa formulated their own theories about the people they observed, they made comparisons to other cultures across history and drew their own conclusions. This process served to further mystify the African and allowed the colonial observer to hold personal dominion over "very

[1] Dennis Laumann, *Colonial Africa: 1884-1994*, second (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 12.
[2] Diana Jeater, "Imagining Africans: Scholarship, Fantasy, and Science in Colonial Administration, 1920s Southern Rhodesia," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38, no. 1 (2005): 21-22.
[3] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 1.
[4] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 21-22.

esoteric and specialized knowledge." [5] In essence, colonial political structures in the early twentieth century rule gave rise to self-proclaimed experts on African culture, and they were able to do so precisely because of the lack of reliable sources which were necessary to administer colonial holdings. The English "native experts" during this period grew to rely on the mysterious character that African's possessed in the English mind. This state of affairs suggests two critical aspects of British colonial rule in the early twentieth century. The first is that, for many Africans, especially outside of urban areas, the impact of colonial rule was limited at this time. The second, irreconcilable without the first, is that the European notions of what Africans were like had little bearing on African lives. Africans who lived in rural villages were rarely in contact with colonial officials, and despite how the European observers described them, their lives were largely unimpacted.

Case Study: E.W. Smith, Science, and Religion

The religious and scientific material which led these "native experts" to draw the conclusions they did varied widely. This material represented a European cultural consensus about its relationship to other cultures, revealed via scientific and religious channels. The aforementioned English interpretation of African culture is a product of the perceived relationship between the colonial culture and its subject, a process Henk van Rinsum, an anthropologist at Utrecht University describes as 'translation.' [6] Van Rinsum defines 'translation' as, "the process through which the system of meaning of the culture of "the Other" is translated and interpreted in terms of the dominating system of meaning."[7] Van Rinsum's model is concerned specifically with the interaction between European and African (Ila) religious thought in this case, since the specific context of his paper concerns rural African people in Northern Rhodesia.[8] The result of the translation process is based upon the contextualization which the observer presents, but also their own influences. For many colonial 'native experts', as noted by Jeater, this consisted of a variety of material including scripture, popular science books, and their education.[9]

[5] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 21.
[6] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 353.
[7] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 353.
[8] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 351.
[9] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 1.

The English observers who claimed special access to the secrets of African culture often used scripture to periodize their object[10] Van Rinsum's article deals specifically with the issue of constructing African religion in the European mind. Van Rinsum describes how English missionaries, who provided the first ethnographic profiles of African religion, transpose ideas about Christian religion onto their subject. The fact that the purpose of missionaries was to produce converts created obstacles as they attempted to describe the religion of their would-be converts. Van Rinsum's subject is an ethnography of the Ila speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia, written by an English missionary named Edwin Smith and based on his experiences there in the 1900s and early 1910s. In an excerpt from Smith's work, he describes the Ila's hierarchy of spiritual beings: "The *mizhimo* are near to men: they are of the same nature, know human life from the inside, realize the wants of men; Leza on the other hand, is remote and takes little or no cognizance of the affairs of individuals."[11] Van Rinsum notes that later twentieth century scholars have taken issue with such characterizations of the structure of African religions as being the product not of careful observation, as was claimed, but the translation of one system of meaning into another.[12] Smith, as we shall see, continues to strive to better understand the African people despite all the odds stacked against him.

The missionary turned ethnographer is also a key element of this story, as it is emblematic of the concordance between the religious mission in British colonial Africa and the scientific study of its people. Colonial missionary writing offers an even more striking depiction of the Ila people, and in this context, Smith gives much more attention to an aesthetic, emotional depiction of African life. Smith describes "witchcraft, infanticide, slave-trading" and the lack of urban areas or stone buildings and roads: "Everything in nature is free. The country is sombre. The beauty of the people is found in their disfigurement... Human life has little value. Murders create no surprise, but are taken as ordinary events of daily life."[13] Seemingly, then, a land of immorality and indifference, depicted as implicitly opposed to European countries with their extensive urbanization and laws. Smith's depiction is full of pity, seemingly for himself as well as the land and people of Africa. Van Rinsum suggests Smith's alienation from the people is reflected in these quotations, that he is suffering both from a failure to understand the social norms of his environment, and as such is painfully

[10] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 9.
[11] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 358.
[12] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 358.
[13] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 359.

separate from it.[14] This suggests a critical way in which the separation between the subject (Smith in this case) and his own familiar environment affects his perception. Despite the overtly white-supremacist overtones of Smith's writings, it is a predicament which one can empathize with. Smith, however, envisioned a future where Africans were gradually incorporated into his own religious belief system.[15] This is made possible, in the broader context of historicization of African people, by the arrival of Europeans, with whose presence begins the history of the continent in the European mind.

In his conclusion, Van Rinsum asserts that Smith's missionary writing and his explicitly ethnographic work should be considered as part of the latter camp, an assessment with which the author agrees. Furthermore, the indistinct nature of Smith's missionary work and his work under the guise of science demonstrates the connection between these two ways of knowing in this context. The personal conceptions of scriptural and scientific truth espoused by Smith combine to translate one culture through the perception of another, a specific interaction which was a pioneer in the field of European discourse on African Traditional Religion. The presence of Christian thematic elements in Smith's assessment of the Ila religion reflects this. While this fact complicates contemporary understanding of Ila religiosity and has implications for African Traditional Religion more broadly, it should be noted that it was not his intention to present inaccuracies. Smith was however fully engaged with the project of Christianizing the Ila people and spoke of it in his missionary writings.[16] One particularly striking example of the interplay between the local religious traditions among the Ila and Christian theology comes from a man named Mupumani who, "refers to a visit to the supernatural world where he met Mulengashika, Founder of Custom, a name applied to God. He [Mulengashika] wants Mupumani to bring a message to his people."[17] The message, according to a report written by a colleague of Smith's, consisted of the cessation of animal sacrifice and "'Ku Bomba': they should humble themselves;" a message consistent with missionary teachings.[18] Smith appears to have believed it too, since he was sure God would be more than capable of sending a messenger in such a way, and he was able to organize a service

[14] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 361.
[15] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 361.
[16] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 365.
[17] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 363.
[18] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 363.

because of the prophet, Mupumani.[19] Smith heralded these events as a great victory, though Mupumani was eventually imprisoned by the Native Commissioner.[20] Van Rinsum notes that Smith again seems to take this event fully within the realm of Christian thought, despite the prophet Mupumani's clear connection to his own religious customs.[21] The religious life of the Ila people, however, was changed for Smith. They had become connected to his own tradition, a fact which reflects both Smith's own changing understanding of his subject and the delicate interplay between African Traditional Religion and Christianity. These facts are significant because they continue to reflect the intertwined nature of science and religion. Smith, a man who serves as both a foundational anthropologist despite his faults and a key figure in the relationship between Christianity and the local religious beliefs of the Ila people. Africans were akin to the tribes of Israel, caught outside of the progression of history, now the arrival of Christianity heralded change for the better, at least in the eyes of an observer such as Smith.

Together in Deception?

It is critical to note that the interactions between science and religion in the African colonial context became more strongly defined as the twentieth century progressed. The period between Smith's arrival in Africa in 1898 and his departure in 1915 represents the first cadre of British people in this region of Africa who attempted to govern in any meaningful way. Their experiences shaped the next phase of colonial expansion during the 1920s, during which in many places European-style economies were created and control over land rights was solidified in the interest of white settlers, especially in the region of Northern Rhodesia. The ethnographies, studies of comparative religion and histories of this period were almost exclusively based on European preconceptions of African people and culture; compared to the common conception of science, these were akin to paint-by-numbers – the outline already exists before work has begun. No individual can truly escape their environment, however this paper attempts to show how the lineage and influences of science and religion in the British colonial context led to similar misconceptions about their subjects, and to do so the context of these early missionaries and NCs is critical.

The shared lineage of science and religion is demonstrated by the aforementioned analogies of scriptural history. This is evidenced by the NC's idea that African people

[19] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 364.
[20] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 365.
[21] Van Rinsum, "Raw Material," 365.

represented a relic from a bygone age, so far removed from the histories of European countries that they fit among the Biblical era, or that they were analogous to the Britons at the time of the Roman arrival in England.[22] The English mystified Africans using the analogies and comparisons available to them, a process which is broadly responsible for the failure of the colonial project; a fact which reveals the internal contradictions of colonialism itself. Of Ian Barbour's quadripartite model of science and religion relationships (conflict, independence, dialogue, and integration), the most prevalent model of interaction is dialogue.[23] Although the Bible was often used to draw parallels, an historical example of peoples in a state of development which to the Europeans resembled the Africa they saw, there is not significant evidence that they took this to mean that the Bible itself represented literal history. Further, the historical period that Africans best fit varied as previously mentioned.[24] This view was supported by popular science of the time as well, such as J.G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, a book that Jeater notes was often commonly requested from the chief NC's library.[25] Smith and others so dedicated, who were doing their best to create analogies and make inferences based upon available information, *The Golden Bough* contained only references to others fieldwork, a fact which presents a certain irony given its popularity among those same men on the ground.[26] Victor Kumar, an assistant professor at Boston University, describes Frazer's work of comparative religion as, "weighed down with internal inconsistencies and analytical challenges, not the least of which is the relation between science and myth… Frazer blurs the lines between magic and science as well as his work and his material… however, there is talk of the sharp demarcation between hypothesis and fact."[27] Frazer offers the promise of a rational approach to the deep confusion and unfamiliarity of African cultures faced by the British as they attempted to make sense of Africa. Frazer influenced the field of anthropology cyclically, essentially appealing to, "extraordinary confidence in the difference between truth and error provides relief to readers hoping to emerge from the darkness of their own superstitions into the light of reason."[28] Frazer's popularity reveals the aspiration of the colonial project to

[22] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 11-12.
[23] Ian G. Barbour, *Religion and Science: Historical and Contemporary Issues*, Revised (Cambridge: International Society for Science and Religion, 2007), 90.
[24] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 11-12.
[25] Jeater, "Imagining Africans," 16.
[26] Victor Kumar, "To Walk alongside Myth, Magic, and Mind in the Golden Bough," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6, no. 2 (2016): 240.
[27] Kumar, "Myth, Magic, and Mind," 243.
[28] Kumar, "Myth, Magic, and Mind," 247.

reason, simultaneously describing a cycle of essentially repurposing its own false impressions into new interactions in Africa. These circuitous misconceptions about African people fueled the mystical character of the African in English minds.

Even those who, like Smith, were able to work towards demystifying African people through their own personal identification with increasingly more intimate aspects of their cultures, change was slow. Works such as Frazer's *Golden Bough*, which actively provided paradoxes while assuring its reader of their own ability to distinguish truth while actively obscuring it all but ensured these conclusions.[29] Amid this confused attempt at scientific study of human beings, the follies of early comparative religion, and anthropology, the interaction of science and religion occurred in a particularly interesting way. That is to say, neither system of knowing was able to effectively avoid the pitfalls of widespread overconfidence in their ability, and the self-assuredness of their application. Both scientific and religious thought were ultimately dogged by the same misconceptions, and while their shared heritage is unquestionably present, their ability to adapt to new systems of meaning is demonstrably weak in the colonial context.[30] Perhaps surprisingly for some, the ability for religion to break through and make contact between disparate systems of meaning seemed to show more promise. Of course, the examples used in this paper are limited to a single, narrow cultural window: Anglican Christianity and a single localized instance of African Traditional Religion. However, the overarching theme of cultural translation left both science and religion reeling from their lack of context. The interaction between scientific and religious thought in this context stands as a testament to the dangers of overconfidence in general ability, even for two of the most powerful ways of knowing the world that humanity has ever devised.

[29] James George Frazer and Robert Fraser, *Golden Bough* (Oxford University Press, 1994), 196-7.
[30] Barbour, "Religion and Science," 90-91.

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Laura, Laurel*, Lauro*: Bronzino and Mannerist Depictions of Exemplary Women

Megan Osler

Out of the seventeen known portraits of women attributed to the mannerist painter Agnolo Bronzino (1503-1572), only one is set in profile.[1] Bronzino's *Portrait of Laura Battiferri* (c. 1560) is striking to behold (fig. 1). The subject of the work, the female poet Laura Battiferri (1523-1589), was largely unknown until the 20th century when American art collector Charles Loeser cross-examined the portrait with other known references of Battiferri.[2] Upon further research, Loeser discovered a friendship between Bronzino and Battiferri: the two exchanged sonnets

Figure 1. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, c. 1650-1660, oil on panel, 87.5cm x 70cm, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

stylized in the style of the love poems of the highly influential early-humanist Petrarch.[3]

[1] Mannerism refers to the late-Renaissance artistic style characterized by graceful, elongated limbs, stylized bodies, artificiality, and intense and unusual colours among other features.
[2] Susan Camille Benton Shenouda*, The Portrait of Laura Battiferri: Construction of a Female Poet*, order no. 1401505, (George Washington University, 2000), 5.
[3] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 6.

Through his sonnets, Bronzino presents a textual portrait of Battiferri that matches his physical representation of her, claiming that she is his equivalent of the object of Petrarch's poetry, also named Laura.[4]

The painting mirrors his verbal association of Battiferri with Petrarch. The viewer's gaze is drawn down the centre of the painting to where Battiferri's elegant fingers hold open a volume of verse, clearly identified as two sonnets from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. In Bronzino's picture, the two sonnets featured are far apart in printed and manuscript collections of his text and are both addressed to his beloved Laura. As scholar Graham Smith suggests, this leads the viewer to a natural characterization of Battiferri with Petrarch's beloved.[5] Bronzino further complicates the layers of meaning within this piece by inviting the viewer to further draw analogies between Battiferri and Petrarch, as well as one of the most acclaimed of Tuscan poets — Dante. Thus, through several tools of identification, Bronzino attempts to depict Battiferri as both a woman of great intellect and as an exemplar to her gender by connecting her to both two famous Florentine poets, and to the beloved of Petrarch—the most virtuous and beautiful Laura. This subversion of traditional conventions of female portraiture emerges in an era of ascendancy of women into intellectual positions of note, as Susan Camille Benton Shenouda notes, which underlined the void of specific iconography with which to depict and praise them.[6] Bronzino, therefore, attempts to demonstrate Battiferri's exceptionality by simultaneously holding her up as a paragon of female virtue and by identifying her with male figures to present her as someone who has transcended her gender through intellect.

Laura Battiferri was born in Urbino in 1523, "a city renowned for remarkable women."[7] The daughter of Giovani'Antonio Battiferri of Urbino, a wealthy clerical officer, and Maddalena Coccapani, his concubine, Battiferri was legitimized as his child in 1543 and would eventually become his heir. Laura was therefore born to "culture, social position, and cosmopolitan wealth, all of which would launch her into the courtly life as a woman of letters and a political asset to her spouse," as described by the scholar Victoria Kirkham.[8] In 1550, after the death of her first husband, Laura married the Florentine architect and sculptor

[4] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 6.
[5] Graham Smith, "Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri," *Notes in the History of Art* 15, no. 4 (1996): 32.
[6] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 41.
[7] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 30.
[8] Victoria Kirkham, "Creative Partners: The Marriage of Laura Battiferri and Bartolomeo Ammannati," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no.2 (2002): 502.

Bartolommeo Ammanati. From all accounts, this was a happy marriage, both parties showing public encouragement of the other's career. They had no children, meaning Battiferri was "freed from the duties of child-rearing," and "was able to pursue her career as a writer to a far greater extent than most women," with the support of her artist husband.[9] After their marriage, Battiferri and Ammanati became influential figures in the literary and artistic world of mid-sixteenth century Florence. Laura befriended many of the prominent writers of the period, including Annibale Caro and Benedetto Varchi. Varchi would become her critic and mentor, "correcting her verse and advising her on the contents and title of *Il Primo libro delle opera toscane*," her first work, a collection of writings that she published in 1560.[10] Her second publication was a translation of Pentitential Psalms, *I sette salmi pentinentiali del santissimo profeta Davit*, in 1564. From this time onwards she would not publish her own work but was still deeply engaged with the intellectual community at the time, providing poems for other male humanist's anthologies.[11] It was during this time that Battiferri would have made the acquaintance of Bronzino, the two beginning an exchange of Petrarchan sonnets.

Although we do not know who commissioned the work, Bronzino painted Battiferri sometime between 1550 and 1560. The portrait is a side-profile, drawing analogies with ancient coins of classical emperors. Her silhouette fills the entire frame with only a muted grey background, ensuring that she is the only visual focus. The viewer is instantly struck by her cool and elegant demeanor. The smooth brushwork, cool tones, and Battiferri's turned gaze makes her appear remote and inaccessible. While Bronzino depicts her in dark colours—fitting for an intellectual of her time — the rich velvet of her dress, and the thin delicacy of her veil suggests constrained elegance and wealth. As well as the luxurious fabrics of her dress, Bronzino offsets her sombre appearance with five delicate gold accessories, two pins holding her veil; a small button at the collar of her chemise; a long-knotted gold chain necklace; and a gold ring with a "rectangular black gem set between two fleurs-de-lys."[12] Her marital status is shown by her hair drawn back from her face, pinned back by a headdress with a veil. While these decorative features begin to convey specific details of Battiferri — that she is a wealthy, married, intellectual — a series of factors of the composition make the volume of Petrarch the focal point of the work, expressing more about the sitter than her appearance. Dark muted

[9] Shenouda, *The Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 11.
[10] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 30.
[11] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 12.
[12] Carol Plazzotta, "Bronzino's Laura," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1141 (1998): 251.

tones, soft illumination on her face and center of her chest, and the centrality of the light draws the eyes in a straight line from her face down to the book she is holding. Moreover, Bronzino ensures that the viewer's gaze is drawn directly to the volume of Petrarch by placing the book at the axis of Battiferri's stiff posture and her arm, which she holds perpendicularly to her torso. Her thin, elegant fingers further draw direct attention to the verse of Petrarch she is highlighting with two fingers, dimpling the paper, almost emphatically demanding the viewer's gaze lands here. The book is foregrounded in the liminal space between subject and observer, acting as the intermediary between the two parties. While her eyes do not contact the viewer, Battiferri's gaze comes to us through the verses of Petrarch, leading the viewer to directly associate the text with her. Thus, Bronzino's compositional choice to depict Battiferri with little adornment or background further emphasizes the text of Petrarch, subverting conventions of traditional female portraiture but forcing the viewer to naturally associate Laura with the verses she holds.

This painting is unique among Bronzino's surviving portraits for depicting the sitter in profile. The profile also had a distinguished pedigree, "going back to antique ruler portraits on coins and medals and to donor portraits on religious commissions, both relating to social prestige."[13] Throughout the Renaissance, ruling families and social elites enjoyed using the profile as a method of harkening back to their Classical influences, portraying themselves as "embodiments of a social ideal going back to antiquity."[14] Traditionally, profile portraits of women functioned differently than their male counterparts As described by Shenouda, the importance of women in the fifteenth-century society was their relationship to family and lineage, the expression of their individuality was therefore irrelevant. She argues that "women were portrayed in a manner conforming to the ways in which men believed they should be seen: virtuous, static, idealized and silent."[15] By the 1470s the popularity of the female profile portrait diminished as artists more frequently chose to portray their sitters in more naturalistic frontal and three-quarter views as cultural conceptions of women began to shift and painters wanted to create images of women that seemed to interact with the viewer.[16]

Although the profile was popular in Florentine portraits of women in the quattrocento, it must have appeared "conspicuously archaic when Bronzino painted Battiferri," as argued by

[13] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 21.
[14] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 21.
[15] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 22.
[16] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 22.

Smith.[17] Women profile painting was conventional in the earlier century as an object of the male gaze, painted for male artists for their male patrons, as Smith suggests, "the profile portrait allowed the suitor to explore his lover's face ardently, while simultaneously attesting to the woman's chastity and female virtue."[18] This understanding of the chaste admiration of the beloved through the profile would fit with Bronzino's Neoplatonic expression of love for Laura. Bronzino's affection for Battiferri mimicked Dante and Petrarch's love for their beloved's, that unconsummated, earthly, love acts as the first step toward the ascent to a spiritual, divine realm. In this way, the married Battiferri could act as his muse for the output of his poetry and his painting, inspiring his creative protentional. Thus, Bronzino's choice to depict Battiferri in profile, while outdated in his own era, could be to express his love while maintaining her chastity and virtue, as suggested by Cristina Varisco.[19]

In Bronzino's *Portrait of Lucrezia Panciatichi* (1540) (fig.2), we can observe a more traditional example of his female portraiture. Panciatchi is presented in the three-quarter position, with her gaze squarely on the observer. Panciatichi fits within the Renaissance conception of ideal female beauty described at length by humanist writers and neo-Petrarchan poets. As suggested by Shenouda, the literary standard of female beauty formed by these writers favoured "specific features, such as flaxen hair, alabaster skin, rosy cheeks, shining eyes, arched eyebrows and ruby lips," all features which Bronzino privileges in this portrait.[20] Bronzino also emphasizes Lucrezia's social privilege by paying careful attention to her dress and decoration, painting the puffed sleeves and embroidered neckline of her dress with striking verisimilitude. In opposition, Battiferri's image "is not in any way representative of the literary

[17] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 32.
[18] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 32.
[19] Cristina Varisco, "Laura Battiferra: An Open Book," *Carte Italian* 2, no.5 (2009): 21.
[20] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferra*, 23.

standard of beauty. The proportions of her face are not ideal: she lacks blond tresses, intense colouring and sensuous appeal." [21] He departs from his established oeuvre of female representation in his portrait of Laura, as Plazzotta describes "both in its muted palette and in the sobriety and modesty of the sitter's dress," as well as in the muted grey background, bare of decoration or furnishings.[22] In the lack of conspicuous wealth that Bronzino usually uses,

Figure 2. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Lucrezia Paciatichi*, 1545, oil on panel, 102cm x 85cm, Uffizi, Florence.

he, therefore, subverts the convention of his traditional female portraiture in order to portray what he perceives as Battiferri's *exemplarity* and intellect.

Bronzino forgoes convention in order to portray Battiferri as a learned woman. The early sixteenth-century in Italy was reasonably favourable to the pursuits of female literary figures. Between 1538 and the end of the century, roughly two hundred books were written by women or at least included selections by them.[23] Women were able to write and publish poetry but only poetry "in the context of carefully constructed personae, and through the support of powerful contacts."[24] The Neoplatonic and humanist resurgence movement in this era helped facilitate the emergence of the female author during this period. The popularity of

[21] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferra*, 23.
[22] Plazzotta, *Bronzino's Laura*, 251.
[23] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 13.
[24] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 18.

Petrarchan verse and Neoplatonic thought which provided a mode of writer that could be adopted and subverted by women. Tuscan scholars such as Dante and Petrarch helped legitimize the relationship between men and women, demonstrating how earthly and non-physical love could as the first step toward the ascent to a spiritual, divine realm. Neoplatonic love poetry was considered a part of the private sphere and was therefore appropriate for women. This form of exchange is demonstrated by relationship between Bronzino and Battiferri, whose communications model themselves off of the sonnets Petrarch wrote for his muse Laura. Furthermore, Neoplatonic dialogues between men and women such as Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), sought to redefine the role of women conventionally held in Aristotelian thought. Book three of Castiglione's dialogue promotes an educational program for women in preparation for positions other than those of a nun or traditional wife. While his proposed education for women is judiciously structured and highly selective, Castiglione nonetheless advocates that "many faculties of the mind are as necessary to woman as to man."[25] He suggests that all women ought to "have a knowledge of letters, music, painting, and know how to dance and make merry."[26] Texts such as Castiglione's were influential in shaping the understanding of the role of women in sixteenth-century Italian society, contributing to the access of women such as Battiferri to positions of intellectual prestige.

In an attempt to present Battiferri as a sixteenth century learned woman, Bronzino characterizes her with Petrarch's Laura in his poetry and painting. Both Sonnet 64 and 420 — the two verses featured in Battiferri's portrait — are love poems that Petrarch has addressed to his Laura. The centrality of the text in the portrait, naturally invites the viewer to draw analogies between Battiferri and Petrarch's Laura, demonstrating that she is the sixteenth-century counterpart. As Smith argues, the profile could be an attempt to mimic the 'disdain,' described by the poet in the first stanza of sonnet 64. Here, he describes how no amount of contempt from Laura will diminish his love for her:

> If you could by any angry gestures—by
> Casting your eyes down
> Or bending your head or by being more

[25] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdyke (New York: H. Liveright, 1929), 173.
[26] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier.*

Swift to flee than any
Other, frowning at my virtuous and
Worthy prayers[27]

As Smith argues, painting Battiferri in profile acts as the visual equivalent of the downcast eyes, turned head, and disdainful demeanor, described by Petrarch.[28] Through this sonnet, Bronzino is trying to appeal directly to physical depictions of the fourteenth-century Laura — in temperament and bearing. He similarly makes this analogy in his poetry dedicated to Battiferri, describing her as the "new Laura," who is superior to Petrarch's Laura and describing how she functions as a conduit or muse for his creative output.[29]

Fair Laura, if for this new Laura,
Who is above the one previously so praised,
I had the same style and inspiration,
able to recreate the poetic ways of old[30]

He notes that the inspiration from the 'new' Laura, allows him to recreate the poetry of antiquity, which he then uses to compliment her in sonnet.

Battiferri uses similar analogies herself in her own poetry, self-consciously characterizing herself as Petrarch's Laura and as the mythical Daphne — whom Petrarch often references in his work. In her poetry, she adopts the persona of Daphne, referring to herself as the nymph in order to enfold herself in a "flattering literary family, a descendant of Petrarch's elusive mistress and, before her, the nymph beloved of Apollo, god of poetry," as Kirkham argues.[31] One of the central images in Petrarch's *Rime,* borrowed from Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* is the transformation of Daphne into a laurel tree in an attempt to avoid the advances of the enamoured Apollo. Plazzotta describes how Petrarch repeatedly evokes this archetypal myth by means of a wide range of referents, playing with the similar etymology of the words Laura and the Italian *lauro.*[32] Battiferri's own text, *Primo Libro* is littered with these

[27] Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* "Rime sparse" *and Other Lyrics,* trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 142.
[28] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 33.
[29] Agnolo Bronzino, *Sonetti de Angiolo Allori Petto II Bronzino Ed Altre Rime Inedite*, ed., Domenico Moreni, trans. Camilla Bozzoli (Firenza: Nella Stamperia Magheri, 1823), 106.
[30] Bronzino, *Sonetti de Angiolo Allori Petto II Bronzino Ed Altre Rime Inedite*, 106.
[31] Kirkham, *Creative Partners: The Marriage of Laura Battiferri and Bartolomeo Ammannati*, 15.
[32] Plazzotta, *Bronzino's Laura*, 256.

same allusions. Thus, on the most basic of level, the text stands as an attribute for the sitter, making a punning reference to her name. Sonnet 64 describes Daphne and laurel tree explicitly, describing how Petrarch's love for Laura is tangled in his breast in the same way that Apollo became tangled in the laurel branches of his beloved.

> If you could ever thus or by any other stratagem escape from my
> Breast where Love engrafts many
> Branches from that first laurel,
> I would say that would be a just reason
> For your disdain[33]

Because the image of Daphne permeates the first Petrarchan sonnet, Laura is identified as the subject of the poem, and by extension, the sitter of the painting.

Battiferri picks up the analogy of the laurel in a sonnet she composes in response to Bronzino's portrait. She asks that the Greek god, Apollo, bestow upon her the laurel wreath that is given to only the most acclaimed poets, saying "Apollo, you who know that one these shores/ Your fresh new laurel leaves will cast their shade,/ Descend to me at times in my sweet sojourn."[34] The play on Laura and *lauro* is further perpetuated in the portrait insofar as Battiferri is not presented wearing "the poet's crowning laurel wreath, but rather a veiled headdress of a Florentine matriarch."[35] While Laura expresses her desire to be recognized as an accomplished poet — i.e. receive the laurel wreath — she is presented in the manner expected of her role in Florentine society. As Varisco suggests, in the same way that Bronzino was able to portray such a lofty image of Battiferri through his, so too Laura wants to "achieve a noble level of excellence with her poetic production," that would match that of the Tuscan masters.[36] Laura's own desire to be recognized as a poet suggests that not only does she characterize herself with Daphne and the fourteenth-century Laura, but also with Petrarch himself.

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[33] Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 142.
[34] Laura Anna Stortoni and Mary Prentice Lillie, eds. *Women Poets of the Italian Renaissance: Courtly Ladies and Courtesans* (New York: Italica Press, 1997), 161.
[35] Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 38.
[36] Varisco, *Laura Battiferri: An Open Book*, 29.

Attempting to demonstrate Laura's poetic ambition, Bronzino characterizes her with both Petrarch *and* his beloved. In this way, Laura both functions as the subject and the object of the Petrarchan lyric. The tome of poetry she holds identifies her not only as Laura but also as a student and follower of Petrarch. This is supported by other portraits of Bronzino's in which he uses specific texts to demonstrate the education of certain individuals. As Graham Smith argues, Battiferri's portrait is similar to Bronzino's Portrait *of Ugolino Martelli* (1536-1537, fig. 3), which he had painted two decades earlier. Here, Martelli is portrayed with volumes of

Figure 3. Agnolo Bronzino, 1536 or 1537, *Portrait of Ugolino Martelli*, oil on poplar panel, 102cm x 85cm, Gemaldegalerie, Berlin.

Homer, Virgil, and Bembo. As Smith argues, "these volumes were intended to define Martelli as a young Humanist of exceptional promise, and a student of the Tuscan language of Petrarch."[37] As both Martelli and Battiferri point to an open text, Smith argues that this could identify Laura as a student and an inheritor of the tradition of Tuscan literature.

[37] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 32.

Furthermore, Smith argues that the profile of Battiferri specifically recalls another Florentine figure, bringing to mind the most familiar of all Tuscan profiles—Dante.[38] Bronzino himself painted a post-humous portrait of the poet for Barolommeo Bettini.[39] Although this portrait no longer survives, there does exist a drawing by Bronzino that is likely related to this commission (fig. 4). In reverse, the sketch of Dante looks like it could have

Figure 4. Agnolo Bronzino, 1532, *Portrait of Dante*, black chalk, accidental traces of red chalk, 29.1 x 21.8 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

served as a preparatory sketch for the Battiferri portrait, depicting the same aquiline nose and prominent chin. In this way, Smith suggests, Bronzino could have chosen the profile in order to emphasize Battiferri's Dantesque features and consequentially to depict her as a female equivalent to Dante as well as Petrarch. This is further suggested by Bronzino's to Battiferri, where he argues that not only does Battiferri supersede Laura and Beatrice, but also their lovers, the poets Petrarch and Dante. He states, "you, through your own valor, vanquish/ Laura and Beatrice, and you are above them in/ Worth, and perhaps their lovers in style and song."[40] Bronzino asserts that not only is Battiferri's virtue higher than that of Laura and Beatrice, but her poetry, referring to 'style,' and 'song,' is better than that of Dante and

[38] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 32.
[39] Smith, *Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 32.
[40] Deborah Parker, *Bronzino: Renaissance Painter as Poet* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Petrarch. By associating her with both Dante and Petrarch, Bronzino is representing her as a descendent or heir to the literary traditions of Florence and a talented poet.

By characterizing Battiferri as Laura — the paragon of female virtue and beauty — as well as Dante and Petrarch, Bronzino is attempting to demonstrate her as an exemplar of her gender. Because no conventional artistic iconography existed for learned or political women existed in this period, artists such as Bronzino struggled to depict women without simply ascribing to them the same symbols of power used for portrayals of men. One such method male scholars and artists used to reckon with this dilemma was to simply measure women exclusively against other women, putting together volumes of "modern muses," and "women worthies," as described by Virginia Cox.[41] Bronzino emulates this pattern by characterizing Battiferri with Petrarch's Laura, but also subverts the trend by identifying her with two acclaimed Florentine poets. In this facet, Bronzino is demonstrating how certain worthy women could have qualities such as intellect, but only if their image was masculinized so that they were exceptions, overcoming their inferior feminine nature. Therefore, Bronzino portrays her as an exemplar to her gender, both as she is made analogous to Laura, who acted as an ideal of female virtue in the humanist tradition, but also as she overcomes her gender as she is masculinized and connected to Petrarch and Dante.

[41] Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400-1650,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 119.

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The Important but Ignored Legacy of Teenage Girls in Canada, 1950s to 1970s

Amy Paleczny

Historians have generally overlooked the phenomenon of teenage girls, as many young women are perceived as a personification of the stereotype that they represent. The teenager was culturally defined in the early twentieth century, and since its emergence, teenage girls have struggled to balance external opinions that perceived them as children, sexual beings, adolescents, or young adults. In the decades that followed World War II, youth culture in Canada went through radical changes as adolescents began to establish their role as teenagers in society. As adolescents struggled to define a demographic somewhere between child and grown-up, adults continuously misunderstood teenage culture and often attempted to stifle acts perceived as teenage rebellion. This paper argues that despite this, teenagers in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s increasingly became legitimate actors in society with political and societal influence, even if adult society was quick to dismiss and deny that teenagers could act as autonomous forces. This essay will first illustrate the cultural evolution that allowed adolescents to redefine themselves as teenagers with a distinct and separate experience from adults, and how their purchasing power cemented their influence in the Canadian economy. Subsequently, it will examine how teenage girls' actions were seen as apolitical as both their age and gender made their activism and conscious influence dismissible in society. Lastly, explores the activism of adolescent feminists to further prove that teenage girls intentionally changed the cultural and political worlds in Canada, but their impact was largely ignored because of the societal exclusion of both teenagers and women as important and conscious change-making actors.

At the turn of the century, new social sciences, with support from medical theorists, proclaimed that adolescence was a unique and unchangeable phase in human growth triggered by the onset of puberty. This unalterable phase was perceived as a scientific 'fact' that everyone endured.[1] In 1964, Jack Batten wrote an article for *Maclean's* magazine titled "The Invention of the Teenager" in which he detailed his experience as a teenager in the 1940s. With the

[1] Doug Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," in *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 138-9.

foresight of the future in his favour, he explained how adolescents in the 1940s defined their role in society as teenagers and dropped the pretence that they were simply young people.[2] Although this may seem like a simple change in linguistics, it defined an entire demographic as more than a sub-group of adults and allowed them to create a unique identity for themselves. They created a new cultural and political space. Thus, the 1940s saw the first generation of teenagers define their own unique culture through fashion, music, and heroes that were separate from their parents.[3]

The growth of this emerging culture was limited by the availability of technology, as most families only had one radio. In the 1940s, manufacturing had not yet caught up to the new culture of the teenager, and the commodities that came to define youth culture were not yet produced on a large enough scale to be marketed for them.[4] This continued to limit the growth of teenage culture into the next decade. In 1953, less than a quarter of Canadian households had more than one radio in their home, so young people's access to music was typically defined by what their parents chose to play.[5] Some contemporary scholars have argued that teenage popular culture, specifically music for teenagers, did not emerge until radios and other entertainment technology became more affordable since that allowed radios to relocate from the public living room to the private bedrooms of teenagers.[6] Doug Owram stated in "The Fifties: the Cult of the Teenager," that while individual artists like Frank Sinatra were able to gather a teenage audience, their singing and music did not distinguish them from the music produced by artists appealing to adults. Therefore, he concluded, there was no 'teenage' music in the 1950s.[7] This contrasts with Batten's assessment of Sinatra: "the significance of Sinatra was that teenagers had noisily elected a hero for themselves."[8] Batten was correct in his assumption that Sinatra was one of the first and, therefore, most impactful teenage heroes, but his music was not meant to appeal solely to young people. Since most families shared a radio, Owram was correct in asserting that Sinatra's music was not made solely for the ears of teenagers; that genre did not exist yet.

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[2] Jack Batten, "The Invention of the Teenager," *Maclean's*, September 5, 1964.
[3] Batten, "The Invention of the Teenager."
[4] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 145.
[5] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 153.
[6] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 154.
[7] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 153.
[8] Batten, "The Invention of the Teenager."

Although Sinatra's music could not be classified as teenage music, he still acted as a hero for teenagers and contributed to their culture. According to Batten, "the date when North American parents first realized that their adolescent children had acquired a separate identity was December 31, 1942:"[9] the night that teenage girls swooned for the first time in history after hearing Frank Sinatra sing at the Paramount Theatre in New York.[10] Clearly, Sinatra had a massive impact on Batten as he remembered this moment decades later. Sinatra had the same effect on many other teenagers, and his role as an adolescent hero came to serve as a defining feature for the generation. He was an icon that teenagers had selected for themselves. More incredible still was that teenagers comprised a significant portion of his fan base and therefore were imperative to his success. Teenage girls founded the teenage icon and elected Frank Sinatra as their first hero. By creating this shared concept, they diversified teenage culture from that of adults and established an essential part of their shared experience that was not present in adult culture.

In 1957, Paul Anka began capturing the hearts of teenage girls across North America. At fifteen years old, Anka became the first Canadian heartthrob with his number one hit "Diana": "fresh from an Ottawa classroom. Paul Anka brashly offered 'Diana' to New York record makers and said he'd sing it himself…Less than a year later, he's grossed $100,000 and has fan clubs he hasn't even counted."[11] Anka's fans, who were almost exclusively teenage girls, made him a popular sensation almost overnight. "Diana" sold one million records in September 1957, only three months after radio stations played the song. Less than a month later, another million records had already been sold.[12] By 1958, Paul Anka had about fifty registered fan clubs and was performing in rock and roll shows attended by tens of thousands of fans every night.[13] Chapter twenty-six of the Paul Anka Fan Club of Ottawa boasted an impressive 293 members. The dedication of his fans propelled him to life-long fame and altered the future of music. Paul Anka was able to connect with his fans in a way that Frank Sinatra could not. Anka's rock and roll music was written by a teenager, for teenagers; Anka's music was teenage music. It did not attempt to appeal to both adult and adolescent audiences but instead represented teenage society in all of its uniqueness.

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[9] Batten, "The Invention of the Teenager."
[10] Batten, "The Invention of the Teenager."
[11] Paul A Gardner, "What It Takes to Crash Tin Pan Alley at Fifteen," January 4 1958, (Maclean's).
[12] Gardner, "What It Takes to Crash Tin Pan Alley at Fifteen."
[13] Gardner, "What It Takes to Crash Tin Pan Alley at Fifteen."

The emergence of rock and roll in the mid-1950s marked a genre of music that was made exclusively for teenagers. In 1956, Bill Haley and His Comets performed a rock and roll show at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto that was attended by 12,000 people, most of whom were teenagers.[14] Since rock and roll was enjoyed primarily by teens and concerts were almost exclusively made up of adolescents, its events allowed teenagers to gather without adult supervision. Rock and roll concerts gave young people the freedom to define their unique culture and temporarily free themselves from the confines of adult society. This likely contributed to rock and roll's immense popularity among adolescents. On September 9, 1956, Elvis Presley famously performed for an audience of about sixty million viewers on the *Ed Sullivan Show*. His performance brought in the largest television audience ever at the time and streamlined his status as a rock and roll celebrity.[15] Canadian teenagers could not get enough of Elvis, and in the same year, his hit record "Hound Dog" sold 200,000 copies in Canada.[16] In 1957, Elvis toured parts of Canada for the first and only time. His shows were "an opportunity for adolescents to engage in a shared episode of emotional release and expression."[17] These shows were essential for teenage girls because emotional outbursts or expressions of passionate emotions were seen as sexual delinquency.[18] However, Elvis' concerts faced heavy criticism from the adult community—not because of the rock and roll but because of the effects that rock and roll seemed to have on Canada's daughters.

Adults perceived the music monopolizing their teenagers' bedrooms to be "dangerous to the adolescent mind."[19] The lyrics were morally questionable and promoted social disruption.[20] The media's depictions of rock and roll icons, such as Elvis, and rock and roll concerts contributed to parents' fears because they focused on how the genre defied societal norms.[21] Elvis' image emulated teenage angst, but it also represented teenage girls' sexuality.[22] His hips and promiscuous dancing were widely criticized by adults who said that he was corrupting young girls' innocence.[23] Doug Owram found that "adult authority condemned the

[14] Ryan Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls: Rock and Roll in Canada in the 1950s," in *Canuck Rock: A History of Canadian Popular Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 35.
[15] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 37.
[16] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 156.
[17] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 38.
[18] Kate Harper, "A Pretty Girl of Sixteen," *Girlhood Studies* 4, no. 1 (2011), 35.
[19] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 34.
[20] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 33.
[21] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 40.
[22] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 146.
[23] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 152.

new music," as everyone from psychologists to religious leaders found ways to explain how rock and roll music was corrupting teenagers.[24] In Elvis' 1957 tour, the city of Montreal went as far as to cancel a show at the request of the Catholic clergy; Notre Dame Convent in Ottawa banned their students from attending his show in Canada's capital.[25] The extreme lengths that adults went to shield their youth from Elvis Presley and his corrupting rock and roll prove that adults feared teenagers, particularly teenage girls, attempts to disrupt societal standards and embrace their natural sexual feelings. More importantly, it proves that teenagers' support of rock and rock effectively changed the Canadian society that adults were attempting to protect.

In September 1957, John Clare's "The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar" was published in *Maclean's* magazine, which articulated what many marketers already knew: the teenager had established an important economic space in Canada. Clare put the facts simply: "today's teenagers are spending their new wealth in a way that makes them important customers."[26] It is not surprising that the market recognized the growing power of teenage consumers, given the unprecedented size of the baby boom generation. Still, teenagers asserted their dominance as important shoppers when their domestic spending grew to upwards of one hundred million dollars a year in 1957.[27] The demographic that had once been considered a modest market now influenced everything from advertising to the car their parents bought. Their purchasing power was not to be underestimated. One shampoo company found that their sales noticeably increased after they changed their advertising theme to appeal to teenage girls.[28] Advertising agencies started incorporating teenage idols and Hollywood stars into their campaigns to further appeal to new markets. Manufacturers wanted movie and television stars to wear their products on camera, even if they did not get a direct plug, because they knew that this would increase sales among young people.[29]

Celebrities had an enormous impact on where teenagers chose to spend their money. In 1957, the *New York Times* estimated that the sales of non-music Elvis products had reached

[24] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 156.
[25] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls: Rock and Roll in Canada in the 1950s," 38.
[26] John Clare, "The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar," *MacLean's*, September 14, 1957.
[27] Clare, "The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar."
[28] Clare, "The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar."
[29] Clare, "The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar."

approximately twenty million dollars.[30] Here, we can see the legacy of the teenage hero in normative teenage culture. The teenage girls who propelled Frank Sinatra into fame created a space for the commodification of teen celebrities. The people whom they idolized influenced cultural and spending trends. The purchasing power of teenagers, and especially teenage girls, was evident to all Canadian companies.

While the economic power of teenage girls was recognized, this recognition was not extended to the political or societal spheres. Both their age and their gender made them dismissible in Canadian society. Society considered the exit from adolescence as the pass that granted full membership into the adult community.[31] Therefore, teenagers could not be full members of adult society nor access the privileges that came with it. In general, societal perceptions of teenage girls were not positive. In a 1957 *Maclean's* article titled "How to live with a teenage daughter," Robert Thomas (Pops) Allen criticized essentially every aspect of his adolescent daughters' identities:

> A teenage daughter is something between a child and a young woman in ten petticoats, bare feet and crooked lipstick. Her main drive in life is to wear spike heels and My Downfall perfume, dress like a $25,000-a-year fashion model out of Seventeen Magazine, give as much lip as the traffic will bear, stay up till midnight, which she claims every child of normal parents is allowed to do, and avoid all work, which she claims all normal parents do themselves.[32]

He presented teenage girls, the ones he loved no less, as the most vain, selfish, trivial, and dramatic individuals to have ever existed. From his perspective, they contributed nothing to society and asked everything of their parents. Allen's description cast teenage girls as people who did not care about effecting change in their community, engaging in debates beyond the latest trends, or contributing to the world in any way. Simply put, they were a burden to society. Allen's perspective was likely shared by many other adults in Canada, given that *Maclean's* magazine typically represented their public opinion.[33] Allen did not suggest in his article that parents should teach their teenage girls to be better members of society or guide them towards an interest in politics. Instead, he said that there was only one thing to do with teenagers: "wait

[30] Ryan Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls: Rock and Roll in Canada in the 1950s," in *Canuck Rock: A History of Canadian Popular Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 52.
[31] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 137.
[32] Robert Allen, "How to Live with a Teen-Age Daughter," *MacLean's*, August 31, 1957.
[33] Jaymie Heilman, "Offspring as Enemy? How Canada's National Magazine Confronted Youth and Youth Culture in the 1960s," *Past Imperfect* 6 (1997), 76.

till they're twenty."[34] Allen's solution alluded to a societal abandonment; there was literally no hope for them. This shared mindset helps to explain why teenage activism was disregarded and ignored. It did not matter what teenage girls did because it would simply be overlooked by broader adult society. Until they reached twenty, young women were not permitted a voice in Canadian society, culture, or politics.

In 1959, Robert Thomas Allen's daughters, Jane Allen and Mary Allen, responded to their father's article criticizing their demographic. Their article, "How to endure a father," demonstrated their intelligence, wit, and authenticity; It single-handedly disproved the stereotype that Robert Thomas Allen presented.[35] Jane and Mary Allen turned the tables on their father and expressed the double standards that teenage girls endured:

> A middle-aged father is someone who thinks you're either too young or too old. You're too young for boys, high heels, a driver's license or to have formed any correct judgment of the world. You are old enough to judge when it's time to go to bed or help set the table, to know when to stop talking and take an interest in things like mortgages. He says you're almost old enough to be out earning your own living, but if you put enough lipstick on to see he stares at you as if you were something in a horror movie.[36]

They articulated the liminal position that young women were stuck in — too young to be taken seriously by adults and too old to remain uncriticized by them. They carried the burden of the responsibilities and expectations of adulthood without the accompanying privileges.

Articles in *Maclean's* magazine published in the late 1950s to early 1960s illustrate the conflicting images that were depicted of teenagers. In a 1959 editorial, Sidney Katz wrote, "Is our youth equipped to face the future?"[37] Katz simultaneously presented teenagers as the leaders of the future, trivial juveniles, and right-wing radicals incapable of making responsible choices. He presented statistics from a national poll of Canadian high schoolers' political opinions as "an alarmingly high proportion," or "almost one half."[38] Although this was likely a journalistic choice, he still presented his opinions as facts to all Canadian readers. Therefore, he influenced society to perceive teenagers as radical and untrustworthy decision-makers. He twisted teenagers' words to seem more dramatic so that adults had less trust in their children's 'radical' opinions. Douglas Jung, the MP for Vancouver-Centre in 1959 and president of the

[34] Robert Allen, "How to Live with a Teen-Age Daughter."
[35] Jane Allen, Mary Allen, and Robert Allen, "How to Endure a Father," *Maclean's*, January 31, 1959.
[36] Jane Allen, Mary Allen, and Robert Allen, "How to Endure a Father."
[37] Sidney Katz, "Is Our Youth Equipped to Face the Future?" *Maclean's*, October 10, 1959.
[38] Katz, "Is Our Youth Equipped to Face the Future?"

Young Progressive Conservative Association, stated that "after dealing with over two hundred political youth groups all over Canada, it is my impression that young people are not interested in politics."[39] As a trusted politician, Jung's perception of youth was thus transferred to every reader of the article. In contradiction with Jung's statement, youth in Canada and North America were actively political, just not in a way that conformed to adults' perception of appropriate politics. Groups of young people loudly promoted nudity, free love, and sexual freedom.[40] Teenage girls combatted political issues pertinent to their lives, such as birth control and gender equality in high schools.[41] Canada's youth were active in politics, just not in a way that was acceptable to Jung. Despite this, his statement influenced the minds of Canadians who were not aware of the reality of young people's interest in politics. Broad and opinionated statements such as this created an image of apolitical, uninfluential, and irresponsible youth that remained in adults' minds.

While teenage girls exercised widely recognized power as consumers, their impact was not recognized in other parts of Canadian society. The stereotype of the teenage girl overshadowed the realities of young women who were oppressed and manipulated conform to the standards expected of them. They were taught to be submissive and yield to male authority as a daughter and later as a wife and mother. Submissiveness was entrenched in young girls' minds through specifically manipulated media. Magazines specially made for teenage girls like *Seventeen* and *Miss Chatelaine* emerged in the fifties and sixties, but their content was controlled by adults and promoted adult values.[42] Popular books made for adolescent girls did the same thing. The Nancy Drew series included devices and themes that were intentionally used by cultural producers (who were exclusively white men) "that served to undermine any potential authority or agency that teenage girl protagonists may have had in their respective texts."[43] These seemingly empowering books re-established the social order of male authority and exposed unknowing readers to patriarchal messages.[44] The Nancy Drew series intentionally promoted a message of obedience and female submission to young girls

[39] Katz, "Is Our Youth Equipped to Face the Future?"
[40] Heilman, "Offspring as Enemy?" 78.
[41] Kera Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too: Education, Body Politics, and the Making of Teenage Feminism," *Gender Issues* 33, no. 2 (2016), 72.
[42] Owram, "The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager," 145.
[43] Diana Belscamper, "The Case of the Paradoxical Teenage Girl: How Nancy Drew, Corliss Archer, and Gidget Pacified Patriarchal Concerns and Appeased American Girls." *Girlhood Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008), 150.
[44] Belscamper, "The Case of the Paradoxical Teenage Girl," 150.

that shaped the way they saw themselves and promoted the patriarchy. According to Kate Harper, "Nancy's spectacular feats and reputation are heavily dependent on her adherence to and upholding of existing social structures."[45] Although the series was first published in 1930, the first three books continue to be the most widely read in the series to this day.[46] They undoubtedly impacted the minds of teenage girls throughout the twentieth century.

Because girls were subjected to patriarchal messaging that enforced their femininity and compliance with male authority, young female activists would have had to work even harder than their male peers to seek political and societal change as it would have directly opposed their ideas of femininity. Women in the twentieth century in Canada were not afforded the same privileges as men and in many ways, femininity itself is tied to the ability to satisfy male needs. Female activism defied patriarchal norms, and thus, in many ways, defied femininity itself.[47] This gendered confinement of the role women had in Canadian society contradicted women's ability to be seen as activists. In this context, many teenage girls used feminism as a tool to challenge the rigidly defined narrative that was projected onto them.

As teenage girls entered womanhood, their bodies and their dress were increasingly policed by adults. As they matured, the shorter pants and skirts that girls wore as children became unacceptable, and schools began recognizing the power that firm, gendered dress codes had in controlling teenage rebellion.[48] According to Kera Lovell, "regulating dresses contained girls (and therefore boys) sexually and trained soon-to-be women to conform socially, while also controlling teenage girls politically."[49] Dress codes allowed schools to control how teenage girls' bodies were displayed, therefore suggesting that their appearance was primarily meant to appeal to others. It also directly implied that to be upstanding members of society, girls had to present themselves according to male preferences, who had complete control over even the smallest choices that they made. Dress codes made teenage girls sexual objects first and students second.

Dress codes also forced girls to endure humiliation and sexual harassment. Schools that required skirts often used the "kneeling test," in which girls were made to submissively

[45] Harper, "A Pretty Girl of Sixteen," 45.
[46] Harper, "A Pretty Girl of Sixteen," 35.
[47] For further reading on this subject, I would recommend: Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs* 5, no. 4 (1980).
[48] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too: Education, Body Politics, and the Making of Teenage Feminism," 77.
[49] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 77.

kneel in front of the class to make sure that their skirts reached the floor.[50] Skirts also forced young women to constantly be aware of how they were sitting and standing to ensure that boys were not violating their privacy and looking at their undergarments. Dress codes contributed to the objectification of underage teenage girls and barred girls from feeling safe at school, learning comfortably, and being free to move and participate in activities.[51] Near the end of the 1960s, teenage girls began protesting dress codes by organizing specific days where all women wore pants to school; sit-ins in principal offices and other places where school legislation was discussed; and wearing pant-like bottoms such as culotte slips, petti pants, and pant slips underneath their clothes, or jumpsuits and culottes for which they were often sent home.[52]

In a massive protest in Massachusetts, upwards of one hundred students protested their school's rigid dress codes. Protesting girls wore pants to school while boys wore jeans (which were not allowed at most schools). The students were suspended for their participation, and the protest evolved into a march around the school. Eight girls were subsequently arrested for their involvement.[53] Although this did not take place in Canada, it represents the experience shared by many teenage girls in North America who fought for their rights despite their depiction as apolitical citizens. The arrest of these young women proves that teenage girls were active in politics. When young feminists' work finally paid off, and dress codes were altered, their male peers and even faculty criticized women's decision to wear pants. They saw it as "a strong symbolic resistance to traditional gender roles."[54] Although their efforts and political acts were recognized in the passing moment, their activism was formally dismissed as schools began claiming that girls could wear pants to protect them from the cold.[55] Teenage girls across North America protested skirt regulations for decades, yet their achievements were "rarely identified by schools as a measure of gender equality with life-long impact."[56] By re-establishing the right to wear pants as non-political, schools dismissed the activism of young women and their ability to create legitimate change in society, which contributed to the notion that teenage girls did not influence societal and political change.

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[50] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 77.
[51] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 78.
[52] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 77-8.
[53] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 78.
[54] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 79.
[55] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 79.
[56] Lovell, "Girls Are Equal Too," 79.

While there is no doubt in my mind that teenage girls affected change in Canadian society in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the scholarly sources on the topic could lead some to believe otherwise. There is almost no research on teenage girls from this period in Canada, let alone the world. For this reason, much of my research has relied on primary sources. Numerous pieces of academic literature outline aspects of teenage life in Canada, but even these seem to focus on a male-dominated experience or teenage girls' lives in relation to their male peers. For example, in "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls: Rock and Roll in Canada in the 1950s," Ryan Edwardson stated that "the baby boom generation had dialled into a new music outlet for emotional and physical expression as well as social and gender identity negotiation and cohesion. This was particularly true for teenage boys, who had limited peer status opportunities outside of sports at this time."[57] While the first part of his statement accurately describes the cultural changes that teenagers were facing during this time, the second part is problematic. Edwardson blatantly excluded the oppression that teenage girls faced because of their gender and discounted young women's struggles to belong in society. Edwardson goes on to talk about how rock and roll provided an opportunity apart from athletics for teenage boys to climb the social ladder and 'get' girls.[58] Edwardson noted that although girls were excluded from performing at this time, they could dance to rock and roll.[59] While the chapter illustrated the social opportunities that rock and roll provided for teenage boys, he failed to include parallel experiences for their female peers. It is shocking that he was able to discuss how rock and roll was used by young men to attract girls but fails to actually discuss girls. This is not an isolated example of teenage girls being discussed only in relation to boys. Most of the sources I examined did the same. The historiography of teenagers in Canada in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s contributes to the dismissal of teenage girls as important changemakers in Canada. For this reason, some American examples were used in this essay as they represent a shared North American experience as the culture in Canada and the United States has always been closely linked.

The oppression and dismissal that teenage girls faced is a part of the history of oppression in Canada. Other barriers such as socioeconomic status, race, sexual orientation and immigration status impacted adolescent Canadians' ability to engage in activism and

[57] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls: Rock and Roll in Canada in the 1950s," 36.
[58] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 36.
[59] Edwardson, "Lonely Boys and Wild Girls," 36.

teenage culture. This essay analyzes how teenage girls as a broad category impacted Canadian society, but there are more conversations to be had about how marginalization communities engaged and helped to define adolescence and girlhood in Canada. As Mythili Rajiva has noted, there is minimal research on how age "as a relation to power intersect[s] with race, gender, class or ethnicity to produce certain kinds of racialized subjectivities."[60] It is imperative that historians continue to explore, research, and share the experiences of marginalized groups as well as the intersection between these groups to ensure that history is told in the most accurate way possible.

Teenage girls significantly impacted the cultural and political worlds in Canada in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, but their impact was ignored, mainly because of the societal exclusion of both teenagers and women as impactful political and cultural actors. The emergence and refinement of teenage culture that was distinct and separate from adults emphasized young people's exclusion from normative society. While teenage girls were able to define their power as a generation in the economy, they were unable to convince adults that they were capable of activism that inspired real change. When they were able to disrupt society, their role was often dismissed. The legacies of this can be felt today as teenage girls struggle to be seen by adults as capable people and not just a personification of the stereotypical teenage girl.

[60] Mythili Rajiva, "Brown Girls, White Worlds: Adolescence and the Making of Racialized Selves," *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne De Sociologie* 43, no. 2 (2006), 166.

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Legislation on Moral Anatomy in Eighteenth to Nineteenth Century Scotland

Drew Stanley

The study of anatomy in the United Kingdom from the late 1700s to the early 1800s was a highly amoral practice, not only due to those involved but also the lack of legislation in place. The science of anatomy and surgery were steadily improving with the use of anatomy theatres and practicing on cadavers by medical students, but "by the nineteenth century the balance of cadaver supply and demand was exceedingly unfavourable for the students of medicine."[1] As soon as a shortage in the market was recognized, a new business began. A handful of people who "engaged in the illegal procurement of cadavers, [known as] body-snatcher[s], resurrectionist[s], sack-'em-up gentlemen and ghouls" were roused, filling the gap in the market.[2] This was the case in Edinburgh, Scotland in the 1820s, during the West Port Murders, aided by the involvement of Dr. Robert Knox. Though he was involved, Dr. Knox's awareness of his involvement remains debated by scholars.[3] Despite these modern debates, his career has remained tarnished by the rumours surrounding the murders. There was previously no governing power in the Anatomical Society to overlook the blossoming operations in the cadaver industry because there had been no need. Thus, at disturbing rates, the perfect "system that efficiently and dispassionately put bodies on tables for young anatomy students" was formed.[4] Though the body-snatchers and practitioners of medicine facilitated these actions, the lack of legislation enabled and practically encouraged the entire operation. With the implementation of new laws, which gave licensed physicians and their students the legal rights to a specified number of unclaimed corpses a year, anatomical studies and its disciples were allowed the opportunity to return to ethical science, sound medical practice, and their morality.

In the 1800s, as medical anatomy grew in universities, the need for cadavers grew alongside it. This happened for multiple reasons, one of which being "a proliferation of medical schools offering students the benefits of practical knowledge gained through

[1] Ian Ross and Carol Urquhart Ross, "Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain: From Exhumation to Murder," *British Journal of Law and Society* 6, no. 1 (1979): 112.
[2] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 112
[3] Montgomery, Horace, "Resurrection Times," *The Georgia Review* 43, no. 3 (1989): 540.
[4] Guerrini, Anita, "The Anatomy of Robert Knox: Murder, Mad Science and Medical Regulation in Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh," *The Journal of Modern History* 83, no. 3 (2011): 645.

participation in dissection" in their education of surgery, which had previously been offered through demonstration alone.[5] The novel offer to practice on cadavers led universities to gain more attention from prospective students, and allowed for more experimentation of the surgical processes, which was becoming increasingly important due to the demand for better medical care by the wealthier classes.[6] These requirements of anatomical studies in the surgical curriculum meant more cadavers were needed by more universities. This also meant that when the rise of men hoping to become surgeons due to the Napoleonic wars occurred, more professors and student practice became necessary, meaning even more cadavers.[7] A third reason the need for cadavers was rising was that students' tuition funded these universities, and more opportunities for more students to practice meant additional tuition for the universities.[8] Professors like Dr. Robert Knox at the University of Edinburgh would have felt the pressure to supply his students with the practice they so needed to become efficacious surgeons, to encourage large numbers of students to choose to enroll themselves at his university. Being as successful as he was, running one of Edinburgh's largest and most successful anatomy schools, Knox would have felt a heightened level of the pressure fueling the United Kingdom's cadaver craze.[9] In other words, the vast number of students attending his lectures would all have needed the ability to practice their surgical technique on bodies, Knox, more than most other professors in the United Kingdom, required a larger than average sum of cadavers. Regardless of if he was aware of the situation or not, this pressure, coming from within himself or the actual institution, would be enough to encourage Knox to resort to desperate measures and questionable medical practices.

The minimal supply of cadavers in the face of substantial demand became an exceptional opportunity for those who had noticed the sizable gap in the medical market, and as the perfect stage for people to make a livable wage outside of the usual and legal ways, suppliers turned to grave robbing and body snatching.[10] These terms were occasionally replaced with other, more disturbing terms such as 'sack-'em-ups' and 'resurrection men,' referring to the snatcher's inhuman and immoral removal of bodies from their graves and

[5] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 110.
[6] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 110.
[7] Guerrini, *The Anatomy of Robert Knox*, 645.
[8] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 111.
[9] Richards, Evelleen, "The 'Moral Anatomy' of Robert Knox: The Interplay between Biological and Social Thought in Victorian Scientific Naturalism," *Journal of the History of Biology* 22, no. 3 (1989), 380.
[10] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 111.

proceeding to bag them for transportation.[11] Those who took advantage of the university's desperation were desperate themselves; those who were willing to commit crimes to earn a profit. The universities and their professors were willing to pay any fee, so the body snatchers would ensure a steady supply of cadavers.[12] These poor souls found the easiest, most accessible and well-paying job on the market; and with no regulation of the exchanges, body-snatching was a job where one could be their own boss. Soon enough, the suppliers began resorting to other illegal methods that would morally stain them forever. The patience of waiting for people to die eventually ran out, and the "body snatcher's greed for fresh corpses led them to bypass all middlemen by resorting to murder," arousing fear in the public.[13] Every one of their malicious actions were self-justified through the profit made after delivery. The rush of earning money after having none encouraged the speed of their actions, and through this stimulated the growth of the industry, expanding the market at unexpected speeds. The men fulfilling these demands were desperate, and their "hunger for money overwhelmed whatever respect they might have had for the dignity of human life" at the start of their corrupt business.[14] Their greed and desperation fueled the continual provision of cadavers to the universities, both party's grateful for the business, most not able to, or refusing to ease and reflect on the horrors of the exchange, many not slowing enough to ask important questions about the sourcing of the materials, and many not caring. Body-snatchers made a substantial living of around £10 a corpse.[15] Though the occasional one-off exchange was probably typical, others found ways to keep their vicious income continual.

In the 1820s in Edinburgh, Scotland, a pair of men named William Burke and William Hare involved themselves in the grave-robbing trade when a man entered Hare's inn and died, and the deplorable duo quickly grasped his body and sold it to the university.[16] They recognized the rare opportunity that had presented itself, and ran with it, as it was not every day that an unknown somebody came to one's doorstep and died. Initially looking for Alexander Munro, a second renowned anatomist at the University of Edinburgh, Burke and Hare ran into a student of Robert Knox's, who informed them that they would make more

[11] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 532.
[12] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 531.
[13] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 531.
[14] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 532.
[15] Guerrini, *The Anatomy of Robert Knox*, 645.
[16] Neher, Allister, "Robert Knox and the Anatomy of Beauty." *Medical Humanities* 37, no. 1 (2011): 46.

money if they sold their cadaver to Knox – an offer they could not refuse.[17] After doing so, a successful industry connection had been made, and all parties were satisfied to their knowledge; the buyer, the seller, the university and the students. Some of the parties containing more information than others, regardless of the want or need. The satisfaction lasted, until it could no longer, and the pair's greed and desperation grew, and as they were so, "pleased by their good fortune … [they] took to killing [sixteen] street people and others who had no apparent family" leaving no trace of their violence behind, thanks to the technique, "burking," named after William Burke.[18]

With a more significant sum than they had imagined and therefore, an increase in their excessive drinking habits, the two eventually became lazy, leaving their victims unattended, stuffed under the beds of Hare's inn to be accidentally stumbled upon during their drunken orgies. Though increasingly careless as the money came in, and their assumed dissonance subsided, they were not questioned until Mary Paterson, a missing person from the community, arrived at the University.[19] The recognition of Mary altered the ignorant acceptance of Burke and Hare's corpses, and their consistent procurement grew exceedingly suspicious. Eventually, Mary was identified as having been a patient "from the Royal Infirmary, where she had been treated for rheumatic fever from 15 to 29 March 1828, just a few months before her death in September;" at the hospital, because of her stay, she would have become familiar to some of Knox's students.[20] Though Burke and Hare's involvement in the West Port murders is evident, ambiguity clouds Knox's awareness. Though avidly purchasing from the two murders, scholars argue how informed Knox's entanglement may have been.

Though unknown by the truth, scholars debate Knox's intellectual stake in the West Port murders. Returning to the recognition of Mary Paterson, some believe that "Knox's first acquaintance with Mary Paterson was as a new specimen for his dissection room," unlike the first acquaintance of many of his students, who had recognized her as a recovered and healthy young woman, just a few months prior.[21] If Knox, even by the latter half of Burke and Hare's murderous rampage, had not recognized the cadavers or questioned the body's production, it was possible that he truly experienced the ignorant bliss of the enjoyment he gained teaching

[17] Neher, *Robert Knox and the Anatomy of Beauty*, 46.
[18] Neher, *Robert Knox and the Anatomy of Beauty*, 46.
[19] Neher, *Robert Knox and the Anatomy of Beauty*, 46.
[20] Neher, *Robert Knox and the Anatomy of Beauty*, 47.
[21] Neher, *Robert Knox and the Anatomy of Beauty*, 47.

dissection. If unencumbered by the knowledge of the illicit procurement of Burke and Hare's cadavers, Knox's reputation should not have crumbled in the way that it did, this story haunted him for the rest of his life.[22] Others have disagreed, believing more was occurring under the surface than had ever been known to the public. Through the trials and charges of Burke and Hare, Knox remained steadfast, even as the country dragged his reputation, and "though his complicity in the murders was never proved, his failure to explain himself gave rise to public speculation. [Thus,] for the remainder of his life this sizzling scandal swirled around him, ruining his professional career."[23] Many claim it is unclear how involved he was, but regardless of this belief, he was forever shamed for his participation.[24] The suggestion of his potential involvement affects how one may see Dr. Knox. Feeling responsible to supply his lectures of over 500 students with more than the twenty-five legally allotted cadavers a year, Knox condemned himself, deserving his ravaged reputation.[25] Knox's hypothetical involvement and the unmistakable amoral participation from Burke and Hare suggests a much greater fault; that in which the exchanges were made. The system was fundamentally unable to correct its wrongs, in that there was no regulating system at all.

Cadavers were required at an incredulous speed when they could not be supplied. That is, until body snatchers rose to the occasion, filling the gap in the market. This exchange, though illegal, benefitted almost all parties, except the directly involved and targeted public, who were increasingly frightened.[26] The physicians and body-snatchers who were aware of the actions occurring in the dark knew, "there [were] no indications [of anyone] attempt[ing] to develop a legislative solution to the problem of supplying cadavers to medical schools. Anatomist[s] and body snatcher[s] were to continue in complicity until public outcry and violence, both real and threatened, forced a change."[27] None of the informed or possibly informed, successful parties wanted to change, and those who were unaware of the illicit activities occurring would not have been concerned, as they would not have known that change needed to happen. All the pieces worked together to continue an anatomical structure and society that allowed the West Port murders and other crimes to happen; "the system with

[22] Richards, *The 'Moral Anatomy' of Robert Knox,* 378.
[23] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 540.
[24] Hammer, R.R., et al., "Students as resurrectionists—A multimodal humanities project in anatomy putting ethics and professionalism in historical context," *Anat Sci* (Ed, 3 2010), 244-248.
[25] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 539.
[26] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 112.
[27] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 536.

all its components — anatomists, enterprising laborers, the government's blind eye [and potentially] Knox's, dislocated poor people — fit beautifully and worked well."[28] Thus, the cycle continued, and the supply and demand were managed until the public could take it no longer; the system overseeing medical anatomy was not fit to successfully manage all its workings.

The lack of legislation was to be addressed first among the public, and eventually in the law. The fear the people held for the system enabling medical education led Henry Warburton to begin a government inquiry about the anatomy school incidents.[29] Bringing the concerns of the people to the House of Commons, as well as "proposing to legalize the dissection of any subject upon consent of the executor … mandate the state to make available to anatomists the bodies of those who requested dissections, as well as all unclaimed bodies of the nation's poor;" with this proposal, the Warburton Anatomy Act of 1832 was formed.[30] Warburton's act invited a larger influx of legal cadavers to enter the anatomical market and to the universities, diminishing the need for illegal procurement. Once the Anatomy Act of 1832 commenced, the illegal cadaver market was silenced.[31] Alongside the securing of additional cadavers for anatomical schools, the new act also began the organization of a new program, one which required prerequisites for people hoping to attend medical examinations, established locations for anatomical studies, and allotted inspectors to ensure ethical and moral practice were in place.[32] Had these legislations been at work previously, it is hard to imagine the work of Burke and Hare and the involvement of Knox would have been possible at all.

The amoral actions of Burke and Hare and the potentially immoral actions of Dr. Knox were enabled by the lack of legislation in the anatomical society in United Kingdom medical universities. With the rise of medical students, the prerequisite of surgical practice before becoming a surgeon and the legal restraints on cadaver access left the anatomical cadaver supply exhausted, and unable to support all its aspects.[33] This gap in the market encouraged and forced those financially struggling to find a supply for the rising demand, and the stage for the perfect crime was set.[34] The lack of administration in place allowed

[28] Guerrini, *The Anatomy of Robert Knox*, 645.
[29] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 536.
[30] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 542.
[31] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 543.
[32] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 542-543.
[33] Ross and Ross, *Body Snatching in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 111.
[34] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 537.

"anatomists to take full advantage of the court's tunnel vision" and continue their amoral studies, aware or not of the crimes they were participating in.[35] With the introduction of the Anatomy Act in 1832, reform in the anatomical legislation, organization and administration occurred, and jobs similar to those of Burke and Hare, and situations like Knox's entanglement, would not have been possible.[36] The lacking structure itself did not allow for a change in the system, and continually encouraged those with the insight and who knew better to complacently remain, perpetuating the amoral science that was anatomy at the time. Knox, Burke, and Hare only took advantage of a weak and lacking legislation in order to improve their own livelihoods, regardless of its morality. With stronger and better-prepared legislation on the schools of anatomy, a more moral, ethical, and reliable science could be founded.

[35] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 536.
[36] Montgomery, *Resurrection Times*, 542.

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Korean "Comfort" Women: Their Testimony and Place in Twenty First Century Historical Memory

Ireland Wright

The Second World War was fought from 1939 to 1945. During this period, different areas of the world were ravaged by violence, especially of the gendered kind. The Japanese Empire used multi-layered violence to ensure the subjugation of all conquered territories during the war, as well as to repair the damaged image of the Imperial Army.[1] The Japanese military's use of "comfort" women during the Second World War was a clear case of gendered violence used against other nations such as Korea and China. The denial of their trauma and very existence, by the Japanese Government specifically, shows how different perspectives from the Second World War are being de-legitimized by modern regimes, with the intent to support a specific propagandized narrative.

"Comfort Women," as many were called, were women from colonized territories forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army on major army, navy, and marine bases. These women were forced to provide sexual services to Japanese officers and soldiers, during the Second World War in particular.[2] A mass system of military brothels was thus created, with women from conquered territories such as China, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines "recruited" for these "comfort" stations.[3] Eighty to ninety percent of these women came from Korea. Korean women were ideal individuals to "recruit," forced more often than not, into the "comfort women" system. The Japanese imperial rule over colonized territories increased the vulnerability of occupied nations, including Korea, thus deceiving women with the promise of well-paid jobs as factory workers, in part of the larger *Chongsindae* or "voluntary labour service corps."[4] The Chongsindae, under the Japanese government's "legal" grounds, was originally a systematic mobilization of both Korean men and women; the government sent Korean labourers back to Japan and other parts of Asia.[5]

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[1] Ohron Myader and R. A. Davidson, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women': Geographies of Displacement, Violence and Memory in the Asia-Pacific and Beyond," (USA: Routledge Press, 2020), 3.
[2] Annemarie Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth." (Tokyo: *Sage Journals*, April 2018), 19.
[3] Chung Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death': Korean Comfort Women," In *War's Dirty Secret*, ed., Anne Barstow, (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 16.
[4] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 6.
[5] Edward Wang, "The study of "comfort women": Revealing a hidden past—introduction," *Taylor and Francis Online* (Dec 2019), 2.

Of course, this blanket term, which involved the mass enslavement of Korean labourers, was used as a disguise for the mass coercion of *wianbu,* or "comfort" women.[6] As a result, "comfort" women were put through extreme trauma, including being raped multiple times a day for months, even years, while also witnessing brutal acts of violence against fellow "comfort" women. Forced abortions involving rat poison or sticks, as well as torture by impalement, were only a few of the terrible punishments.[7] These women were forced to abandon their homes, families, and all sense of familiarity, as even speaking one's native language was punishable.[8]

The phrase "comfort" women itself is in fact a translation into English from the Japanese word *慰安婦*, meaning "a woman who gives ease and consolation."[9] However, it is obvious it refers to women forced into military prostitution who accompanied the Japanese Army. The name "comfort women" itself acts as a means of denying acknowledgement of the displacement and sexual violence many women face in this militarized prostitution system; many use the phrase in quotations in order to recognize the contradictory nature of inflicting violence on the innocent whilst evoking an untrue sense of consolation through the name.[10] The following paper does the same in order to recognize the significance and weight of the term "comfort women."

What needs to be thoroughly established is the why; why did Japan conduct such diabolical crimes during the Second World War? "Comfort" women were deemed necessary for sexual release amongst Japanese soldiers, as rape was considered most "disturbing," as well as causing extreme hostility amongst occupied territories.[11] Perhaps military security was also considered as "comfort" women were placed in the vicinity of military bases in order to prevent the spread of army secrets amongst local brothels and populations.[12] This excuse was seen especially during the China-Japanese War; when in fact it was Japanese soldiers engaging in killing, stealing, rape, and antagonizing local communities.[13] This reasoning can be seen used especially after the events now deemed the "Rape of Nanjing." In 1931, Japanese forces

[6] Donald Clark, "*Korea Briefing, 1992*." (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2019), Chapter 5.
[7] Nora Okja Keller, "Comfort Women" (New York: Viking Publishing, 1997), 22.
[8] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 6.
[9] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 2.
[10] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 2.
[11] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 18.
[12] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 18.
[13] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 6.

entered the territory of Manchuria; the army established "comfort" stations throughout China and Southeast Asia during this campaign.[14] These "red-light" districts were not the same as the later forced recruitment and militarized system in the later 1940s, but the motivation behind both was similar.[15] However, Japan's Central China Area Army looted, massacred, arsoned, and raped over long periods. Later in the year 1937, Japanese troops murdered between 100,000 and 300,000 people, and raped approximately 20,000 women in the city of Nanjing alone.[16] Following these events, international states showed outright disdain for the actions of the Japanese Army, which led to Emperor Hirohito acting. Thus, the Japanese Imperial Army sought to institute the "comfort women" system, as a means of restoring Japan's polished image through the use of an established sexual outlet.[17] Even with the already established licensed system of prostitution existing in Japan, a result of the Meiji Restoration of 1868,[18] the "comfort women" system was created and combined with the modern organization with the objective of controlling female bodies to "curb sexually-transmitted diseases."[19]

Though military reasons were used to justify the use of "comfort" women, such as decreasing sexually transmitted diseases amongst Japanese soldiers or increasing "recreation" for those seeking vacations, the decision to use "comfort" women was very much based on ideology. Much of the Japanese Government and Army's actions were based on factors regarding the state of the nation, class relationships, and attitudes on gender.[20] With the Emperor as the source of absolute power, obedience was seen as necessary in Japanese hierarchical society. Thus, men in their patriarchal positions chose to vent anger on women specifically with incredible acts of violence. This especially occurred against colonized women.[21] Through the creation of such a patriarchal society, class and gender combined into ideologies that place women in the imperial hierarchy. This was seen as educating females in such a way to become "mothers of Japan, the mothers of militarization, the mothers of

[14] Christine Kim, "The Comfort Women System: Sexual Slavery during World War II," *Scholarly and Creative Work from DePauw University*, (April 2017), 21.
[15] Kim, "Sexual Slavery during World War II," 21.
[16] Kim, "Sexual Slavery during World War II," 21.
[17] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 5.
[18] Kim, "Sexual Slavery during World War II," 14.
[19] Kim, "Sexual Slavery during World War II," 23.
[20] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 19.
[21] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 20.

warriors, the mothers of a healthy nation, the mothers of the Japanization of Asia, etc."[22] Lower-class women were given the "ideology of comfort," which proclaimed them to be necessary members of the emperor nation.[23]

Thus, women of lower classes or colonized territories were automatically forced into an ideological category of workers required to fulfill all services towards the Japanese Empire. Especially Korean women, or "Chosun" women, who had been raised under the Confucian ideology of chastity, were forced to conform to another way of life that was morally foreign to their way of life.[24] Kamikaze pilots forced Korean "comfort" women to commit suicide before the pilots left to bomb enemy armies and their deaths were considered a "patriotic sacrifice for the emperor's altar; the rape of Korean women by Japanese soldiers was considered holy, patriotic sex at the emperor's temple, which was the military base."[25] The Japanese asserted their supposed divine right and authority to do what they pleased to not only colonized peoples, but "comfort" women specifically. Accompanied by an assimilation program predominantly for Koreans, "comfort" women were also forced to give up their own identities; the "Pledge of the Imperial" forced individuals to recite phrases such as "We are the subjects of the Great Japanese Empire" and "We are fully loyal to the Emperor."[26] Koreans were forced to change their name into Japanese, as well worship the Emperor and attend Shinto shrine ceremonies, in order to create a new national identity in the process.[27] The use of thousands of young women as sex slaves, from Korea, China, and other territories, was an attempt to impose control. Force and destruction were methods used to make these women barren, unable to create families and communities on their own terms; it was the most effective way of humiliating and attempting to destroy the Korean people.[28]

The Korean women who survived the "comfort" system have suffered long-lasting emotional, psychological, and physical scars as a result of the violent torture, punishment and abuse each had been put through.[29] As a result of the sexual abuse, many "comfort" women

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[22] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 20.
[23] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 20.
[24] Katrina Maynes, "Korean Perceptions of Chastity, Gender Roles, and Libido; From Kisaengs to the Twenty First Century" *Grand Valley Journal of History* 1, no. 1, (2012): 3.
[25] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 19.
[26] Soon-Yong Pak and Keumjoong Hwang, "Assimilation and segregation of imperial subjects: "educating" the colonised during the 1910–1945 Japanese colonial rule of Korea," (*Paedagogica Historica* 47 no. 3, (June 2011), 391.
[27] Pak and Hwang, "Assimilation and segregation of imperial subjects," 391.
[28] Hyun-Kyung, "'Your Comfort versus My Death,'" 20.
[29] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 6.

became sterile; involuntary medical experiments committed with the intent to prevent pregnancies and treat sexually transmitted diseases also contributed to infertility.[30] A factor heavily contributing to the silence of "comfort" women was the embarrassment many felt on their return home, driving their moral compass to stay quiet about the atrocities they experienced.[31] In post-war era Korea, authoritarian regimes held government for decades leading up to the 1980s; only after the dictatorships of Park Chung-hee, and later Chun Doo-hwan in 1987, were alternative voices, such as comfort women, able to rejoin the social order of their communities, and regain the ability to use their voice.[32] During this period, former Korean "comfort" women began to share their stories. The most ground-breaking testimony came from former "comfort" woman Kim Hak-sun's publicly televised interview in 1991. She spoke of her experience, "Around 300 soldiers could take a break from duty once every three days. Each woman had to serve an average of three to four soldiers on regular days, and seven to eight soldiers after battles."[33] In light of acts of sexual violence committed against women during the Bosnian wars and Rwandan civil war around the same time as her interview, there was a movement, especially supported by the United Nations, to promote and recognize women's rights as human rights.[34]

With these opinions come again the prominent societal belief in countries with a patriarchal base in Confucian ideals, like Japan, Korea, and China. The needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few, accompanied by obedience by women towards men.[35] It has been stated that "comfort women" survivors have experienced "humiliation and isolation from their families and society as a whole," showing that some lives, especially "comfort" women, are less important than others.[36] Female chastity is also at the heart of this issue, resulting in a resistance to share experiences of a sexual nature publicly; a cultural morality had influenced "comfort" women into silence, placing guilt and burden on them for events which they had no control over.[37] As years pass, "comfort" system survivors grow older. Thanks to the bravery of Kim Hak-sun, a former "comfort" woman who spoke out using her own name

[30] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 7.
[31] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 7.
[32] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 9.
[33] Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth," 19.
[34] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 9.
[35] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 8.
[36] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 8.
[37] Jungmin Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China: Remembering the Comfort Women and the Nanjing Massacre," (University of Manoa, 2008), 374.

about her experience in August of 1991, many others have come forward.[38] In 2016, the South Korean government documented approximately 239 women registered as victims of sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army; nine are now aged between 88 and 102.[39] Many have begun to lose their memories, as well as some suffering from dementia, making interviews and story-telling out of the question. The many testimonies each individual has given are vital for the sustainment of memories.[40]

It is interesting when observing this post-war period that "comfort" women were made into symbols of the Korean nation, while their own government has turned a blind eye to the fact Korean collaborators aided in the recruiting of "comfort" women with the Japanese.[41] Through the use of historical narrative, Korean nationalist discourse has laid sole responsibility on Japan. A Korean non-governmental organization, the Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities, published a list containing 3,000 names of Korean collaborators, referencing the names of political, educational, and business leaders or their related family members.[42] Acknowledging collaboration itself could destroy the notion of the Other, or "Us versus Them" mentality which is very much pushed by the South Korean government to this day.[43]

Though talks between each country have continued to deteriorate, despite an initially positive reception, attention and activism surrounding the issue of "comfort" women have come to light. Memorial sites around the world have brought public attention and refocused conversations on the victims themselves, not bilateral relations or international politics.[44] They are a physical representation in the social memory of modern generations and offer incontestable truths.[45] Many memorials have been constructed throughout South Korea, as well as Australia, Germany, the Philippines, Taipei, and China.[46] Many have also been constructed throughout the United States, in Brookhaven, Georgia, Nassau County, New

[38] Kan Kimura, "The Burden of the Past" (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018): 104.
[39] Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth," 20.
[40] Aiko Ogoshi and Kiyoko Shimizu, "Japanese Women Who Stand with Comfort Women," (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 26.
[41] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 11.
[42] Kim Rahn, "List of Japanese Collaborators Released." (The Korea Times, April 2008).
[43] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 11.
[44] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 15.
[45] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 15.
[46] Rangsook Yoon, "Erecting the "Comfort Women" Memorials: From Seoul to San Francisco," (University of South Africa, 2018), 74.

York, and Glendale, California.[47] In December 2011, a memorial was constructed outside the Japanese Embassy in Seoul; the Japanese Government has repeatedly asked for its demolition.[48] Japanese women have come to understand and support activists on the issue of Japanese "comfort" systems. These women recognize the ignorance of parents and grandparents, who have tried to erase their actions.[49] Acknowledging ignorance which caused many assaults and deaths, and accepting the responsibility of financial compensation for each victim is a welcome start to a long road to reconciliation.[50] These women oppose the Asian Women's Fund as well, the non-governmental enterprise created by the Japanese government in 1995;[51] the fund itself was the government's attempt at providing "atonement money" to "comfort" survivors without taking legal responsibility for crimes committed by their predecessors.[52] Japanese women created an organization called the Citizens' Fund to Realize Postwar Compensation ("Citizens' Fund," hereafter) in August 1995 to counter the government.[53]

"Comfort women" and their testimony have led to a rise in Japanese nationalism. Earlier apologies from the government have caused nationalists to push back. They seek to portray the Army as a success, depicted as an "anti-Western" entity during the Second World War from 1939 to 1945; they downplay the acts of violence, especially towards "comfort" women.[54] An anti-apology campaign by right-wing nationalists argues that "comfort" women did not enter service against their will, and that the Japanese army was not involved.[55] In nationalist narratives, "comfort" women are looked upon as prostitutes, and therefore should not be trusted.[56] Due to continuous pressure, there has been, and still is, a clear downplaying of responsibility for the atrocities conducted by the Japanese state. This is especially done by former Prime Minister Abe, specifically in regards to his grandfather Kishi Nobusuke, a class-A war crimes suspect.[57] As a result, mainstream high school textbooks that did mention

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[47] Yoon, "Erecting the "Comfort Women" Memorials," 75.
[48] Yoon, "Erecting the "Comfort Women" Memorials," 70.
[49] Ogoshi and Shimizu, "Japanese Women Who Stand with Comfort Women," 26.
[50] Ogoshi and Shimizu, "Japanese Women Who Stand with Comfort Women," 27.
[51] Chungee Sarah Soh, "Japan's National/Asian Women's Fund for "Comfort Women."" (University of British Columbia, Summer 2003), 217.
[52] Ogoshi and Shimizu, "Japanese Women Who Stand with Comfort Women," 27.
[53] Soh, "Japan's National/Asian Women's Fund," 217.
[54] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 12.
[55] Wang, "Revealing a hidden past," 2.
[56] Mayder, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 12.
[57] Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth," 20.

"comfort" women are gone, and replaced with versions that sanitize any Japanese culpability. Further, the Japanese Government both refuses to officially compensate "comfort" system victims with official funds and take legal responsibility for their crimes.[58]

Now it has become a large issue to identify who is to blame, and how certain governments are reacting to activism and testimony regarding the "comfort" system, and the women affected by it. The topic of forced recruitment of Korean women as "comfort" women by the Japanese Empire especially during the period of the Second World War was first raised after an official state visit by then South Korean President Roh Tae Woo in June of 1990, at Japan's National Diet.[59] Since then, for the past twenty years, a sort of "apology diplomacy" has arisen. Former President Kiichi Miyazawa's visit to South Korea in 1992 attempted to use the strategy of apologizing profusely in order to prevent an attack from the South Korean Government.[60] A statement provided by Chief Cabinet Secretary Koichi Kato, on January 13, 1992, acknowledged Japanese involvement in the "comfort" women system, but revealed they had not found documents related to coercive recruitment.[61] The 1993 Kono Statement, written by then chief cabinet secretary Yohei Kono, "in many cases their recruitment, transfer, control, etc., were conducted generally against their will, through coaxing, coercion etc."[62] He acknowledged the role, both direct and indirect, that the Japanese took in managing "comfort" stations and the forced recruitment and captivation women faced inside them.[63] A statement by former Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama in August of 1995 focuses on the peace Japan has achieved, and on the 50th anniversary of the war's end seems to deflect their own action by emphasizing the country's devastation by the atomic bomb.[64] In the early 2000s, similar sentiments were also stated by then Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi.[65] Apologies by the Japanese government all present one common theme; they are all abstract and do not focus on specific incidents or victims.[66]

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[58] Wang, "Revealing a hidden past," 2.
[59] Chunghee Sarah Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress," (*University of California Press* 36, no. 12, (December 1996), 209.
[60] Kimura, "The Burden of the Past," 114.
[61] Kimura, "The Burden of the Past," 122.
[62] Hirofumi Hayashi, "Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military "Comfort Women" System and Its Perception in History," *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, (May 2008), 124.
[63] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 10.
[64] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war's end" (Tokyo: August 15, 1995).
[65] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Statement by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi" (Tokyo: August 15, 2005).
[66] Kimura, "The Burden of the Past," 123.

Today, the Japanese government, specifically one of the country's most recent Prime Ministers, Shinzo Abe, has defended the actions of the Imperial Army in recent years.[67] Abe has repeatedly denied the Imperial military's responsibility for coercing women into the "comfort" system. He stated that coercion should be defined as "government authorities breaking into private homes and taking women like kidnappers" and stated that "it is a fact that no evidence has been found to support coercion as initially defined."[68] Private agents were deemed the coercers, not the military. Under Prime Minister Abe, more nationalist narratives in relation to Imperial Japan have come to prominence.[69] Further, in 2015, at a joint press occasion, foreign ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea provided statements saying "The Government of the ROK values the GOJ's announcement and efforts made by the Government of Japan in the lead-up to the issuance of the announcement and confirms, together with the GOJ, that the issue is resolved finally and irreversibly with this announcement."[70] South Korea since then has called for a reconsideration of this agreement, saying it did not meet the needs of "comfort" system victims and the victims themselves were sidelined from negotiations, much to the disdain of the Japanese government.[71]

When looking at the current political climate of the east, especially South Korean-Japanese relations, it is quite obvious that the Japanese Government supports a certain "sanitized" view of the history of the Second World War in the Pacific, displacing emphasis on their responsibility and deflecting blame. Seen through the stripping of textbooks, "apology diplomacy," and overall rejection of accepting fault, Japan has focused – and continues to focus – on creating a narrative where the Imperial Japanese government, throne, and army have done no wrong. The pushing of such a conservative narrative is proof of Japan's willingness to create a historical narrative that coincides with honour and peace, values that are important to the Japanese state. They are attempting to create a specific framework of collective memory, one on which each person's individual memory lies.[72] To question the foundation of modern Japanese society would destroy the state's legitimacy. The Emperor is

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[67] Hayashi, "Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military," 123.
[68] Hayashi, "Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military,"123.
[69] Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth," 20.
[70] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion" (Tokyo: December 28, 2015).
[71] Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth," 21.
[72] Maurice Halbwachs, "On Collective Memory" (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 264.

situated as a continuous symbol for the country of Japan and its imperial system; they are an individual who is partially responsible for Japan's involvement in the Second World War. The country's position on the plight of "comfort" survivors is less likely to change.[73] The issue of "comfort" women would create a snowball effect and initiate a "picking apart" of Japanese history entirely if the Japanese accepted legal responsibility for it. The Japanese government and its representatives wish to merge history and the Imperial narrative to form selective historical memories, ones which erase the tragedy of the "comfort system" altogether.[74]

Ultimately, the issue of "comfort" women and the system that Imperial Japan implemented continues to this day. The Japanese government's perspective on these events fails to form clear ideas on their war responsibility and would rather present themselves as victims.[75] The narrative of "comfort" system survivors is one of the largest from the Second World War that Japan chooses to both intentionally and unintentionally delegitimize. Whether it be Japan or any state who was at one time involved with the "comfort system," perpetrators, victims, or those who fall into a grey area, need to recognize their culpability. The issue surrounding "comfort" women should be heard and acknowledged, and the question of who is in control of shaping their memory, and the memories of events that involve them, need to be considered.[76]

[73] Hayato, Nakayama, "Japanese Activists who Support Redress for "Comfort Women": Why and How Do They Address the "Comfort Women" Issue?" (*The University of Manitoba,* 2013), 103.
[74] Halbwachs, "On Collective Memory," 264.
[75] Luck, "No Comfort in the Truth," 21.
[76] Myader, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women,'" 18.

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Liberty and Property in Victorian Lunacy Panics

Ellen Yarr

Questions of social reform were rife in mid-nineteenth century Britain. During this time, various legislative acts passed through parliament that created legal interventionist policies for social issues. One of these issues was the treatment of the mentally ill, who the Victorians would have referred to as 'lunatics.' The topic of lunacy law became a particularly popular subject of concern among the middle-class, who feared that perfectly sane Britons were being locked up in lunatic asylums with no hope of returning to society. Many scholars deem these outbursts of public concern 'lunacy panics.'[1] These bursts of public anxiety eventually led to the establishment of the Commissioners of Lunacy, created through the Lunacy Act of 1845.[2] These Commissioners oversaw lunatic asylums, and were meant to respond to public concerns surrounding both the admittance policies and treatment of patients.[3] What is strikingly absent, however, from both the Commissioners' reports and public anxiety, is concern regarding the admission and treatment of pauper, or working-class, lunatics. The question this paper aims to answer, then, is why lunacy law reformers paid little attention to the unjust confinement of pauper lunatics and opted instead to focus on the false confinement of middle to upper-class Britons. In answering this question, special attention will be paid to exclusionary notions of liberty of the nineteenth century.

Ultimately, this essay argues that the intertwining of liberty and property in nineteenth century British thought meant that discussions of liberty focused primarily on the propertied classes. The Lunacy Act of 1845, in addition to establishing the Commissioners of Lunacy as private asylum investigators, made it mandatory for all counties to create public asylums for pauper lunatics.[4] This was a response to the lack of spaces for working-class lunatics, who often found themselves on the street, or in overcrowded hospitals.[5] These new institutions for

[1] Peter McCandless, "Liberty and Lunacy: The Victorians and Wrongful Confinement," *Journal of Social History* 11, no.3 (1978), 84, accessed November 26, 2021, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3786820.
[2] Peter McCandless, "Dangerous to Themselves and Others: The Victorian Debate over the Prevention of Wrongful Confinement," *Journal of British Studies* 23, no.1 (1983), 85, accessed November 26, 2021, https://www.jstor.org/stable/175621.
[3] McCandless, "Dangerous to Themselves and Others: The Victorian Debate over the Prevention of Wrongful Confinement," 85.
[4] Peter Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy* (London; Washington: Leicester University Press, 1999), 90.
[5] Andrew T. Scull, *Museums of Madness* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 18-19.

working-class lunatics could, to the optimist, be viewed as a more effective and humanitarian approach. However, as many historians have observed, it was more likely a technique used to place the 'inconvenient' poor out of the public eye.[6] Even nineteenth-century Britons commented on "how much laxer ... the standards (were) for judging a poor person to be insane, and...how much readier both local poor law authorities and lower class families were to commit decrepit and troublesome people to the asylum, individuals who, had they come from the middle and upper classes, would never have been diagnosed as insane."[7] This facilitated admittance of the working class into lunatic asylums is reflected in the fact that they represented the majority of the lunatic population in England at the time.[8] Despite this reality, pauper lunatics rarely, if ever, appeared in discourses of wrongful confinement.

Both advocates for lunacy reform and the public at large concerned themselves mostly with wrongful confinement in private asylums, where middle to upper-class Britons were sent, and whose admittance required payment. Of course, there are simple explanations as to why middle and upper-class Britons became the focus of wrongful confinement concerns. As Peter McCandless points out, a wrongfully confined middle-class Briton would have more resources, both socially and monetarily, to bring legal attention to his wrongful confinement. A member of the working-class would not have had these same resources, and therefore his case for wrongful confinement would not have reached the public's attention.[9] Although these are plausible answers, they seem insufficient to answer the question as to why societies that aimed to speak for wrongfully confined 'lunatics,' as well as various other inspections into the state of lunacy houses in general, consistently failed to pay heed to pauper lunatics. I believe a further, slightly more complex, answer to these questions is needed. This is where an exploration of a specifically British and landed notion of 'liberty' will be necessary.

A particularly British conception of liberty can be seen reflected in the exclusion of pauper lunatics from nineteenth-century lunacy panics. Historian Abraham Kriegel defines this liberty as having three interconnected strands: "the inviolability of property, aristocratic honour, and the preservation of a hierarchically ordered society."[10] Property was particularly

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[6] Scull, 20.
[7] Elaine Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity" *Victorian Studies* 23 no.2, (1980): 161-62, accessed November 26, 2021, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3827084.
[8] Showalter, 161.
[9] Peter McCandless, "Liberty and Lunacy: The Victorians and Wrongful Confinement," 369.
[10] Abraham Kriegel, "Liberty and Whiggery," *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no.2 (1980): 254, accessed November 29, 2021.

intertwined in this conception of liberty. Further, property was a birthright of the higher classes, and was thus itself intertwined with status and honor.[11] Owning property made men independent agents, as they were free from landlords and creditors. This independence was also what made men suitable for office, as it was thought wealthy men would be free from the temptations of bribery. Additionally, landed men had real investments in the nation, and therefore deserved a voice in its governance. Men of no property, on the other hand, were not suited for these kinds of responsibilities. Due to their independence from others, wealthy, propertied men had the right to govern themselves, whereas unpropertied, dependent men, did not. The exclusion of men born into an unpropertied class preserved a hierarchical society, with working class, unpropertied men at the bottom.[12] This hierarchy was thought to be divinely ordained and unalterable: those who were born into the aristocracy were to keep their status, and those born poor were meant to remain as such, without any hope for advancement in the hierarchy. These notions are succinctly demonstrated in an 1850 comment of Lord Palmerston's, who stated that England was a country that "reconciled liberty with order, and in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned to it."[13] These notions of liberty were prominent throughout nineteenth century Britain.[14] Kriegel acknowledges the origins of this concept, writing:

> Those liberties, seemingly applicable to the populace as a whole, had in turn been derived from an older and more restrictive concept. Feudal liberties-whether of the barons, the City of London, the Church, the corporation and freemen of particular boroughs-had signified privileges, rights restricted to particularly defined corporate orders...Such liberties were by definition exclusive and particular. They were bestowed from above by the crown, often with reluctance and, as in the case of Magna Carta, in response to demands of the nobility. Insofar as the nobility of England initiated such concessions from the crown, one must concur ... that modern liberty was in its origin an aristocratic idea.[15]

Kriegel cites a long history of liberty as an aristocratic notion here, harkening as far back as the Magna Carta, the document that many would paint as the origin of British freedom and liberty itself.[16] In doing so, Kriegel makes it clear that this exclusionary notion of liberty was

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[11] It should be made clear that, as property was intertwined with birth status, references to propertied men should in turn be construed as referencing the middle to upper classes, and vice versa.
[12] Kriegel, "Liberty and Whiggery," 277.
[13] Kriegel, "Liberty and Whiggery," 277.
[14] F.M.L Thompson, "Land and Politics in England in the Nineteenth Century, *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, 15, (1965), https://www.jstor.org/stable/3678815.
[15] Kriegel, "Liberty and Whiggery," 256.
[16] Tom Bingham, *The Rule of Law* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 11-13.

intertwined in the very essence of British liberty itself. This exclusionary notion of liberty is exactly what I would offer as a possible explanation as to why pauper lunatics were largely absent from discourses of wrongful confinement during nineteenth-century lunacy panics.

What emerges as a consistent theme in periods of lunacy panics is worries about the profit-making and profit-taking of private run asylums. The intertwining of property and liberty is prevalent here: what concerned lunacy reformers, the public, and the Commissioners in lunacy alike were reports of middle to upper-class Britons having their property, both real and financial, being seized, either by the Crown or malicious family members, after being admitted into a lunatic asylum. The type of liberty being discussed was inextricably linked with property rights. Therefore, it was applied almost exclusively to middle to upper-class Britons. The Commissioners themselves made it clear that what primarily concerned them in their investigations was the running of private asylums, and the need for these private houses to be granted a license. Public houses did not need to be granted a license because they did not profit from the keeping of lunatics.[17] The seizure of property from alleged lunatics and their families was therefore the specific violation of liberty that Commissioners wished to investigate. This concern was reflected in public opinion as well. One 1858 letter to the editor of the *Times* suggests that private lunatic asylums were "mere commercial speculations for the benefit of the proprietors." [18] Even the Commissioners themselves brought to light this issue of corruption in private houses. In one particular proceeding, the issue was brought to light of the private asylum doctor who kept a wealthy patient in his care, simply for monetary gain.[19] The Earl of Shaftesbury, chairman of the Commissioners, denied that this was a common occurrence, noting that the licensing of private houses allowed the Commissioners to oversee and prevent instances of corruption.[20] However, Public opinion did not seem to be swayed by these assurances, and concerns continued that the Commissioners were not effectively preventing instances of false confinement.

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[17] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index." House of Commons Papers, Volume 3. 1859, Session 1, 11-12.
[18] "The position of the lunatic appears to be one of," *Times* (London, England), Aug. 19, 1858.
[19] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index," Session 1, 22.
[20] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index," Session 1, 22.

The Alleged Lunatic Friends Society (ALFS) brought many of these public critiques and concerns to the Commissioners' attention. Exclusionary notions of liberty are demonstrated quite well in the interviews of this society, conducted in 1859. This society, composed primarily of former asylum patients (some who believed themselves wrongly incarcerated, others who admitted to suffering from a mental illness), advocated for the better treatment of asylum patients, as well as more cautions being taken in the admittance process.[21] Multiple members of the ALFS, in their parliamentary testimonies, expressed their concern over wrongful confinement with specific regards to property. Admiral Richard Saumirez, chairman of the ALFS, speaking on Chancery lunatics (a type of lunatic found to be so by inquisition), described a "facility now afforded to designing persons to sue out (issue a summons) commissions of lunacy upon parties who they wish to confine, and whose estates they want to get possession of."[22] Saumirez refers to the system of property holding in place for those who were found to be lunatics by a committee. Often heirs of an alleged lunatic would come into possession of that alleged lunatic's property if they were found to be insane and committed to a private asylum. Ann Tottenham, another member of the ALFS, described her very experience with this system. In her interview, she emphasized that "The committee have no idea of the difficulty of persons in such circumstances of getting out; they are without a farthing, all their money is in the hands of the opposite party." [23] The interviews of members of the Alleged Lunatic Friends Society echo those previously cited public concerns that private asylums were "mere commercial speculations" that worked malevolently to deprive landed Britons of their property.[24]

This focus on the wrongful incarceration of the propertied classes continues throughout the ALFS interviews. Saumirez suggested to the Commissioners that proper financial records ought to be kept of expenses spent on private asylum patients. He cited a case in which, although records stated money was spent on the proper dress of a particular private asylum patient, Saumirez found him to be dressed "like a beggar … (in clothes that)

[21] Peter McCandless, "Liberty and Lunacy: The Victorians and Wrongful Confinement," 369.
[22] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index." House of Commons Papers, Volume 7. 1859, Session 2, 7.
[23] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index." Session 2, 15.
[24] "The position of the lunatic appears to be one of," *Times* (London, England), August 19, 1858.

not one of you would allow your servant to appear before you in".[25] Saumirez expressed that "any gentlemen here would feel himself degraded" if he had been dressed in the fashions of this private asylum patient.[26] It was deplorable to these reformers to see propertied men of honour reduced to the status of a pauper. This man's liberty was being denied not simply by physical detainment, but by denying him his property, particularly his items of property that displayed his wealth and status as a gentleman. It is particularly striking that all the members of the ALFS, a society that was meant to be a voice for all those falsely confined, advocated so little for pauper lunatics, despite historical evidence that the working class was the most represented in the lunatic population. The hegemonic hold of exclusionary liberty is displayed quite well by this gap in the discourse of the Alleged Lunatic Friends Society.

Indeed, often the only instances that pauper lunatics were mentioned in discourses was when alleged upper-class lunatics were reduced to the status of paupers. In her 1883 book *The Bastilles of England*, Louisa Lowe, a particularly outspoken lunacy reformer, writes of a woman who had her property taken from her, and was afterwards confined to a public asylum: "In vain she protested that she was a gentlewoman, the widow of Major General B, had very considerable property in India, and a good deal of valuable furniture and other things in Salisbury which she was being despoiled of." [27] Although this woman was eventually freed, her property was "greatly injured and reduced" as a result of this period of false confinement.[28] As this case shows, even though notions of liberty were intertwined with property, of which men had primary ownership, women were not excluded from false confinement discourse. Because of their general lack of property rights and legal existence, particularly for married women, women were a particular focus of some (often female) reformers. Although the nuances of the relationship between women and false confinement are beyond the scope of this paper, women cannot be entirely dismissed as a subset of wrongfully confined Britons.[29] For purposes of discussing liberty and property, it can be demonstrated that discussions of false confinement of women, too, often focused on liberty as it related to property. Some

[25] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index." Session 2, 3.
[26]"Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index." Session 2, 3.
[27] Louisa Lowe, *The Bastilles of England* (London: Crookenden and Co., 1883), 10.
[28] Lowe, *The Bastilles of England*, 10.
[29] See Elaine Showalter's article "Victorian Women and Insanity" for a good starting point for further exploration on the relationship between women and lunacy in the period.

women did indeed own property, such as widows who gained property after their husband's death, or women who had property held by trustees. In the case referenced, the forced loss of property of this woman, as well as the fact that she was reduced to the status of a pauper, were the primary concerns of Lowe. Once again, this woman's loss of physical liberty is not the primary point of concern: rather, the loss of property, as well as the loss of status gained through that property, is the true deprivation she experiences.

In order to fully understand this idea of exclusionary liberty, a further examination of contemporary views on the working class is required. In 1834, the new poor law came into effect. To many scholars, this new law can be seen as representing a shifting paradigm in social treatment of the impoverished. Whereas the previous poor law had treated the poor quite paternalistically, the new poor law shifted away from this approach. Peter Bartlett, however, argues that the paternalism of the old poor law continued to thrive in the system of county asylums that housed pauper lunatics.[30] A large part of this paternalism manifested itself in the insistence of both the elite and reformers that the poor needed to be morally educated. Until the poor received a proper moral education, they would be unable to properly exercise the same rights and freedoms granted to the middle to upper classes.[31] Ideas about the morally devoid poor are demonstrated in some of the Commissioners' remarks made in parliamentary sessions. The Earl of Shaftesbury asserted to the members of the session that "the cases of insanity that prevail among the poorer classes arise from their habits of intoxication," whereas causes for insanity among the wealthier classes are chiefly "disordered imagination, hereditary predisposition, the pursuit of money, disappointed ambition, great losses in trade … (and) over-work."[32]

Habits of intoxication were inextricably linked with poor morals in nineteenth century Britain.[33] Reformers worked tirelessly to promote temperance to the working class as it was thought that it would produce a more obedient, hard working, and overall morally superior class of workers in Britain.[34] Social control policies of the time that further emphasized the inability of the poor to exercise their own good judgement without guidance from their

[30] Peter Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy*, 21.
[31] Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 81.
[32] "Select Committee on Operation of Regulations for Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index," Session 1, 7-10.
[33] Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 79.
[34] Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 81.

employers or social reformers would have reinforced this previously established exclusionary notion of liberty as well.[35] Therefore while the Commissioners agree that moral inferiority was primarily the cause of insanity among the poorer classes, the causes among the elite were far more varied, with little reference to any underlying moral causes for their insanity. The Commissioners attitudes towards the poor in these sessions demonstrate Peter Bartlett's argument about the continuation of paternalism in the treatment of pauper lunatics quite well. This paternalistic view of the poor as morally corrupt contributed to the sense that these individuals were not capable of properly exercising unrestricted liberty and explains their absence from wrongful confinement concerns.

The absence of wrongfully confined pauper lunatics from periods of lunacy panic in Victorian Britain is an excellent case study of exclusionary notions of British liberty. Certain Britons were seen as deserving of the privileges of liberty, and others were deemed incapable of properly exercising liberty, if granted it. Aristocratic origins of British liberty itself, as well as paternalistic attitudes towards the poor, helped establish and then uphold these patterns in liberty discourse throughout the nineteenth century. In analyzing discussions and concerns of "lunacy panics," it becomes clear that the property interests of the landed and middle classes were of primary concern to both reformers and lawmakers. The propertied classes were the true inheritors of British liberty, and any violations of these individuals' rights were taken quite seriously. Alleged pauper lunatics, on the other hand, existed on the outskirts of British liberty. They did not inherit, nor were they deserving, of British liberty through property or status, and therefore could lay no claim to its privileges.

[35] Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 81.

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Reflections on Honours Theses

"A Basket, A Box, and a Set of Regalia"

Cindy Bergeron

I was late to the game when I chose to complete a History Honours Thesis at Dal. I returned to university after a 30-year hiatus during which I was married, had four children, divorced, moved across the country and back and encountered numerous employment experiences. I was diagnosed with cancer in 2018 and again in 2020 and I am in year two of the five-year monitoring phase before I will be considered cancer free. And then; Covid hit. The world changed and we were forced to stay home to stay safe. While I took stock of my life, I came to the realization that I did not want to return to the life I had. Over the years I contemplated returning to school to finish my degree but there was always reasons why I could not. On a whim, I applied to Dalhousie University and was accepted.

My age afforded me a kind of freedom to express myself and be unafraid to ask questions. I did that a lot. I worried I would be that annoying old student who did not know anything about anything. I still feel that way sometimes but as I gain confidence in my abilities and scholastic achievements, I am slowly overcoming any residual anxieties. I, like many others, suffer from mental and some physical disabilities. This was compounded because I am a single mother of two school aged children needing to be 'home-schooled' due to Covid restrictions. Now, with the easing of constraints, I can concentrate on my own education because my children are back in their classes, with their friends and not suffering from social interaction withdrawal.

At the beginning of the 2021/2022 academic year, I knew I wanted to be in the Honours program with History as my focus. I thought I had everything in place until the administrative assistant of the History Department told me I needed to be enrolled in the Varieties of History class, when I say I was late to the game, I mean I missed the first 2 weeks of class. Technically this was the first fourth year class I had taken since 1992 and I did not know what to expect. I had only been physically on campus for two weeks and still trying to find my way. Dr. Chris Bell was very understanding, and the other students were open and

welcoming to the 'very mature, white haired, walked with a cane, student' who just dropped into their class.

The format of the course encourages discussion and the exploration of histories from the unique perspectives of the professors who met with us each week. I learned from each reading and presentation; some more than others. There were classes that were enlightening and learning about subaltern history or transnational history were highlights for me. There is no question, each professor's area of knowledge was something from which to glean epistemology and historiography. This class has taught me the "how" of researching history through extent documents, primary and secondary sources as well as how to interpret them and successfully argue my point.

My Honours Thesis is based on the study of material culture and the historiography of objects. There is much to learn about a culture from the things people make and it is my chosen field of historical study. I chose to explore the impact of separation of Indigenous objects from the culture that created them and how the distancing of cultural objects leads a loss of identity and a loss of agency. The ownership of the object, by others than the maker or their community, underscores the destructive effects of colonialism on the Indigenous societies in North America.

I chose three objects to examine as each was representative of a distinct interplay of cultures: the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia, the Acadians, and the Black Loyalists. These objects are:

- A porcupine quilled box found in the 17th century inventory of well-off Acadian women.
- A market basket discovered amongst a collection of baskets in a small Acadian Museum in Chezzetcook, Nova Scotia. This basket was attributed to a descendent of the Black Loyalists but incorporating Mi'kmaq design elements.
- A complete set of 1850's Chief's regalia from the Mi'kmaq housed in the Museum of Australia in Melbourne.

I have discovered the appropriation of Indigenous artifacts and design elements began soon after first contact when the Europeans began arriving to fish off the eastern coast of Canada. The desire for the Europeans to acquire wealth through fishing and then fur trade made contact and associations with the Mi'kmaq essential to conduct the business of resource

mining. As such, the Indigenous of Atlantic Canada became an obstacle to overcome and in a truly short time were relegated to third world conditions within their own country.

My thesis, *A Basket, A Box and A Set of Regalia,* explores Indigenous and Indigenous inspired objects across three centuries in Nova Scotia. I began with the quilled box from the 18th century. I came across it in my research of Acadian women from authors, Anne-Marie Lane Jonah, and Elizabeth Tate. In their article, they were arguing Acadians were distinct from the French metropole in the 1700s prior to the expulsion. The inventory of Jeanne Thibodeau included only one Indigenous object and the primary source document identified the quilled box found among the contents of her bureau. This made me ask questions of ownership, agency, and culture.

During my research of material culture of the Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, Dalhousie Libraries online database pointed me to an article in the Chronicle Herald of Halifax about the repatriation request for the return of the Mi'kmaq Chief regalia located in the storeroom of the Museum of Australia. I was fascinated by the distance of these beautifully decorated pieces of regalia from Mi'kmaqi and this afforded the opportunity to explore colonialism and museum culture regarding Indigenous heritage.

The last item, although it is my first chapter, is the Mi'kmaq inspired basket. I was visiting an Acadian Museum on the eastern shore and spoke with the curator who informed me that a local member of the community had recently donated a collection of baskets. I was examining the museum tags on each of the items and found the only one that was coloured with synthetic dyes. It stood out against the more naturally coloured objects displayed. The museum tag described it as inspired by the Mi'kmaq method of basket making and this was the determining factor for me including within my thesis.

I am a descendent of colonizers. I was always cognizant of the realization that my research, my intentions and understanding of the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada could not ever be more than that of an outsider. My thesis advisor, Dr. Lisa Binkley was always open to discussing my fears of overstepping or misrepresenting myself or my research. With her guidance I was able to achieve a balance that, I feel, has been respectful of the Mi'kmaq people and their culture and heritage. The relationship I developed with her has been the reason I have applied for the Master's Program at Dalhousie. She and I will be working together over the next two years as I continue with my academic pursuits.

I am a mature student and still struggled with deadlines. If I could offer this advice, which I am sure everyone who has ever taken this class can attest, set realistic, timely goals. These are important because it will allow you to discover the nuances of the sources you choose to review. Another piece of advice, begin your research as soon as you decide on your topic. This will alleviate much stress and anxiety. It will be difficult to juggle the demands of a full course load as well as your thesis. Remember, this is not supposed to be stressful. You chose to complete an Honours to achieve a goal and with the support of your advisor and your participation in classes like Varieties of History and those like it, you will be successful. I wish you all the best.

"Beyond the Pitch: Toward Using Football to Inflate Ghana's Social, Cultural, and Political History, 1930s-1960s"

Ronald Blanchard

I have known I wanted to study history since high school. History is interesting because it helps explain the present. When I began at Dalhousie in 2018, I knew that I would major in history, but my understanding of history as a discipline and as a concept more broadly began to shift. As I studied diverse regions and time periods, I found myself more and more intrigued with the utility of history to not only illuminate the present, but to allow scholars to explore how the any given area or subject, such as gender or politics, functioned at different times. I took courses on history about many regions and topics such as European history, global history, and African history. I eventually stuck with African history because I thought it to be an interesting challenge for historian due to the Eurocentricity of the origins of the discipline of modern history. That is why, when I learned of the Honours program in my second year, I decided I wanted to enter it. I wanted to explore something that historians usually do not. I enjoyed the Honours seminar because it showcased the varieties of history in the department. Each week a new professor would join our class to discuss a field of history they use in their research. This helped broaden my understanding of the discipline in ways that other classes did not. The seminar also encouraged a sense of comradery among Honours students. Completing the Honours thesis allowed me to utilise all the skills and knowledge I have acquired throughout my time at Dal.

In my third year, the professor that inspired me to explore global and African history, Philip Zachernuk, agreed to be my supervisor. I immediately began brainstorming themes that would allow me to tell less explored themes in African history that were not about the regular stories of colonial Africa such as colonial imposition and resistance and postcolonial Africa as failed and developing states. To do so, I engaged Chimamanda Adichie's call for more stories of Africans. Adichie's agenda aligned with some historical frameworks in encountered previously: Dennis Laumann's "third way" of studying African history that recognises the significant changes caused by Europeans in Africa but foregrounds the agency and diversity of African realities by exploring how Africans were the primary motors of change. Stephanie Newell calls these African stories that are set within the colonial period "paracolonial" because they run alongside the dominant narratives.

I took Newell's concept and mixed it with Laumann's and Adichie's to explore the colonial and postcolonial period in Africa in ways that showcase African dynamism and inventiveness. I settled on football as the main theme for my thesis because of Bea Vidac's call for Africanists to study sports to better understand the main historical narratives and to find new ones. As the most popular sport in Africa and the world, football has tremendous potential to reveal to connections between politics, gender, and coloniality thereby enriching our understanding of those themes. It also has the power to uncover new African histories that showcase the diversity of African experiences during these periods. I structured my thesis around three body chapters, each with a distinct study of Ghanaian football (soccer). The goal was to demonstrate how football can reveal entanglements between different historical themes such as politics, authority, identity among others and allow historians to tell new stories of Africans.

The first explored football in colonial British West Africa as a paracolonial history. Football was introduced to the region in the late nineteenth century by European traders and early colonists who played it in port cities like Accra and Lagos. Mission schools also incorporated it into curricula to promote Christian masculinity, subjection to authority, and cooperation. However, Africans all of socio-economic strata engaged with the sport in various ways: they played, celebrated, watched, and organized football for themselves and their communities. Football paradoxically became entangled with anti-colonial movements, especially after post-World War II. The popularity of the game also allowed ordinary Africans to become national figures and gain social honour in ways previously unavailable. Beyond that, football reflected and shaped the changing gender and social relations in rapidly urbanizing societies. As new urban spaces were being negotiated, football teams became central to cultural (re)production for shifting ethnic and political identities. Individuals engaged with soccer to further their education, both in Africa and Europe. People like Arthur Wharton were able to pursue their goals through soccer, which illustrates the diversity of African football experiences.

The second body chapter narrowed to examine Kwame Nkrumah's use of soccer to further the anti-colonial movement in Gold Coast (now Ghana) and how his relationship with football changed overtime due to the achievement of independence. A primary focus of this chapter was the internal politics of Nkrumah's ideology Nkrumahism that sought to create a sense of "Ghanaianness" rather than individual ethnic identities. Football was a significant

tool Nkrumah tried to use to this national identity. He strongly supported the development of the game and heavily involved the state in doing so. He created a new national league and created a Central Organization for Sports to govern sports. Football was integrated into his extremely popular youth programs and school curricula to teach children socialist values of Nkrumahism. He also created a club called the Real Republicans (based on the Real Madrid) to ensure the national team – the Black Stars – could compete globally. The deep entanglement of football with Nkrumahism was challenged by groups like the Asante who used the sport to display regional pride. Nkrumah wanted to capitalize of the popularity of football, but the same popularity meant that it had multifarious meanings that could challenge Nkrumahism.

I then looked at soccer as an embodiment of Nkrumah's pan-Africanist quest to promote unity among African nations and to assert the African personality in the postcolonial world. It also connected Nkrumahist notions of youth and football, but previous chapters, it connected them through the African personality across the continent and in the wider international community. Central to pan-African unity was the national soccer team – the Black Stars – as they represented the liberation of Africa. Intra-African tournaments were explicitly meant to promote cultural exchange between African nations and lead to the political unification of Africa. Nkrumah also tried to Africanize soccer and overcome the domination of Ghanaian football's coaching and refereeing by Europeans by training players to become coaches and referees in Ghana. This was essential to displaying soccer as part of the African personality. However, the fact that the global governance of the game – through FIFA – was still controlled primarily by European nations challenged this presentation of football. Soccer illuminates the tension between Africa's status in the 1960s as a formerly colonialized continent and an increasingly independent one. The colonial perception that Africans are not modern contrasts the Nkrumahist assertion of modernity. Examining football through the lens of the African personality and postcoloniality enriches Ghanaian history by revealing the interconnections between Nkrumahism, youth, and sports.

Overall, I am incredibly proud of my completed thesis. I recommend writing a thesis to anyone who is considering it. It allowed me to thoroughly research something I was genuinely very interest in. I also benefitted greatly from input from my supervisor. My supervisor and I met weekly in the fall semester while I was formulating my thoughts and beginning research, which helped to guide me as I went. Speaking of research, the among of research I did for my thesis was unlike anything I have ever done. The primary research was

especially challenging yet fun. I used a variety of primary sources, but I relied heavily on newspapers for coverage and timelines of games. This was difficult because the availability of Ghanaian newspapers from the 1950s and 1960s is limited. I found some online, but I had to get most of them delivered to the library. Examining the newspapers was fun because I got to look at what Ghanaians were reading about daily. The actual writing of the thesis taught me a lot about planning ideas and writing distinct chapters that still work to advance a single argument. My completed thesis is 107 pages in total, which only slightly exceeded the 60-70 page range Dr Bell suggested. My first draft was certainly not great, but with feedback and revision, I was able to craft something I think is worth being read. The Honours thesis is a significant and at times daunting research project that challenged me from conception to completion, but I am glad I went through it.

"The Political Divide in the United States: The Creation of the United States Government Viewed Through the Correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson"

Lucy Carolan

Writing this thesis was probably one of the most challenging, draining and emotionally difficult assignments I have completed in my undergrad. It has also, however, been one of the most rewarding. I knew in second year that I was going to need to complete an Honours in order to keep my options open in the future; I had no idea what I wanted to do after undergrad but knew there was a good chance that I would have to complete a postgraduate program to get the jobs I hoped for. The choices I had made in my schooling up until then meant that I had the option of writing my thesis in one of my two majors. After some consideration, I decided that Dalhousie's History Department's Honours program could provide the resources I would need to write my thesis on my chosen topic.

One of the most difficult parts of this process is deciding exactly what you want to discuss in your thesis, and then figuring out what your argument – or thesis – is going to be. I am in a double major with History and Early Modern Studies, so I am most comfortable researching and writing about events from the Renaissance and Early Modern Period, especially those related to the topics of art, politics and society. For my thesis, I landed on discussing the era of the American Revolution– partly because I had taken an American History course in high school and found it fascinating, and partly because I had taken an American Revolution course in my third year with Dr. Justin Roberts. Dr. Roberts led our class through an exploration of the American Revolution through a series of primary source materials from the time – luckily, many of the primary source correspondences, original documents and transcripts can all be accessed online. Knowing this, and having enjoyed the course and the professor's teaching style, I decided to write my thesis about this era and asked Dr. Roberts to be my advisor.

There had always been a few aspects of American governance that confused me: the way that Americans believe so passionately in a constitution that was created centuries before and the ways in which it dictates their everyday outlook on life – like their staunch attachment to fundamental right to bear arms. Furthermore, I learned that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson coincidentally died on the same day, exactly 50 years after the Declaration of

Independence; this made them even more interesting subjects to study. I also enjoyed the way *Hamilton: The Musical* reflected on the Founding Fathers and their roles in the creation of the United States as a country – even though it is somewhat historically inaccurate. I began writing under the impression that I was just discussing the creation of the United States government through the lens of the correspondence between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson – two Founding Fathers who were politically opposed, but lifelong friends.

It wasn't until I had finished writing my entire first chapter that I realized that I actually wanted to argue that there is a misconception that the United States is at its most divided presently – especially given the last two presidential elections – when in reality, and as my thesis argues, the United States has in fact never been united. Even during the fight to gain independence from Britain, the colonists were divided, from the foot soldiers up to the highest level of elites who governed the colonies. It should be possible for political parties to have different ideologies, but to have the same overarching goals for the country (like prosperity, democracy, the rule of law, civil society etc.), however in the late eighteenth century, members of the ruling class did not agree even on the overarching goals for the country. I continued with this theory and used primary documents like the Constitution and the Bill of Rights along with the personal and political views of two Founding Fathers on opposing ends of the political spectrum to construct my argument.

It is easy to reflect on the thesis writing process and to focus only on the negative aspects rather than on the positive ones. Some challenges I found with this process was in holding myself accountable. There were several times over the course of my writing where I had other assignments due and since the thesis had no hard due dates (except the ones that I had set for myself), it was easy for me to push it aside so I could meet the deadlines in my other courses. And on that topic, if you have the possibility of taking only four courses in the second semester instead of five, I would very much recommend doing that! Furthermore, several of my classmates took classes with their advisors this year and saw them on a regular basis; that meant their advisors were holding them accountable as well. It was more difficult for me to hold myself accountable when I could "hide" from my advisor since I did not see him every week in class.

This entire process however made me learn a lot about myself, my writing and my time-management skills (or lack thereof!). I found it was very easy to feel discouraged by the editing and feedback process of each chapter; I would spend weeks writing a chapter then get

told there was still lots of room for improvement – lots of tears were shed over the past months! However, through the editing of my thesis, I learned the most about my writing and discovered ways to improve the way I write. I am not usually one to reread my papers several times, so I found this part of editing to be very helpful.

While the whole thesis process is daunting, scary and incredibly stressful, knowing there were other people in the same boat made it more bearable. My peers in my Honours seminar class saved my sanity on more than one occasion; I have grown very close to several of them, and they were there every step of the way to offer their continuous support. I would not have been able to complete my thesis without the help of my friends, my family, and my advisor. Ultimately, I would say the thesis was all about the journey and not just the final destination.

"Operation Barclay: Deceptive Diversions or Celebrated Success?"

Megan Grey

When I entered Dalhousie University four years ago, I was not certain what I was specifically interested in and definitely not sure what my major would be. I had an interest in History as I had spent my early years travelling, reading historical fiction, and watching television, documentaries, and films about historical events. I always found contextualizing history through mass media such as these helpful to my overall understanding of events in history. Overall, it was not surprising that I was drawn to enrolling in a full year of first year history.

As I took the two introductory history courses, I increasingly became more fascinated with the material. Although each of the two courses was taught quite differently, I found that seeing these two different approaches to the material helped me to see the possibilities in studying history. After my first year, I was able to take a variety of history courses that helped me to discover my true interests. I believe that Dalhousie offers an amazing selection of courses from costume history to food history, from pirates to witchcraft, from colonial Africa to colonial America and so many more. All of these courses were taught by knowledgeable and motivated professors. I found the faculty members in the history department easy to engage and more than willing to answer questions and partake fully in further discussions. Although not convinced at the start of my history major, I strongly support the required categories of history that forced me to take courses like Ancient Greece and the Atlantic World to fulfill my degree requirements. I would have truly regretted not learning that the Parthenon lacks structurally straight lines or that witches were not actually burnt but hanged in Salem.

However, it was the courses I took on the Second World War and Winston Churchill from Professor Christopher Bell that resonated with me and honed my interests towards British Intelligence. Dr. Bell and these courses allowed me to explore the British intelligence systems. To pursue this topic more intensely and prepare myself for further study in history, I decided to apply for the honour's history program. To be honest, at the time, I was not completely sure what I was signing myself up for as I had no idea what writing an Honours thesis entailed or what a "Varieties in History" course would cover.

I decided to do my Honours thesis on British strategic intelligence strategies during the Second World War under the supervision of Professor Bell. After many readings and

exploration of potential intelligence topics, I chose to focus my topic on a specific intelligence operation codenamed "Operation Barclay," which includes the much more recognized "Operation Mincemeat." My thesis examined both British and German sources relating to Operation Barclay, in an attempt to determine if the intricate planning and 'all-inclusive' nature of Barclay with its barrage of (mis)information coming from multiple sources, impacted the mindset of German High Command, contributed to the eventual success of the Allied invasion of Sicily, and led to the inclusion of integrated intelligence plans in future Second World War operations. This topic is significant because it focuses on a multi-layered deception plan where the actual impact is still debated by scholars to this day. Although I may not have understood what it meant to write an Honours thesis when I started in September, with the help of my supervisor Dr. Bell, I quickly realized it meant reading a small library full of books and articles on a single topic. I am sure I often tried my supervisor's patience over and over with my lack of basic understanding of military history. But, as we emerge from the other side, I can now confidently tell you that a brigade is part of a division, and that Ultra is more than a changing password. When I reflect on what I knew when I first considered this topic to my current understanding, not only of Operation Barclay, but also of Intelligence systems and processes, the Second World War and research techniques, I am simply amazed. Although I do credit myself with the sheer will it took to carry those ten books home to Edmonton for winter break, I am mainly grateful to my supervisor for providing the guidance and hands-on supervision required to get me to my thesis submission.

Finally, I think one of the most rewarding experiences of my degree was the opportunity to participate in "Varieties of History." The course exposed me further to a wide range of methodological and historiographical issues such as: oral history, counterfactual history, and material history. The Honours course would also not have been the same without the enthusiasm and support of my peers. During this course, we were able to go through the peer review process with our thesis' that helped each of us to learn both how to give constructive criticism and how to receive it. All of us consistently participated in class discussions which further engaged our learning. It was interesting to learn about everyone's specific focuses in the realm of history through their chosen thesis topics. It was also from this course, that I really saw the possibilities in history as a career choice. It was this course that introduced me to Public History, and it is where I realized how important it was to educate the public properly about our shared history.

Prior to my university education, I would watch historical shows and films and believe that what I was watching was historically accurate. Now, I watch these adaptations of history and can understand which information is exaggerated for entertainment or is completely inaccurate. But as entertainment is a significant means by which the public comes to understand and appreciate history, I think it is so important to explore ways to ensure historical accuracy or at least use common mediums (e.g., social media, movies, documentaries, exhibitions) as tools to educate people on the discrepancies. It is in advocating for historical accuracy and understanding that I plan to focus my future studies.

"Hitler's Art Project: How the Nazis Failed to Translate National Socialism into Art"

Claire Mercer

After my first year of undergrad, I knew that I wanted to take an academic path that would challenge and strengthen my skills. Thankfully, the History Department's Honours program presented that challenge, and having now completed it, the extra hours of hard work and pressure were well worth it.

One of the advantages I had before starting the program, was that I had begun developing professorial relationships early on in my degree – it is never too early to make those important connections. Once I had asked my supervisor, Dr. Chris Bell to oversee my project, we chose a topic in early fall of fourth year. Picking your Honours topic is one of the most enjoyable stages of the thesis writing process. Because of my long-time interest in Second World War history, I knew that a topic within this subject would be a good fit. Obviously, there are a million things you could write on during this period, but through consultation with my supervisor, I quickly decided to focus on addressing the relationship of art with National Socialism during the Third Reich.

Prior to developing the larger research question of my thesis, I needed to identify the art that I wished to consider. This was challenging because there are many dimensions and areas of art that the Nazis dealt with. Art, like paintings, sculptures, architecture and film were fundamental elements of German culture during the inter-war period. For the Nazis, all those mediums had propagandist purposes, but considering each one was well beyond the scope of my Honours. I also needed to think strategically about what medium would best support my argument once established. So, after carefully deliberating with my thoughts, I decided that paintings and sculptures were best suited for my research. Once this decision was finalized, the fall semester was spent reading in order to become more comfortable with the topic, which would be essential when the writing process began in second semester.

The research question that my thesis looked to answer was how, and to what extent, were ideological elements of National Socialism reflected through art of the Third Reich, specifically prior to 1939. One of the reasons that this is an important question to consider is because it generates discussion on whether Nazi propaganda was affective at assimilating

Germans into their ideology and views. I hypothesized that the Nazi's would be ineffective at reflecting their racial ideology through artwork prior to 1939.

Before addressing the main themes of my paper, I needed to define 'art.' While the mediums I chose were paintings and sculptures, it was important to expand on what the *purpose* of art was, both in the context of the thesis and to the Nazi cultural institutions. This task was difficult because art is a very subjective term and experience. Nevertheless, it was necessary in developing a coherent argument, and set the stage for following chapters. The first chapter explored components of Nazi ideology, with a particular focus on Hitler's own contributions to its elements. Hitler had a passionate and lifelong relationship with art, and so he imbedded this passion into his worldview and racial beliefs. Hitler's racial ideology, his worldview and his passion for art informed the developed of all Nazi institutions but was most evident through those that oversaw cultural matters.

Control of these institutions was centralized among a few individuals like Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler and Albert Speer. They were major contributors to the artistic undertakings of the regime, and so my paper considered their personal artistic preferences in order to better understand why National Socialism wasn't being reflected in art. One telling theme that emerged in researching their preferences was that none of subleaders strictly opposed modernist art – this was contradictory, as Hitler had announced an anti-modernist policy after 1935. Because of the fundamental clash between the Nazi subleaders and the policies they claimed to support, there were issues of translating National Socialism into art. This failure in translation became most evident in the 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition and the Great German Art exhibition. The artwork displayed at these two exhibitions were explored in the final chapter of the thesis and were found to contradict most components of National Socialism including racial ideology, thereby supporting my original claim.

Having now written the 71-page document, I have reflected on the process and established what I would have done differently, and the areas which I found most challenging. During first semester, it was difficult to narrow down the scope of the thesis topic and stick to one research question. These tasks require a lot of discussion and consultation with your supervisor – it is also good to be humble during this period, you don't have all the answers yet! Doing a lot of research in this stage will help you and prepare you for writing in second semester.

Even though writing is very stressful, overall, I really enjoyed it because it was fulfilling to see the argument come together. My supervisor was extremely helpful in ensuring my argument was connecting. It is vital to have frequent communication with your supervisor during the writing process because their feedback is essential. You will learn how to accept constructive criticism on your writing, but the most important thing to take it is to apply it to your work. It was easy to become discouraged by the feedback, but it helps to sit on it for a few days, and then come back to make your changes. After completing each chapter, I was quick to send it to Dr. Bell so I could stay on top of my edits and not have to do them during crunch time. Staying on top of my edits allowed me to feel excited when submitting, rather than stressed. Different strategies work for different people, but I always had to remind myself that this was a learning process, and there was constantly support available if I looked for it.

One of the greatest supports during the year were my peers in the Honours class. We had great comradery and were always empathetic with one another. Not only were my peers helpful in reading over drafts, but they were emotionally supportive and, in the end, lifelong friends. We were all going through a challenging, yet fulfilling, experience together and it allowed us to connect on many levels. During weekly faculty presentations, everyone always had interesting contributions which generated thought provoking discussion. It is safe to say that the positive group dynamic of our Honours class truly made the experience an enjoyable one.

Overall, maintaining a positive attitude and good work ethic will ensure that the undergraduate Honours experience gives back to you as much as you put in. There are many hiccups on the way to the final product, but if you accept them as learning experiences then you are setting yourself up for success. My experience in the History Honours program was one I will never forget, and from it, I have become a stronger student, learned more about myself and my abilities to take into my future studies.

"The Role of the Military: The Dominance and Transition of the South Africa Defence Force in the Late 20th Century"

Alec Rembowski

My collective experience at Dalhousie has taught me to appreciate historical facts and how this can be different from historical perspectives. When I began at Dalhousie, I intended to primarily pursue political science. However, as time progressed, I began to appreciate history and historical lessons to help guide current and future political decisions. This led to the path of an Honours thesis in history. The professors at Dalhousie have always allowed me to explore military history interests in my class assignments and essays. This has allowed me to further develop my interest in this field of history, enabling the pursue of these interests in the next chapter of my academic journey.

Studying apartheid South Africa and the military that upheld this political policy is not new to academics. When I began approaching constructing this Honours thesis, I sought to incorporate the agency of the ethnic and gender groups involved. This was inspired by Dennis Laumann's *Colonial Africa 1884-1994*, who sought to analyse African colonial history in terms of great change where Africans both contributed and resisted colonial rule. I sought to analyse how and why the South African military adapted and changed in order to meet their individual, institutional, and societal interests throughout the second half of the apartheid era.

Early in the thesis I attempted to contextualize the roots of Afrikaner nationalism, demonstrating that the trauma experienced in their own struggle to achieve autonomy from British rule contributed to their fierce resistance to the black liberation struggle. Like any government bureaucracy South African government departments were in a constant state of advocating for increased funding and political influence. I chose to depict the rivalry between the South African police and South African military. Both organizations sought to serve the Afrikaner led white minority government and the white minority society. Their institutional mandates contributed to a rivalry where both organizations exploited their political leverage and gain influence. It was interesting to analyse how the South African military grew to a powerful institution involved in every aspect of the South African bureaucracy, then how it lost this power in the 1990s. The most interesting aspect of the South African military was why they did not sponsor a coup d'état, instead chose to participate in the negotiations that transferred power to the black majority leader, Nelson Mandela.

Looking back on this project I wish I would have used my time more efficiently to analyse a more diverse range of historical perspectives. I primarily relied on Hilton Hamann's *Days of the Generals*, which is collection of interviews with South African generals. After this book was written in 2001 several retired generals wrote their own memoirs conveying their views and decision-making process this included: General Magnus Malan, Georg Meiring, Jannie Geldenhuys. Analysing political memoirs from South African president F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela would have also been interesting and formed a base of counter narratives to contrast the opinions of the generals.

In addition to diversifying my range of historical perspectives I should have further narrowed down the topic. Analysing the South African military institution between the early 1970s and 1994 can be accomplished in a lengthy book publication. Due to my limited time and space I had to skim or leave out certain area of operations and institutional characteristics that would have enhanced the unique qualities and traits of the South African military. I could have narrowed my research to a more specific geographical location or timeframe to gain a better understanding of a more refined topic.

Through this program I learned to appreciate the meticulous effort and time that is required to conduct academic research. Searching for commonalities in resources from different historical perspectives can be challenging and require acute self-awareness from the researcher. Separating historical perspectives from historical facts was a challenge for myself. This was the first time I was exposed to this method of research in this magnitude.

I have also learned the value of different kinds of resources. When I began this project, I only anticipated using academic books and journals, supplemented with sources sharing certain historical perspectives. I was surprised to see how much I referenced newspapers and other alternative sources of research. Prior to this project I was under the impression that it was standard to avoid newspapers and non-academic sources. However, the value of some of these non-academic sources was a critical source of primary research material.

Throughout my five years at Dalhousie University, I have gained an appreciation for academia and the dedication it takes from the academics to both produce amazing innovative work and teach new generations of students and scholars. I would like to thank Professors Gary Kynoch and Philip Zackernuk for enabling students like myself to explore African History and allow me to explore African military topics throughout my time in their courses. I would also like to thank Honours Coordinator Professor Christopher Bell whose mentorship

and coaching throughout the Honours process was instrumental to my success this year. I wish to thank Professor Gary Kynoch once again for volunteering his time to be my Honours Supervisor, while there were challenges to my research topic, Professor Kynoch's guidance was instrumental to the completion of this thesis.

"Beyond the Anglicist Paradigm: The Hybrids of Early 19th Century Education Policy in India"

Jamieson Urquhart

For my honours thesis I set out to tackle knowledge circulation and cultural synthesis. My initial intention was to study Mughal India and the 'Persian cosmopolis.' That is, the ethical, social and moral order that stems from the circulation of ideas, practices and values enshrined within canonically Persian languages, texts, and customs. Importantly, these 'orders' were not static or rigid. The Mughals, along with other members of the cosmopolis, adapted this kind of 'Persian universal' to the particular realities of India. The result was a hybrid government superstructure, a mixture of contexts that were themselves mixtures. Enthused by these 'hybrid' displays of composite identities, I wanted to unpack how 'hybridity' did or did not underpin the learned classes and education. Unfortunately, my lack of facility in Persian or Arabic pushed my timeframe into the East India Company (EIC) era which began roughly in the 18th century.

EIC paramountcy in India is temporally straddled by the twilight of the Mughal dynasty and the dawn of the British Raj in 1857. Over its roughly ninety-year tenure, the Company was ruthlessly profit driven and its servicemen were selfishly rapacious. It is no question that British, mercantilist and exploitative economic and political imperialism began as the EIC consolidated. I became interested in the cultural and educational ramifications of this ascendency. The more I researched, the more I realised that the popular narrative surrounding this period describes the education enterprise as cultural imperialism. These historians, drawing mostly on nationalist sentiments or Michel Foucault, identify an "anglicist paradigm" in EIC education policy. A shift towards English education is incontrovertible but those calling cultural imperialism maintain that EIC education disrupted existing systems of learning via swift monolithic imposition. Honestly, these oppositional binaries like coloniser/colonised, seen in other colonial contexts too, seem only to exist to keep historians employed. Historical study, then, is just a never-ending injection of *nuance*. More recent scholarship on education in India has taken up the task of muddling these binaries, by – you guessed it – prioritising nuance. Drawing on this literature, my thesis offers histories of hybrids to move beyond this anglicist paradigm. I argue that as a result of EIC precariousness, early education policy was designed entirely to preserve traditional hierarchies and gloss themselves

in legitimacy. Further, it is ignorant to assume Indians were simply indoctrinated. Certainly, modish utilitarianism, aspirations of free-trade and evangelical resurgence spurred a turn towards anglicism, but state-sponsored English lessons were not an EIC priority (especially given precedents for English public education only emerge in the 1830s). My thesis basically uses 65 pages to say, "it's more complicated, contradictory and ambiguous than a pattern."

To provide a sense of early 19th century EIC education policy, my preamble discusses the rise and fall of Fort William College in Kolkata. Inaugurated in 1800, the College was designed to teach company officials the intricacies of respectable civil service. The local languages, systems and histories were taught. By 1854, the College was declared obsolete because Indians became Company officials and English became more prominent. To explore this complex evolution of education I first detail the hybrid Indo-Persian systems of learning that predated British education policy. In doing so, Britain's 'contact' is understood as an entanglement, not unravelling, of continuities or another thread within a complex ball of cultural yarn. I then analyse EIC officer Charles "Hindoo" Stuart and his most famous work the *Vindication of the Hindoo* (1808). Followed by a discussion of Brahman Raja Rammohan Roy and his *Letter on English Education* (1823). Stuart, the Englishman who championed traditional systems of learning is now buried in Kolkata. A tomb in the shape of the north Indian temple sits atop his grave. Roy, a learned Indian that requested government support in provisioning English education, is buried in Bristol also commemorated by a north Indian mausoleum. Neither were Their life, work, and intellectual spheres offer a unique perspective into the complex educational dynamics of the period.

In using the College, Stuart and Roy as prisms, I was able to tether an otherwise exhaustive analysis of culture. Along with the straightforward policy history, I used Stuart and Roy to analyse the contextual threads their work embodied. This reification was *much* needed. My initial proposal promised a sprawling historical survey of various learned classes of the 19th century and their intermingled epistemologies. My second proposal starred Stuart and Roy but emphasised the cosmopolitan underpinnings of the education enterprise as a whole. Enthralled by notions of the 'worldly citizen' and obstinately repulsed by cultural relativism, I laboured to ensure my thesis would reflect my own scholarly affinities. Cosmopolitanism asks, can humanity inspire empathy towards the global, abstract and distant as strongly and effortlessly as is bestowed to the local, tangible and intimately familiar? And in my assessment, the history of education in India, and the hybridity it engenders, was an answer to this question.

After inordinate pages of reading and meticulously crafted sentences I emerged from the sunless cave of theory and jargon blissfully unaware of how little sense I was making. It would seem, all paintings are worthy of praise in the dark.

I frolicked my way into the winter semester. January's online medium meant there was little opportunity for demystification. In February, I met with my supervisor, Colin Mitchell (many thanks to him for his support). He duly advised me to corral my research and produce some two-pages of answers to the basic questions of who, what and where. In doing so, apparently incapable of writing anything without stumbling down a rabbit-hole, I read about phenomenology … then, suddenly, it was March. The pseudo-introduction I submitted for the honours seminar peer-review workshop included intimations of my final thesis but for most intents and purposes it was 'WTF'-inducing (just ask Professor Bell). Picture the red string meme, that was me. So, armed with enthusiasm and copious notes I restructured everything. In writing, I usually strive for 'flavourful' prose, but as time ticked on, my only goal was an 'edible' thesis: ideas and arguments that were admittedly chewy but sustenance, nonetheless.

Upon reflection, the most striking aspect of the thesis-writing process is how side-tracked I became. Sometimes, to the detriment of clarity. I had the skeletal components of my argument as early as November, but the angle through which I approached the task shifted with every word I read. Luckily, this was a sentiment shared by most of my peers in the honours seminar. Speaking of, the opportunity for critical discussion afforded by the seminar was much appreciated. Thank you especially to Chris, all the lecturers and my classmates for their time. Expedited by diverse content and readings, each class bore fruit. Based on discussions, we all have varying approaches to 'doing' history. Said methodological approach, to me, is oftentimes more interesting than the processes being appraised. My role as *Pangaea* Copy Editor confirmed this. If history is the dialogue between the past and the present, our class epitomises how individual and diverse experience of this same present ineluctably alters our historical interests and conclusions.

"'And They Were Neighbours': Role of Collaboration in Polish Historical Memory"

Ireland Wright

Throughout my childhood, I loved school and learning. Throughout Elementary and Secondary school, different areas of study interested me, but none as much as the subject of History. Learning about Ancient Greece, World War I, and the Canadian Confederation, fascinated me, and understanding the lives of famous, and infamous, individuals and events made going to school exciting. It was for these reasons I chose to pursue a Bachelor's Degree, specifically majoring in History. Due to the sudden introduction of COVID-19 and my curiosity for history, in my third year of university education, I chose to participate in the Honours program.

The Honours degree program has been one of the most rigorous projects I have completed academically speaking, and it challenged my abilities as a student and person. The program, with the help of my advisor Dr. Denis Kozlov, allowed me to take a look at my academic skills and challenge myself, to exceed beyond expectations of a traditional history degree. In writing my thesis – and participating in seminars with various members of Dalhousie's History Department – I have been able to better develop my ability to historically analyze, as well as oral and written communication. The Honours seminars allowed me to explore areas of history I have not fully understood, such as Postcolonial Africa, historical counterfactuals, the Reformation, and the history of science. My exposure to different methodologies has made me reconsider and self-reflect on my learning. Having gone through this experience, I feel better prepared for a future in academic research and the possibility of earning a Master's Degree in the coming years.

The Honours class was also an environment where discussion of specific events and historiographies was fostered. Through the Honours seminar, I was able to learn about historical eras that before I only had an approximate knowledge of. In each seminar, my peers and I had fruitful discussions on topics such as oral history, shifts in historical paradigms, as well as discussion of archives and documentation. Each individual in this past Honours class brought a unique perspective and opinion on these topics. These are discussions necessary for every history student, as each individual should be made well aware of the different ways history can be received and interpreted. Through the theses of my peers, I have also gained

many skills in time management, academic writing, and research methods. Despite these reasons, I am happy that I joined the Honours class, as I have gained many friends who I have learnt with over the past academic year. I thank my classmates for helping me grow and ultimately become a better History student and an even better person.

Relating to the analysis of historical memory and my entire thesis research, I cannot give enough credit to the Honour's class and its impact on my work. My thesis specifically surrounded historical memory in the context of the Holocaust in Poland. Historical memory was the lens through which I perceived documents, research, and writing during my thesis work; historical memories are how specific individuals or groups remember events of the past. Historical memory is used every day by scholars, as well as politicians and citizens, to view collective and individual memories thematically and geographically. Maurice Halbwachs, a French philosopher and historian of memory, gives light to the topic I am studying; history is often boiled down to abstract concepts, but through memory, becomes easier to understand through the use of personal and unique remembrances. In the case of the Holocaust, much of what is remembered come from either written documents or survivor testimony. The Holocaust itself has become a foundational historical event for many countries in Europe, making memorialization key in the creation of national memories. Nazi governance was entrenched throughout many countries of Europe during the Second World War, and the German occupation of Poland saw collaboration occur, especially in the creation of invader-subordinate relationships. These are remembered, or better yet forgotten, in multiple Polish cultural and social groups. The motivation behind my research was pushed by the lack of acknowledgement and recognition given to historical memory of Polish collaboration in the country today. The national historical memory established in Poland observes Poles as both victims and heroes of the period.

I chose to research historical memories of specific groups in Poland about the Holocaust due to a promotion of a specific narrative promoted by certain historians, politicians, and religious figures. In terms of structure, I separated my thesis into three chapters. The first section discusses theory and secondary sources explaining the definition and function of historical memory, along with collective memory. In the following section, a discussion about the different debates surrounding Holocaust historical memory connects the relation between specific collective memories of groups in Poland, and how historical memory is represented in the present day. Through analysis of witness testimony, novels, and

government legislation, I strive to display how historical memory surrounding the Holocaust in Poland varies amongst different social groups. For the final chapter, I examine the creation of memory laws inside Poland, and how such laws affect the way Holocaust memories very amongst Polish social groups, Polish Jews, and the wider diaspora in countries like Australia and the United States. The dialogue chosen by world leaders, specifically in Poland, concerns historical memory and the ability to forge a collective memory where Poles were solely victims, not perpetrators.

It was important for me as a historian to understand why the persecution of Jews in Poland has become an almost "forbidden" topic, and how possible collaboration between locals and invading forces, such as the Nazis, has influenced these circumstances. I have hoped that my research might contribute to literature discussing memories of collaboration in Poland, as a mode of reconciliation between Polish citizens, social groups and those of the Jewish faith still residing in Poland and the larger diaspora. Acceptance of Polish history, and the country's eras of both victory and tragedy, is important in understanding the development of Polish social groups' identities, and Poland's national memory in its entirety.