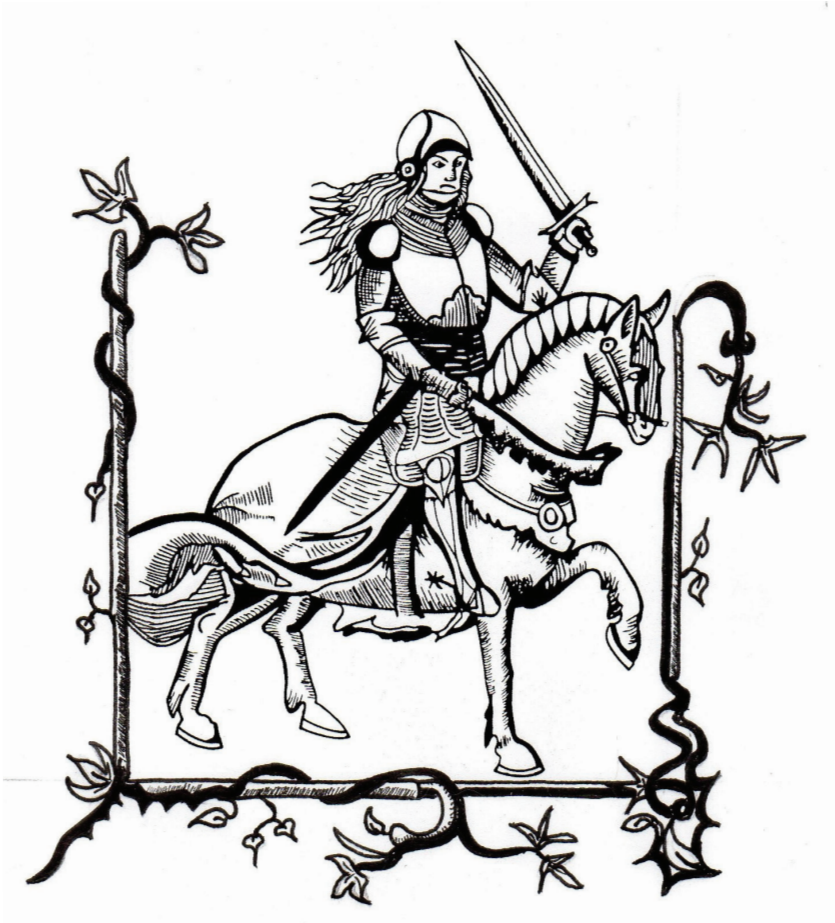
PANGAEA

The Dalhousie Undergraduate History Journal



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Special Thanks

The Dalhousie History Department
The Dalhousie Undergraduate History Society

Editor's Note

The Pangaea journal, sponsored by the Undergraduate History Society, is designed to showcase the efforts and achievements of research and writing within the history department. As one will see within this edition of the journal, the papers within come from a variety of interests, time periods, geographies, and themes to produce the best overall representation of the work done by students within history classes. Pangaea is special in that it not only presents work by History majors but also those who are only beginning to explore the realm of historical writing. Thus, not only do we hope to promote the writings of those students who are to continue within this field of academia but encourage the work of others on an academia level!

This year's edition of Pangaea has been an absolute dream to put together due to the number of submissions which we received and the wide variety of themes and geographical locations which are discussed. We received many excellent submissions, and it was difficult to have to leave some out. Yet, we believe we have provided an excellent collection which not only showcases the student's labours but also showcase the undergraduate history student body.

As you will see within the journal, this year's edition has taken some extra steps to further showcase the students within the history department. This edition will include not only historical papers, but also reflections from those students within the honours program. The history department's honours program allows senior level undergraduate students the chance to explore a specific area of history in which they are interested in, with the help of an advisor from within the department. The program not only allows one to explore their own interests but increase their skills in research and writing. It provides students who are thinking about continuing in research and academia the chance to experience the environment and work level prior to committing to a master's level. The reflections in themselves are written by students within the 2019-2020 honours program that provide an overview of their theses' as well as a combination of their personal experiences, both within their years at Dalhousie and within the honours program. We hope they provide insight into the honours

program and encourage other students to join this great experience!

This year's journal was put together by students within the Honours Program, specifically that of the seminar class, HIST 4986, taken by Honours students. Our excellent peer reviewers logged many hours painstakingly poring over documents, and our designer has done a fantastic job with the cover. Our team has dwindled slightly since the project's inception, but that just makes the work of the people who remained all the more commendable. It has taken countless hours and meetings to coordinate the creation of this journal, and we hope the fruits of our labours live up to previous expectations. Lastly, we would like to thank Dr. Christopher Bell for his unwavering support throughout this process. He has been a rock throughout, the steady hand guiding us through our first publication with grace and style.

Happy reading, and all the best in the future,

Jeremy Spronk and Kristen Becker

Contents

Reflections on Writing an Honours Thesis

Kristen Becker

On my first day at Dalhousie, I remember being terrified, eager, and baffled. I was so excited to move forward with the next stage of my journey, but scared as well. Looking back, as I close one door and open another, I get that same feeling. The difference being that now I know I am prepared for what is to come.

My journey through my undergraduate degree, and more specifically the Honours Thesis, is different from the general accord, in that I was originally enrolled in a general science program with the hope of becoming a Marine Biologist and minoring in History. Over the first two years of my degree, I quickly realized I was not cut out for the sciences and decided to focus solely on History. I have always been interested in Medieval and Early Modern European history, without a specific focus on geography or theme. Yet, now I can say that I have specialized, as I focus solely on law, war, and crime in English and Scottish history from the Medieval era until c. 1800.

My Honours thesis focuses on torture in England and Scotland c. 1660-1707 to determine how its use affected Anglo-Scottish Relations and the 1707 Act of Union. During this period, judicial torture was used by governments and monarchies in cases concerning the safety of the state or the crown, such as treason. As the number of these cases are limited, torture itself was not very often used within England and Scotland. Yet, the use of torture in the past is fascinating and important to our understanding of torture's implications on modern society.

Concentrating on the Medieval and Early Modern eras, this thesis examined the judicial and government proceedings within England and Scotland to determine how crime was punished and the role that each parliament played therein. Furthermore, it examined the use of torture within England, Scotland, and on the continent to determine the differences and similarities between European states: torture in England could only be ordered by the crown or privy council as an extra-judicial proceeding via Royal Prerogative until 1642, when the Privy council lost this privilege; torture in Scotland was legal as Scottish law was a mixture of Roman-Canon law and trial

by jury but limited to specific cases; the use of torture on the continent was more common than in England and Scotland due to differences in legal processes. My thesis also examined in detail the torture of two scots arrested in England, William Spence and William Carstares, and an English man arrested in Scotland, Henry Neville Payne, to determine why the crown believed they could torture both Scottish and English men in Scotland, as well as the public viewpoint on this. This thesis found that the public viewed the use of torture on anyone as moving against their rights as subjects, cruel, an act of tyranny, and an attempt to become an absolutist. Furthermore, this thesis argues that the use of torture by Charles II and James II influenced the Glorious Revolution in 1688, and that the use of torture by William III stimulated Jacobite ideologies influencing future Jacobite rebellions. Overall, this thesis argues that the use of torture by Charles II and William III promoted negative relations between England and Scotland influencing riots and rebellions, which prompted the crown and parliament in 1705 to begin conversations regarding union. Furthermore, by examining the various proposals of union in 1603 and 1705, we determined that the abolishment of torture in 1708 by the 1707 union was due to harsh Anglo Scottish relations promoted by the use of torture in previous years.

Overall, writing the honours thesis allowed me to gain new skills important to historical research and writing, such as organization and time management. The hardest obstacle to overcome was determining how much time to allot to the thesis when also completing a full course load. Originally, I attempted to allot one day a week for my thesis, however, as assignments increased this day became used for finishing assignments and catching up on readings. Around Christmas, I found myself falling behind in research, and for most of January and February I attempted to play catch up with my writing, to stay within my original deadlines. Figuring out how to properly manage my time when completing a large project is one of the greatest skills I learned during this experience. In some ways I managed this by relating my research essays in other courses to areas in which I was already exploring for my thesis, as well as communicating effectively with others in the honours program to keep myself on track.

Yet, I also had my fair share of lack of sleep from writing late at night to meet self-imposed deadlines.

Another skill which I gained through this experience was proper organization in terms of research and writing. For my thesis, I had to use both primary and secondary sources all of which came from different locations. To provide a wide consensus of secondary literature, I used sources from other universities as well as the Dalhousie libraries; thus, I needed to keep an accurate record of where the sources came from. The hardest part of source work was keeping an organized record of primary sources due to the vast number of databases and online sources available. Although I had used the majority of these databases before, keeping track of what I had already read, what was important, and an accurate copy of sources was difficult. After continually losing sources and having to spend time finding them again, I began to keep a research diary in which I would write down what database I was in, which keywords I used, and all the titles of the articles. I also got into the habit of downloading or favouriting sources online to avoid losing them.

Besides gaining new skills, I was also faced with the problem of containing my personal emotions and modern views. For example, I found I became very numb while reading trial records and details of torture sessions. In comparison, when reading pamphlets and public views on torture, I became very much absorbed into the negative views and popular opinions of the time. Thus, in some circumstances, I found it quite hard to not become anachronistic.

Aside from the skills and obstacles which I gained and overcame, I am also so grateful to this experience for the people I met and bonded with. First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor Cynthia Neville and Professor Krista Kesselring for sparking my interest in their 2nd year courses and encouraging me forward in my studies. I am also very grateful to Professor Kesselring, for acting as my advisor during this experience, without her guidance I probably would have left all of my writing to the last minute. Furthermore, the knowledge that I was meeting with her on a specific day kept me on the straight and narrow, and helped me force myself to have something new completed. This experience also allowed me to make new friends and meet new people who I may not have approached otherwise. Through

sharing hardships, experiences, and techniques, as well as many group therapy sessions, I was able to complete my thesis on time and in good health. Finally, I would like to thank Professor Christopher Bell for allowing us this opportunity and for providing a classroom setting which allowed for friendships to be made.

The Honours Program is a great way to learn new skills, further one's knowledge of a topic, and build new relationships with your peers. Personally, the honours program helped me decide what type of career I wanted and allowed me to build relationships which I hope to keep in the future. Working alongside Professor Kesselring, opened new doors for my studies leading me to decide on a master's at Dalhousie under her supervision, in Anglo-Scottish relations. Furthermore, this program pushed me to new heights and helped me further myself as a researcher, writer, and historian.

To close, I would like to encourage all those students interested in the honours program to not be afraid of taking that step and joining, it may seem like a daunting project, but its worth it in the end. A few words of advice: allow yourself an easy course load if possible, find an advisor whose work you are interested in and who you feel comfortable around, and pick a topic that you are interested in. The main thing, however, is to not be afraid of taking the next step in your journey, whether that is into the honours program or into another history class, believe in yourself because you are not alone in the process.

Jacob Bolton

To Whoever is reading this, hello!

My name is Jacob Alexander Bolton and I am currently completing my undergraduate degree as an honour's student in the history programme at Dalhousie. My undergraduate career began in 2016 and has been full of ups and downs as I have worked to succeed as a student while juggling the responsibility of playing varsity soccer. My efforts have culminated in my nominations as an academic all-Canadian in 2017-18-19. While I currently find myself in an environment where I feel as though I can fulfil my academic and athletic potential, this was not always the case. Prior to my arrival at Dalhousie, I, like many other university students and student athletes, struggled to find an area of study which truly interested me at the beginning of my academic journey. This, together with the difficulties surrounding work-life balance, posed challenges that I needed to overcome.

After a false start in my first year at Ryerson University, I enrolled at Dalhousie as a first year and attended as an undeclared student. I decided that if I was going to complete a four-year degree it should be in something that genuinely fascinated and challenged me. As a result, I found myself returning to the study of a subject that had drawn my interest since childhood: ancient Rome. An interest in Roman history had been with me since I was a young boy growing up at my Grandparents house in Montreal where I would regularly stay up past my bedtime spending countless hours reading comics about Astérix and Obélix. As I got older, I continued in this vein by moving on to the more advanced and detailed works of historical fiction written by eminent authors such as Simon Scarrow, Conn Iggulden, and Bernard Cornwell. These writers managed to vividly portray a traditional, violent, and scheming ancient world, in which the likes of Cicero, Cataline, Cato, and Caesar vied for political and military power, while masterfully portraying the fascinating social and cultural settings in which their stories took place. This kind of literature nurtured and developed my fascination with the ancient world and led to my initial decision to study classics. From there I was thrust into the world of history as an academic discipline where I was able to read and encounter

the primary works of the characters whom I had read so much about. As a student I was able to read seminal works such as Caesar's Gallic wars and Sallust's Conspiracy of Cataline which, if not as prosaic and fantastical as the novels of my childhood, depict an equally dramatic, scheming, and violent world that continues to fascinate me.

My interest and study of the ancient world allowed me to gradually expand my horizons as an undergraduate student and investigate other periods of history. And, as a result of my branching out, I developed a passing interest in the medieval world which eventually came to influence the selection of my thesis topic: Merovingian regency. My current project deals with the study of medieval France in the sixth and seventh century. What led me to the Medieval world was a fascination with the fall of the western Roman empire and the numerous calamities, transitions, and changes which followed. This left me at a juncture which bordered on the classical yet was changing into something new and exciting: what is now referred to as the early medieval or late antique period. Next, this fascination led me to try and understand the processes by which various Germanic groups came to dominate and rule the former Roman provinces of the west. This in turn led me to the discovery of the Franks and the ruling dynasty of the Merovingians.

The study of the Merovingians captured my interest for several reasons and was a logical choice for a number of others. One of the reasons for my interest was the relative obscurity of the Merovingians; regardless of all the fascinating aspects of the Merovingian period it receives considerably less scholarly attention than maybe it should, much of which is lost to the more well known ninth century Frankish dynasty: the Carolingians. This lack of attention results from the erroneous view that the Merovingians were relatively unimportant in the grand narrative of Europe's history together with the relative lack of primary material concerning the period. Another reason for my interest in the Merovingians is the general time period (late 5th-8th CE) in which they ruled and its tumultuous nature. As previously stated, the context of Roman collapse and the arrival of various barbarian tribes is fascinating. This context, together with the intriguing and fractious nature of Merovingian rule itself, (their rule having been described elsewhere as "despotism tempered by assassination") makes the

subject highly appealing. The more logical reasons for my study of the Merovingians is my natural interest in the ancient world and my ability to communicate with the large body of secondary literature written in French. Ultimately, the time period, political context, and nature of Merovingian rule, together with my access to French materials, not only led to my decision to focus on the medieval world but also informed the selection of my thesis topic.

My thesis deals directly with the decline of the Merovingian dynasty. More specifically, it looks at how periods of regency in the seventh century contributed to the myriad factors that resulted in the collapse of Merovingian royal authority. My paper makes a case study of three separate periods of regency to highlight the various ways in which these contributed to the weakening of royal authority and the destabilization of the Frankish kingdoms. My first chapter looks at the rise of the Franks under the leadership of the Merovingian dynasty in the fifth and sixth century. This chapter provides political and geographical context for the reader and introduces some of the most important and formative Merovingian leaders. The second chapter deals with the role of Merovingian kingship, the narrative of Merovingian decline, and the historiography of the period. This chapter aims to give the reader a baseline of what Merovingian kingship entailed, provide an understanding of the reasons and mechanics behind the dynasties decline, and analyze the primary sources used throughout the paper. The third chapter contains the three case studies and looks to establish the role of regency within the larger narrative of decline by analyzing the ways that regency impacted the seventh centuries political climate and undermined the authority of Merovingian kings.

Dalhousie university has given me an opportunity and a venue where I have been able to couple my passion for history with my passion for sport, and has provided me with the ability to develop good time management skills and forge relationships that I hope will last a lifetime. The process of writing my thesis, with the help of my mentor and supervisor Dr. Jack Mitchell, has taught me a number of things about myself and the difficulties associated with the completion of an extensive and thoroughly researched paper. The hours spent in the library, the bouts of lethargy, and the periods of uncertainty all contributed to my growth as an individual because I was forced to

push through them in order to complete my thesis. And, while this was certainly the most difficult and ambitions project which I have attempted during my undergrad it is also the greatest accomplishment of my time at Dalhousie and something which I believe will benefit me as a person and in my future goals.

A final thank you must go out to the individuals and groups that were instrumental in my completion of this project. First, a huge thank you goes out to my afore mentioned supervisor Dr. Jack Mitchell. From his constant support and willing smile, to his ability to put up with my indecisive self, his support has been nothing short of amazing and for this and much more I will be forever grateful. Secondly, I must thank friends and family who have both supported me in this stressful time and helped in the completion of my thesis. Through their assistance with things as important as copy editing (thanks Dad) and as mundane as sitting and talking for a few hours, those around me have been of incalculable assistance in something that would not have been possible were it not for their diligence.

A final word for anyone who reads this synopsis with thoughts of joining the honours program in the future. What I have found in my experience is that, while the honours program is no cake walk, the friends you will make along the way and the euphoria you will feel upon the completion of such a daunting task is well worth the effort and is something you will look back upon with pride further down the line.

Yours,
Jacob Bolton

Matthew Scott

My thesis has a pretty simple concept. I wrote about the premiership of R.B. Bennett, during which time Canada suffered the worst of the Great Depression. I was interested in this topic after taking a class about radical movements in Canadian politics. My initial question was how the existing parties dealt with the rise of new political movements in the 1930s. I find periods of change very interesting historically and the Depression seemed like a textbook example, as the whole economic order collapsed and appears in hindsight to have been totally discredited. New political movements emerged with ideas for an entirely different order. Yet these movements failed for the most part. The CCF and NDP have been able to win a few provincial elections and some of their policies, most notably Medicare, were adopted. Nevertheless, no alternative political movement was able to totally transform the country. Canadian politics kept the two-party system to this very day. My thought-process heading into this project was that these parties had to interact with these new ideas in some way and I wanted to examine how and why they did so.

Dr. Ruth Bleasdale, my wonderful advisor, helped especially with starting me off on the right path. A critical flaw in my initial approach was that I had a topic in mind, but not a real method for studying it. How one studies a subject is an important topic and has been a key part of discussions in the honour's seminar. Dr. Bleasdale suggested that my priority should be finding a quality primary source and build up from there. This is a good approach because it allows one to enter research with an open mind. Primary source documents serve as raw information that one can analyze and draw conclusions from. Once that is done, one can examine the secondary literature and see if they came to similar conclusions and if not then why.

My search for primary source information led me to the Nova Scotia Public Archives. I wondered if any of the major parties had prominent figures from the province and if they did, whether their papers were in the archives. I was fantastically lucky as R.B. Bennett's finance minister, Edgar Nelson Rhodes, who was Nova Scotian and was even premier, papers were publicly accessible. This appeared to be an immensely useful source. It promised to contain a host of documents

related to government like speeches, internal memorandums, reports and the like. All of which would be invaluable sources for examining how a government goes about its business. This also offered me an opportunity to do something I had never done before: actual archival research. All my previous papers had been based mostly on secondary material or on published sources like memoirs.

Research proved something of a challenge. I have no frame of reference for what an archive ought to look like, but I found the Rhodes fond difficult to work through. The archive is very large, very diverse and labelled vaguely. For example, a specific volume might contain several folders. Each folder was given a broad label such as "Budget 1933." The contents of a folder were only rarely described. This meant that each volume was a mystery box. A file on a budget might contain the budget speech or distribution letters or press clippings or a host of other materials. This meant that research was haphazard. In hindsight I should have gotten more done earlier, ensuring that I covered the archive more quickly.

Still this is an area were my chosen field allows a certain flexibility. In my experience Canadian history is provincial meaning only Canadians find it interesting. So, in contrast to writing about the United States or the UK, there is less secondary literature to work through. This means that the overall topic and methodology of the paper is somewhat conservative. This paper is a work of political history, but because Canadian political history remains a comparatively smaller field a more conventional project still has room to work. The honours seminar covered a wide variety of interesting modern developments in history, such as the use of oral history to capture the voices of those left out of standard narratives, or post-colonial theory that examines the basis of our historical understanding and its political significance. Unfortunately, I was not able to use any of those innovative approaches. My project describes figures who are all long dead, and even if they are unknown outside the country, they were still important enough to have all their papers collected publicly. Another useful part of this project has been broadening my knowledge of Canada. I did not know much contemporary Maritime history before this project. Growing up in Alberta and going to school in Ontario, the conventional narrative is of a prosperous 20s followed by a massive crash, with the west putting

slightly more emphasis on farmers. I was not aware of the hardships experienced out in the Maritimes, which had been in an economic slump since the end of the First World War.

Despite the archive's challenge, I found the information I wanted: what the government did and how it justified its actions. I began with budget speeches. The budget sets the agenda for the year and, given that the country was in an economic crisis, would seem to be where the government's plan to tackle the crisis would appear. My expectation was that there would be some sort of evolution over the course of the speeches, but this proved to be incorrect. After reading through all the speeches it was clear that there was almost no change. The same concerns: debt, the deficit, previous reckless spending, emerged again and again. The Conservatives refused to do anything too radical.

Further examination of the archive provided more information on economic thinking. There were press clipping of speeches that proved the Conservatives maintained the same message outside of parliament, but more importantly was the material from third parties, such as reports from NGOs or public intellectuals. One element jumped out from all those documents. With very few exceptions, they had the same perspectives as the Conservatives. This was very illuminating because it seems to explain the lack of Conservative evolution. The Government's actions were the same as those suggested by leading members of the business community, prominent academics, and notable public figures. The alternatives had no such backing. The CCF had no Nobel prize winners like Nicholas Murray Butler to advocate for their ideas on national broadcasts.

This led me to write a paper that in hindsight appears a bit obvious. A Conservative government was extremely reluctant to change anything to drastically. In all the areas I examined, the government was very reluctant to move to quickly or go to far. As the Depression strained relationships with the provinces, they referred to the constitution and demanded that provinces assume their proper responsibilities. The government was extremely reluctant to move to far with relief efforts. They had no intention of creating anything like a modern welfare state. The government may have changed little, but this project still has value. It examines how, when there is an established mode of thought providing a coherent explanation for events, a change in perspective

is difficult and people are unlikely to abandon their cherished beliefs. I think this is a subject that is continually relevant as I am writing this as a pandemic sweeps the globe. What effects will it have on people's thinking? Maybe not as much as one might expect.

Finishing this project leaves me feeling peculiar. I am proud of the work I have done. Are there things about this project I could have managed better? Of course, there always are. Yet, I am graduating, and I will not be continuing further on into academia. I suppose this makes the thesis a sort of capstone to my whole academic career, one last big event before I move onto something completely different. Principally I am filled with relief. I am just happy to be finally finished.

Jeremy Spronk

Historians are often faced with the dreaded "so what?" question, directly challenging the significance and relevance of works they produce, and subjects they research. My attempt to abate this dilemma birthed a project at the crux of economic, social and European history. The resulting project was thus an examination of sailing conditions on board the ships of the Dutch East India Company in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Dutch East India Company holds the distinction as the world's first publicly traded multi-national company, whose status as a proto-conglomerate lasted unchallenged for almost two centuries.

In my thesis a micro-historical, case-study based approach was taken to individualize the experiences of sailors under contract with the Dutch East India Company. This approach was used in an attempt to create a broad description of sailing conditions in the Dutch East India Company (VOC), and to examine the similarities or differences from other mercantile enterprises. The examination of writings from the captains as opposed to those of sailors before the mast was beneficial for a number of reasons. The captains were typically more literate than ordinary sailors, and this allowed for a more detailed and eloquent explanation of events on board. Through the examination of the journals of three VOC captains, with support from valuable secondary research, these case-studies examine the sailing conditions onboard ships of the VOC through five main elements. Incidents noted on board will be categorized into canonical issues that maritime professionals faced. These categories will be: discipline, danger & desertion, the wages men earned, the size of the crew and the monotony of life at sea.

The three captains that were chosen had all written detailed ship's logs that have been preserved by the Dutch National Archive in The Hauge. This micro-historical methodology required a significant amount of paleography, all of which was in middle Dutch. While this process seemed rather daunting prior to the commencement of my research, the nature of the journals made it a relatively humane task. The journal entries are rather formulaic in nature. Every entry commences with a description of the wind and the weather, followed

by an account of the events of that day. The journal is kept daily, providing us with incredibly detailed insight into the day-to-day life on board the three ships.

One of the most important characteristics of sailing conditions on early modern merchant ships was the brutal discipline the crew had to endure. Corporal punishment was incredibly common on both merchant and naval vessels during the early modern period. There were many methods used by captains and officers to keep their crews in line, including various methods of flogging, keel-hauling and beatings. These disciplinary procedures were often conducted on the main deck so as to make an example of the offending sailor. Different captains had their own methods of controlling their crew, and some even took sadistic pleasure in their enforcement of rules aboard their ship.

During process of my research I was able to deduce key aspects of the mercantile sailing experience, particularly the wages that men earned while under contract with the VOC. The wages that were paid to the sailors were a fundamental part of sailing conditions on all ships, but particularly on merchant vessels. Wages were the only method of positive motivation available to merchant captains, thus they made up a significant percentage of the expenses of a particular voyage. The size of the crew was also a fundamental facet of conditions faced by sailors. This was a sliding scale, as a larger crew would mean less work for an individual sailor, but also more cramped living conditions, a smaller share of prize money and fewer victuals.

My selection of a thesis topic was a natural one. Perhaps my favorite part of this thesis is the fact that it embodies many of the facets that define me as a historian. My interest in maritime history (particularly the world of mercantile shipping) was sparked at a young age, having spent time living in three port cities in three different countries. My time spent living in Boston, Nantes and Halifax was influential in the development of my interest in maritime history, highlighting the similarities and differences that sailors and dock workers face(d) in each region. I finally found an outlet for these interests when I began my studies with Dr. Jerry Bannister, and it was his guidance that allowed my keen interest in the field to develop into a scholarly quest. His seminar on the history of seafaring focused a great deal on the social history of sailors, and this allowed me to narrow my focus and create the monster that my honours thesis has become.

The examination of the Dutch East India Company for this thesis also required me to explore sources in my second (of three) languages, further expanding my understanding of both Dutch paleography and the history of the Netherlands as a whole. I had previously thought about writing an honours thesis on some aspect of Dutch history, having already covered certain aspects in relative detail. Having previously written on both the exploits of Maurice of Orange and the Napoleonic occupation, it seemed appropriate to explore a new era and to delve beyond the military history of a country that is not necessarily known for its military prowess. During a meeting with the Curator of the Maritime Museum in Rotterdam, Irene Jacobs, in June of 2019 I finally nailed down a topic. As we were walking through the museum's collection and library, the role of the VOC in the history of both the Netherlands and the broader maritime world became clearer and clearer. Given my aforementioned focus on the social history of sailors, it dawned on me that an examination of sailing conditions in the VOC would be the perfect project for me. On that beautiful June afternoon in Rotterdam I was still incredibly naïve to the colossal project that this would eventually become, but much like the sailors I have written about, I jumped headfirst into the project without thinking about the potential ramifications.

I'm sure that in a decade or so I will look back at the writing process with fond memories and appreciate the skills that it helped me develop and relationships it helped me foster. As of right now however, I'm in what one might call recovery mode. From the headaches that hours of pouring over eighteenth-century manuscripts can cause, to the sleepless nights of early March grinding out the last couple of chapters, this thesis has been an endeavor of the level which I could never have foreseen. It was not all bad of course, as I developed a new appreciation for my espresso machine and the house cat for keeping me company during those long lonely nights of writing.

I would be remiss if I did not thank certain people for their role in helping me complete this project. The most important person throughout the process, and thus the biggest acknowledgment must go to my advisor, Dr. Jerry Bannister. His ability to help me shape the scope and direction of this project were essential in its completion, and his understanding and willingness to put up with my nonsense,

procrastination and general unpreparedness was on a level for which I will be eternally grateful. I must also direct a massive thank you to my roommates, for their unwavering support throughout this process and lack of protest while being forced to read sections of this thesis that were entirely too long. So, to the boys on Preston, I owe you big time, and when I'm back in Halifax, the first round is on me. The last acknowledgement must go to the group therapy cohort of HIST 4986. The role y'all played in my ability to survive the year and the writing process cannot be understated. To be able to take an hour (or four) after every class and re-hash and analyze the seminar of that day added a level of enjoyment and social cohesion to this honours process that I did not think was possible. You know who you are… Love you guys.

For those who are reading this in Pangaea and are contemplating participating in future Honours programs, I have only one piece of advice. Do it. While the thesis can seem daunting and overwhelming at times, it truly is worth it.

—Jeremy Spronk

Derek Van Voorst

The proper study of history is superlatively sublime due to it uniquely encapsulating all components considered essential in determining actuality: independent of history one is not capable of actually ascertaining the properties of actions, occurrences, or beliefs of all varieties, therefore limiting knowledge as to extent of degree, a most foundational prerequisite for those inclined towards familiarity with the world in which they exist. This transcendental study orders, if one considers innate interconnectivity, the collection of independent actions into a comprehensive totality, therefore attaining the objective inextricable from the inception of advanced inquest: a maximal recognition as to how and why events occur, or, reiterated, the essential properties of the occurrences which constitute effective reality. What purpose does the investigation of a certain innovation, rebellion, advancement, recession, conflict, exploration, ratiocination, or ideology possess if not framed relative to other such occurrences? Naught. All fields of study depend upon the annals of history to transmogrify from merely a skilled specialist to an individual deserving of their subject's occupational noun. Who is more deserving of such title? Is one to be truly considered a philosopher, mathematician, psychologist, or metaphysician in an approximation of the ideal sense, if singularly familiar with their subsect of research and ignorant of their field? Improbable. Woe betide those reprobate relativists who defile and besmirch the lofty objectives of history by dragging its exceptional qualities to the type of studies temporally bound. On this basis all should engage in the proper study of history if desirous of deserving the title of their profession.

My thesis, with the supervisor being Professor Hanlon, involved a quantitative analysis of potential infanticide in Aquitaine, annis 1689 to 1696, in five parish districts: Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, Lalande-de-Libourne, Castillon-la-Bataille, Aubie-et-Espessas, and Noaillan. The years may be partitioned as follows: 1689-1692 (pre-famine); 1693-1694 (famine); 1695-1696 (post-famine). The hypothesis of this investigation is that a considerable alteration of sex ratio should manifest concurrent with the famine periods, with the most probable factor for such a shift being infanticidal praxis. The data

for this investigation was obtained by analyzing the parish registers, documents which contain the locale's births, marriages, and burials, of the five areas aforesaid in the years described. The data, posterior to its compilation by location, was configured in SPSS (a statistical package primarily employed for the social sciences) using chi-squared tests (X2) using two discrete parameters, the calculation formula involved being depicted immediately succeeding:

$$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

The total analysis, ephemerally depicted, runs a crosstabulation of 'sex of child' and 'periodization', subsequently providing the probability of the latter impacting the former. Two tests, employing alternate parameters as to 'periodization', were conducted. The first test analyzed statistical significance of sex distribution utilizing 'famine' and 'non-famine' classifications. Structuring the analysis employing these dichotomous categorizations did not present statistical significance when all five towns were undifferentiated by location, id est, there was insufficient reason to suppose on the variance of data so categorized of there being a connection betwixt sex ratio and famine status, this being due to general partiality towards males. However, of considerable interest, the second analysis considering 'prior to and including the famine (pre&famine)' compared to 'post-famine' depicted a statistically significant ($p = 0.002$) impact upon sex ratio if situated in the 'post-famine' period. This indicates that a non-random factor impacted the proportion of males to females born in the 'post-famine' period. A power analysis, id est, an investigation as to the sufficiency of sample size, was conducted and concluded a power rating of 95%, a standard in statistics; this indicates that the 'control' to 'experiment' groupings were appropriate in proportion, and that extending the analysis in time would not produce a meaningful effect.

In the thesis, prior to the analysis proper, a discourse upon historical infanticide and the biological mechanisms in sex ratios was provided. These prerequisites may be condensed as follows: humans universally

have engaged in acts of 'infant expungement', with the specific qualities of these acts dependent upon region and biological factors influence sex ratios. In the Greek and Roman instances, infanticide is frequently depicted in the action of ἐκτίθημι or expositio (exposure), resulting in the infant being displaced to a common location and often collected by an alternate entity to be raised or function in a servile capacity; the Oriental practice, considering the exemplars of China and Japan to modernity, often performed 'infant expungement' in a more properly infanticidal (etymologically) manner, with drowning being the most popular method. The influences involved in impacting sex ratios biologically are quite interesting, specifically the nascent testing concerning the factor of nutritional quality. Various factors are involved in determining the sex ratio, the most significant being the antecedent child sex ratio, the time of insemination, and the mother's socioeconomic security; the less significant components include the presence of certain cancers, the procreators' age, et cetera. Furthermore, an inequality of physiological durability exists in fetuses and neonates, with males possessing a higher probability of fatality due to negligence.

In conclusion, the thesis represented a statistically significant shift in sex ratios corresponding with the 'post-famine' period and considered potential explanations for this effect. Infanticidal actions (regardless if the infant was actually killed) possess, as an intrinsic property, the ability to substantially alter the newborn population's distribution, in a degree higher than alternate biological explanations. This is not to suggest that the totality of shift may be attributed to infanticide, for potential factors concerning oscillations in stress and nutritional sustenance appear to impact distribution, though currently it is most reasonable to suppose the dominant influence of families engaging in reactive infant extirpation.

"They Called me Rolf"[1]: Examining Race, Memory, and Identity in the Nazi Germanization of Eastern European Children

Catherine Charlton

They carted
them off in a
truck and cart
Into Germany,
into Germany,
The wives to be slaves of German men;
The children to start life over again,
In German schools, to German rules.[2]

In the dark night of June 9th, 1942, shots rang through the air in the tiny village of Lidice, Czechoslovakia. Unaware that their men were being killed, Lidice's women and children were taken to Kladno, after which the one-hundred-and-five children were transported to Łódź.[3] While in Łódź, Jaroslav Tichy remembered how Nazi officials asked the young children "many questions" and "looked at our heads, eyes, hair."[4] Seven children, including Tichy were found to be "racially valuable to [the] German Folkdom"[5], and were later taken to the Wartheland to be 'Germanized'.[6] During the Second World War, thousands of Eastern European children were selected for Germanization and taken from their families; many would forget their native language within a year.[7] This paper will examine this subject within the context of Nazi racial ideologies and Adolf Hitler's own

[1] Jan G. Wiener, "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy, Lidice, September 1965," in The Assassination of Heydrich, 112–16, (New York: Grossman, 1969), 115.
[2] Edna St. Vincent Millay, The Murder of Lidice, (New York and London: Harper and Bros., 1942), 25. This excerpt is from a poem entitled The Murder of Lidice. It was written after Americans learned of Lidice's destruction, and the fact that the children of Lidice had been sent to "educational institutions" (for Germanization).
[3] Nicholas Stargardt, Witnesses of War: Children's Lives Under the Nazis, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 163.
[4] Wiener, "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 113.
[5] Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals Under Control Council Law No. 10. Vol. V. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), 104.
[6] Stargardt, Witnesses of War, 164.
[7] *Ibid.*, 164.

views on Germanization, arguing that the efficacy of this program stemmed from its ethnocidal focus on the extermination of memory rather than the extermination of the body. Additionally, it will argue that this persecution manifested through the erasure and replacement of identity, rather than the more typical accentuation of racial identity which characterized the Holocaust.

The Germanization Process

"We were taken to a hospital…we did not know yet that we were destined for Germanization."[8]

On October 7th, 1939, the day after Germany's invasion of Poland ended, Hitler placed right-hand man Heinrich Himmler in charge of a program which would "bring back those German citizens and racial Germans abroad who are eligible for permanent return to the Reich."[9] This order became the starting point for the subsequent forced Germanization of European youths who looked like "racial German" children.

To be considered for Germanization, children had to exhibit 'Nordic' features typical of the ideal Aryan.[10] Children with these features were plucked from Eastern European orphanages, families, and even concentration camps.[11] Under the supervision of the Main Department for Race and Settlement (RuSHA), these children would then undergo many months of testing to determine their "racial value, character, ability and psychological qualities."[12] Sixty-two separate racial tests[13] determined a child's racial type, and whether that child constituted "desirable natural increase."[14] If found entirely favourable, the children were taken to institutions in Poland where they were immersed in German and punished severely for speaking their ownlanguage.[15] Children who passed were brought to Germany and put under the care of the *Lebensborn* organization, which supervised

[8] "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 115.
[9] Trials of War Criminals, 37.
[10] Lynn H. Nicholas, Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 244.
[11] Richard C. Lukas, Did the Children Cry? Hitler's War Against Jewish and Polish Children, 1939-1945, (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994), 115. Also, Nicholas, Cruel World, 248.
[12] Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS Janusz Gumkowski and Kazimierz Leszczyńksi, Poland Under Nazi Occupation, (Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1961), 165-6.
[13] Stargardt, 163.
[14] Gumkowski and Leszczyńksi, Poland Under Nazi Occupation, 175.
[15] Nicholas, 248.

their adoption into German families.[16] [17]

Following the war, teams of British and American workers faced the daunting task of trying to locate the children, many of whom had completely forgotten their original identity.[18] It was so difficult that when Germany's International Tracing Service was given the task in 1950, investigations for 13,517 adopted or institutionalised children were still pending.[19] Though sources differ greatly on the number of children abducted for Germanization, it is generally conceded that, after the war, only 20% of Germanized children from Poland were recovered.[20,21]

Nazi Racial Ideology

"Several times they examined my light hair and then they transported me to Puskov."[22]

Having noted what Germanization entailed, this paper now turns to why the program existed, which must be contextualized within the Nazi racial ideology. The Nazi views on race were influenced by several significant texts, notably Charles Darwin's 1859 work, *On the Origin of Species*. Following a Social Darwinist approach in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler highlighted historical examples of why he believed certain races had failed to thrive. He observed that a species' survival was contingent on how well it protected itself from competition.[23] Therefore, species that had larger populations would be better protected. By gathering large numbers of "the most valuable stocks of racially primal elements", Hitler believed he could lead Germany to "a dominating position."[24] Darwin's text also triggered a widespread interest in racial anthropology,

[16] Ibid.
[17] Gumkowski and Leszczyńksi, 176-7.
[18] Nicholas, 505.
[19] Ibid., 513.
[20] *Even Richard C. Lukas, a specialist in this field, contradicts himself regarding number estimations. In his 1986 book, The Forgotten Holocaust, he notes that his source indicates 20,000 kidnapped Polish children (p. 27). Yet, eight years later, in his book Did the Children Cry?, he puts the number at 200,000 (p.121). Naturally, these numbers indicate children who were initially deported, and only a fraction of them would have passed the final selection process for Germanization. However, the discrepancy between these figures is concerning.*
[21] Catrine Clay and Michael Leapman, Master Race: The Lebensborn Experiment in Nazi Germany, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995), 96. Also, Nicholas, 121.
[22] "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 115.
[22] Clay and Leapman, *Master Race*, 11.
[22] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939), 601.

which prompted the development of standardized instruments, such as craniometers, to measure racial characteristics.[25] These instruments would later be routinely employed in the Germanization selection process.

Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was foundational in establishing the groundwork for the Nazi belief in the racial superiority of Nordic Germans, whom they referred to as *Übermensch*.[26] To establish a race capable of conquering and building a 'Thousand-Year Reich' populated by *Übermenschen*, Germany needed to turn to the pertinent issue of building its population. In order to replace the races expelled in the *Generalplan Ost*'s grand scheme of the "Germanization of the Eastern Territories", Hitler needed more 'Aryan' children. [27]

On May 28th, 1940, Himmler presented Hitler with a top-secret document he had written, entitled "Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East." It recommended "racial sifting" in dealing with Poland's ethnic groups, with the view of "selecting… the racially valuable and bringing them to Germany and assimilating them."[28] For Himmler, these "racially valuable" people were young children with Nordic features. In what Lukas calls a "curiously contradictory reversal of racist ideology", many Nazis believed that these Aryan-looking children were really ethnic Germans who had been "Polonized."[29] Nazi word choice here is important. Kidnapped children were officially described as "Polonized German children" or "children of German descent", and Germanization itself was referred to as "Re-Germanization."[30] Significantly, during the RuSHA Case in the Nuremberg Trials, the defense argued that most of the kidnapped children from Poland were "ethnic German orphans." [31] Even those who did not believe that the children were ethnically German thought they should be considered as Nordic. In a 1942 order, SS *Gruppenführer* Greifelt stated that these children, "judging from their racial appearance, *should be regarded as* descended from Nordic parents" (emphasis mine).[32]

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler avowed that the goal of children's education in the "folkish State" should be the "branding, through instinct and

[25] Clay and Leapman, 13.
[26] Gumkowski and Leszczyṅksi, 9.
[27] *Ibid.*, 10,13.
[28] *Trials of War Criminals*, 33-34.
[29] Lukas, *Did the Children Cry?*, 114.
[30] Gumkowski and Leszczyṅksi, 166.
[31] Clay and Leapman, 170.
[32] *Ibid.*, 167-8.

reason, the race sense and race feeling into the hearts and brains of the youth."[33] This was also the goal of the Germanization program. Unlike most of the victims of the Holocaust, whose race was their death sentence, the racial appearance of the kidnapped children overrode the Nazi perception of their ethnicity. Instead of being killed because of their race, their bodies were saved because they *looked* too "racially valuable" to kill. Thus, this paper argues, instead of physically exterminating them, Hitler chose to exterminate their memories instead, through Germanization. After the war, many children had had their new German "race sense" so "branded" into them that they had no recollection of any other identity. Therefore, the Nazis used memory destruction to achieve the racially driven goal of erasing an 'inferior' racial identity and replacing it with one which was considered valuable.

Hitler's (Original) Position on Germanization

"…they spoke only German to me, they sent me to a German school – and I slowly forgot."[34]

Considering the importance of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* on the racial ideology of Nazi Germany, it is worth examining Hitler's early views on Germanization found within. Interestingly, in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler maintains that Germanization is an impossible task. First, he dismisses the notion that learning German can lead to the adoption of a German identity, arguing that while language can be changed, the learner's "inner nature will not be changed."[35] He then argues that a true Germanization "can only be carried out with the *soil* and never with *men*."[36] Hitler states that because race "is rooted…in the blood, one could be permitted to speak of a Germanization only if one could succeed in changing…the blood of the subjugated. But this is impossible."[37] Finally, he specifically denounces a plan which he later adopts, the Germanization of the East, by arguing that German superiority would be corrupted by "people of an alien race, expressing its alien thoughts in the German language."[38]

[33] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 636.
[34] "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 115.
[35] Hitler, 430.
[36] *Ibid.*, 588.
[37] *Ibid.*, 589.
[38] *Ibid.*, 590.

This paper would contend that these arguments, though evidently against the Germanization of *adults*, allow (through omission) for the Germanization of *children* who appear Nordic. Hitler seems to consider only the racially impure adult who attempts to become German by speaking German. Holocaust scholar Lynn Nicholas notes that while adults were indeed "beyond salvation for Germandom", there was hope for the "racially valuable children" of these "untransformable parents."[39] In this case, Germanization worked because of the young age and appearance of the children. It was believed that children taken for Germanization should be under ten years of age for best results.[40] The older the child, the better memories he had of his original identity, and these memories made a complete Germanization unlikely.[41] This paper argues that the Germanization process was so successful because the young age of the children made it easy to manipulate and destroy memories.

The relationship between age and memory obliteration is evident. Older children, such as twelve-year-old Alexander Michelowski, generally did not respond as successfully to Germanization. Michelowski resisted assimilation by secretly speaking Polish (despite the threat of punishment), and by communicating with his hometown by letter via a Polish farm labourer.[42] Similarly, in another institution a group of older children held secret night-time meetings where they spoke Polish and said ritual prayers so the younger children would remember their original identity.[43] Conversely, Jan Chrzanowski, taken while still in his first year, was so convinced of his Germanness that after the war he decided to stay in Germany with his adoptive family.[44] Because of this indoctrination at a young age, young children were so thoroughly Germanized that they were incapable of what Hitler had feared: namely, expressing "alien thoughts in the German language."[45] For young children, every memory of these so-called "alien thoughts" had been destroyed, and their original identity erased and replaced.

[39] Nicholas, 242.
[40] Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation 19391944*, (Kentucky: Kentucky University Press, 1986), 26.
[41] Nicholas, 252.
[42] Stargardt, 164.
[43] Lukas, *Did the Children Cry?*, 118.
[44] *Ibid.*, 119.
[45] Hitler, 590.

Genocide and Ethnocide

"They called me Rolf; I wondered why, but they explained that this was my new name and to forget the old one."[46]

In October of 1947, the crimes committed against kidnapped children were addressed in Case VIII of the Nuremburg Trials, the RuSHA Case.[47] With ten Germanized children as witnesses, the defendants were charged with 'genocide', a term coined only three years previously.[48] Introduced by Dr. Raphael Lemkin, an advisor in the United States War Department, the term blends the Greek word *genos*, meaning 'race' or 'nation' with the Latin *cide*, meaning 'killing'.[49] Drawing on an understanding of the term from the 1947 U.N. Convention Against Genocide, genocide was declared as a "Crime Against Humanity". The Convention noted three specific categories of genocide. The two which pertain to the Germanization of children were the "forcible separation of families [being] 'biological genocide'" and also the "deliberate destruction of the intellectual and cultural life of a nation [being] 'cultural genocide.'"[50] The RuSHA case prosecutors forcefully condemned the Germanization program, and accused the defendants of performing a "systematic program of genocide, aimed at the destruction of foreign nations and ethnic groups."[51] In order to "strengthen the German nation and the so-called 'Aryan' race", the defendants had been guilty of the "elimination and suppression of national characteristics", accomplished in part through "kidnapping children."[52]

The term 'genocide', however, was and is a finicky one, and the varying meanings of the word betray an ephemerality which still has not been convincingly defined.[53] This essay, therefore, will examine this topic in the more specific terms of 'ethnocide'. In his book *Genocide or Ethnocide*, Bartolomé Clavero states: "Genocide kills people

[46] "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 115.
[47] Nicholas, 506.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] "On The Genocide Convention," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6:336–37, (Catholic University of America, 1967), 283.
[50] *Trials of War Criminals*, 4.
[51] *Trials of War Criminals*, 89.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] Indeed, when Greifelt was tried on counts of genocide, the defense argued that "the legal concept of genocide had not yet been formulated by any of the authoritative international organizations at the time of the alleged criminal conduct, or even at the time of the trial, and hence that a charge of genocide could not be considered legally valid." (*Trials of War Criminals*, 1.)

while ethnocide kills social cultures through the killing of individual souls."[54] This happens when "an ethnic group is denied the right to enjoy, develop and transmit its own culture and its own language, whether collectively or individually."[55] This is precisely what happened during the Germanization process. Children were made to forget their language and culture, and to adopt a new identity along with their new, Germanized, name. According to Lukas, "the core of the Germanization process was to destroy the Polish [or original] identity of the boys and girls."[56] This describes ethnocide at its core, in its destruction of the soul through the eradication of memory.

This forced memory loss caused problems after the war. Many Germanized children had forgotten who they originally were, and did not want to leave their adoptive families, an assimilation foreseen by Nazi race specialists.[57] The efficacy of the Germanization process prompted some British child search workers to argue that, in cases where adoptions had been completed and the child was secure and happy, the child should not be removed.[58] Finding Germanized children and repatriating them proved challenging. When a child had forgotten his name, language, family, and early life, it was frustratingly difficult to confirm his original identity.[59] Workers often had to reach deep within a child's memory to evoke early experiences. Here, a sung nursery rhyme or recited prayer could help, and the child would remember the long-forgotten ritual and join in.[60] However, reunions with family were often difficult. Taken at the age of five, Alusia Witaszek was so thoroughly Germanized that when she was returned to her village of Poznań, she could only communicate with her Germanized sister.[61] Feeling like outsiders, the girls eventually ran away from home in a (thwarted) attempt to reach Germany.[62] Witaszek's German accent remained with her, a reminder of the years when her identity had been replaced.

Dr. Marie Meierhofer, a Zurich psychologist, noted that the repatriated Germanized children underwent not one but two changes

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[54] Bartolomé Clavero, *Genocide or Ethnocide, 1933-2007: How to Make, Unmake, and Remake Law with Words*, (Milano: Giuffrè, 2008), 100.
[55] William Schabas, *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 189.
[56] Lukas, *Did the Children Cry?*, 117.
[57] Stargardt, 353.
[58] *Ibid*.. 353.
[59] Clay and Leapman, 128.
[60] Nicholas, 506.
[61] Stargardt, 354.
[62] *Ibid.*

to their "language, social environment, culture, religion and, indeed, nationality."[63] Considering this, she believed that "their memory holds no past on which it might be possible to build."[64] This idea of loss of identity through loss of memory underpins my argument. Most of Hitler's victims knew exactly why they were being persecuted: the badge they were forced to wear and the treatment they endured was a constant erasure and replacement of identity was what defined their experience as opposed to most other Holocaust victims. This ethnocide was effective. The children's original identities had been expunged and replaced, making finding their true identity incredibly difficult after the war. Unlike other groups, such as the Jews, Germanized children were left with no unifying identity on which to rebuild or to draw comfort from following the war. Here we can see how effective the racial politics of erasing and assimilating, rather than exterminating, were in the Germanization process. This eradication of memory and repurposing of race constituted ethnocide. As testament to its efficacy, there are likely many adults living in Germany today who remain ignorant of their original identity.[65]

Conclusion

"The war ended and I was still there [in Germany]. The word "Lidice" I did not remember."[66]

In 1947, Jaroslav Tichy was located by Czech officials and returned to Lidice. His Germanization had been thorough, and he no longer remembered the Czech language.[67] Having examined the plight of Tichy and thousands of others within the context of the Nazi racial ideology and Hitler's views on Germanization, this paper has argued that the motive for Germanization was the extermination of memory rather than the body, necessitated to preserve 'racially valuable' children. Unlike the fate of Jews or Poles, whose racial 'inferiority' was emphasized, the Nazi goal in this case was to erase any trace of original identity and replace it with a German identity, made possible by the Aryan appearance of the selected children. This plasticity of identity is chillingly portrayed in the words of one Germanized Polish child to

[63] Quoted in Stargardt, 376.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] Nicholas, 5.
[66] "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 116.
[67] "Conversations with Jaroslav Tichy", 116.

another after the war: "We used to be Germans. But we are Poles now. In a few weeks you will get to like it too."[68]

[68] Lukas, *Did the Children Cry?*, 112.

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Churchill's Britain and Europe: To Leave or Remain?

Scott Clark

Introduction

The issue of Brexit and of Anglo-European relations has dominated political debate and policy in the United Kingdom since the 2016 UK Referendum on membership to the European Union (EU). Having voted by over 51% to leave the EU, the UK's deliberate choice to move away from Europe shocked many people[1], and has caused political deadlock in Britain that continues to this day. However, when analyzing the history of Britain's tumultuous relationship with the continent since 1940, the results do not come as a surprise. Indeed, British membership and involvement in Europe has been a major topic of debate for the past several decades. After the conclusion of the Second World War, Britain's role in post war Europe was yet to be determined; interestingly, the attitude of one of the architects of modern Europe towards the continent has become a topic of debate among historians. During the 2016 Referendum election, leaders of both the "Leave" and "Remain" campaigns invoked the images and ideals of Winston Churchill and his presence in British identity in an attempt to influence voters and convince them that Churchill would have been firmly in their camp. Vote Leave figure head and current British Prime Minister (and Churchill historian) [2] Boris Johnson invoked Churchill daily, saying that "he would be on his bus", and deterred dissenters by noting that "Britain needs to be supportive of its friends and allies—but on the lines originally proposed by Winston Churchill: interested, associated, but not absorbed; with Europe—but not comprised."[3] The then Prime Minister and pro-Europe leader David Cameron also invoked Churchill, arguing that Churchill was a founder of European unity and would have wanted the UK to stay in the EU[4].

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[1] Simpson, Cam, Gavin Finch, and Kit Chellel. 2018. "The Brexit Short." *Bloomberg Businessweek*, no. 4575 (July): 36–42.

[2] Johnson, Boris. *The Churchill Factor: How One Man Made History*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2014.

[3] Felix Klos, *Churchill's Last Stand: The Struggle to Unite Europe* (New York: I.B. Tauris 2018), 5.

[4] *Ibid.*

This raises the question: how could the man, whose political career spanned six decades, wrote millions of words and delivered thousands of speeches, how could his position on such a clear question still be up for debate? For his part, Churchill's grandson and former Conservative MP Sir Nicholas Soames has said "the last things on earth Churchill would have been would have been an isolationist-to want to stand apart from Europe right now at a difficult time."[5] Conservative MP and future Minister David Davis responded by noting that Soames argument "is in defiance of history. Winston Churchill saw a very good argument for some sort of a United States of Europe. But he never wanted us to be a part of it. That's the key point"[6]. Indeed, this is the critical point where Eurosceptics and Europhiles disagree on Churchill's position towards British involvement in Europe. The former argues that while Churchill may have been a believer in a united Europe, that was the extent of his sympathies, and did not want Britain to be involved in this united European system. The latter argues that the fact that Churchill did call for a United States of Europe, supported his protégé Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and voted to join the EU's forerunner, the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1961[7], proves that if he were living in 2016, Churchill would have voted to for Britain to stay in the EU.

The truth is more complicated, and Churchill's positions on Europe do not fit neatly in to a 21st Century 'Leave' or 'Remain' dichotomy. His own attitudes had changed over his decades in politics, as had the makeup and structure of Europe. In his post-war years, European unity and communities were not consolidated into an international organization like the EU, but instead were various, communities and organizations, linked by individual states and various treaties.

This messy structure of cohesion proceeding the EU, having seen Europe divided twice in one century, and the new threat of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe all influenced Churchill's positions towards European unity, and those positions were responses to a very different world and Europe compared to 2016. Churchill also cared to

[5] Nicholas Watt, "EU referendum: Churchill would back Remain, Soames says," BBC-News-Politics-EU Referendum. Last modified 10 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36253224

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Alistair Jones *Britain and the European Union* p. 15.

look beyond Europe's borders towards the Empire and nurturing the special relationship with the United States, undoubtedly prioritizing these relationships over Europe. To confuse matters further, Churchill would often make contradictory remarks towards Europe, depending on the context of the situation, like when he made clear to Charles de Gaulle that if forced to choose between the continent and the open sea, Britain would always choose the sea.[8] This makes it difficult for any contemporary historian or politician to definitively cast Churchill in either a pro-Leave or Remain position. However, many of the contemporary debates on Britain in Europe can be traced back to Churchill; although he himself was in favour of a united Europe, his political speeches, policies, and legacy contribute and serve as a foundation for modern Euroscepticism in Britain.

Churchill and the Unites States of Europe

During his tenure as Leader of the Opposition after the 1945 General Election, Churchill made several important speeches that would influence the way the world saw the international situation unfolding before them. The first was his famous "Iron Curtain" speech delivered in March, 1946 in Fulton, Missouri. This speech was significant in the debate on European unity because it defined the division in the European continent between the Soviet pro-communist East, and the Western pro-capitalist West. Therefore, unlike in 1914 or 1939 when nation states were attempting to obtain more territory for their nationalistic or ethnic and racial goals, the Cold War was one of ideology. As ideology can transcend nations, there was less utility in maintaining strong national character in exchange for common unity and effort in defense policy against the new enemy, the Soviet Union and communism. In this context, Churchill's Iron Curtain speech called for western European cohesion and alliance under a larger scale, and was something that unified these western nations against the Soviet Union. Therefore, it can be argued that Churchill's speech at Fulton contributed to the idea of globalism and pre-EU western connectivity, from which the EU eventually developed. However, this notion on its own cannot prove that he would have preferred British membership

[8] "The Open Sea: Euroscepticism and its roots" *The Economist*, 15 October 2015, special report.

in an EU organization, merely at the time it was important to stand together in international partnerships against a common enemy. Thus Churchill's speech drew a clear line of separation between the East and West which called for the nations of western Europe to unify behind this dichotomy. Churchill's speech stresses the issue of independence and sovereignty as less important and common cooperation and unity behind the west nations opposed to the Soviet Union. However, nothing in this speech would suggest that he was in favour of an organization like the EU, with the expansive governance authority that it has. Rather, his speech suggests that in the post-war world, a division was forming, and that those nations on the western side were in the division together.

Perhaps the strongest indication of Churchill's support for a united Europe, and therefore a role for Britain in this Europe, comes from a series of other speeches he also made in 1946. In Metz, France on Bastille Day in July, Churchill used the opportunity of being in Europe to raise the issue of European unity, and asked the question:

> What will be the fate of Europe...Shall we re-establish again the glory of Europe and thus consolidate the foundations of Peace? Why should the quarrels of Europe wreck the gigantic modern world? Twice in our lifetimes we have seen this happen…We victors have set up together the United Nations Organization to which we give our loyalty and which we found our hopes. At the head of this stands the United States of America in all her power and virtue. But without the aid of a united Europe the great new world organization may easily be rent asunder or evaporate in futility because of explosions which originate in Europe and may once again bring all mankind into strife and misery.[9]

Another important speech he made with regards to a united Europe was at the University of Zurich in September, 1946. In his speech, Churchill was careful to mention at the dark state of affairs Europe would have found itself now in had it not been for American support. He noted that that this support still may not be sufficient enough to avoid European decline, but added that:

> Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted, would as if by miracle transform the whole scene...We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of

[9] Winston S. Churchill, *His Complete Speeches 1897*-1963, Volume VII. (London: Chelsea House Publishers, 1974) 7358-7359.

> toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.[10]

These two speeches demonstrate a clear indication that Churchill did support the idea of a united Europe and that it ought to form a type of international organization. The pro-European Remainer would argue Churchill's argument calls for something similar to what the EU eventually became. Indeed, he was in favour of stronger European ties in order to avoid what he described as "the tragedy of Europe"[11], essentially the continuous state of war among a European family. In 1947, he founded the United Europe Movement, seen as a pressure group calling for a European state and he also famously appeared at Royal Albert Hall under the banner "EUROPE ARISE!"[12]. All of these credentials support the claim that Churchill was a pro-European unity leader, and believed in the principles that established international organizations like the EU.

However, upon closer examination, Churchill's words do not directly support the notion of the UK being a member of a "United States of Europe". This is first suggested when he declared in his Zurich speech that "The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral leadership of Europe…[13]". This quotation suggests Churchill saw the leadership of the United States of Europe resting with France and Germany, notably omitting Britain. He continued to push this point further when he concluded his speech by noting:

> France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America, and I trust Soviet Russia—for then indeed all would be well—must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live and shine.[14]

This conclusion is evidence that Churchill may have believed that Britain ought to be distinct from a new and united Europe. The fact that he connects France and Germany together to be the leaders of Europe, and that other, distinctive entities like the United States, the

[10] *Ibid*, 7380.
[11] *Ibid,* 7379
[12] Klos, *Churchill's Last Stand*, 1.
[13] Churchill, *His Complete Speeches,* 7381.
[14] *Ibid,* 7382.

British Commonwealth, and Soviet Union should do their part to recognize them suggests that he saw these large federalist unions and organizations as the formula for France and Germany to create a new Europe. Thus, as Britain already was connected to British Empire and Commonwealth, there would be no need for British involvement in this experiment. Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that Churchill's 1946 Zurich speech demonstrates his commitment to Britain in Europe. His Zurich speech, though undoubtedly pro-European unity, was more a call for Europe to adopt the general principle of internationalism and global governance.

Even when challenged in a pre-EU context on British involvement in a united Europe, Churchill was non-committal, noting to two Swiss diplomats before his Zurich speech: "I have preferred not to stress the point of British membership of the United States of Europe so as to leave the other nations the task of inviting us."[15]. By preferring to not insist or commit to British involvement in the United States of Europe, Churchill instead contributed to modern Euroscepticism in Britain by allowing a debate to initially take place. Had Churchill insisted on British integration in a European community, the British population would have had less time away from Europe after the war, and may have been less connected to the United States, and could have felt that Britain was dependent on the European relationship, and less secure outside of it. Instead, Churchill allowed Britain to remain on the sidelines of international European governance, refusing to take a leadership role in the European community, and it was this absence of integration that allowed for a sense of modern British Euroscepticism to emerge.

During the war, Britain was the obvious choice to lead a united Europe in the event of an allied victory. Exiled governments in London looked towards British leadership, and Churchill inparticular[16]. However, Churchill himself was the one to terminate the notion from becoming a possibility, as he believed that a post war Britain would not be able to initiate such leadership that rebuilding western Europe would require. The best he hoped for during this time was for a type of

[15] Klos, *Churchill in Europe*, 5.
[16] John W. Young *Britain and European Unity 1945-1992*. (St. Martin's Press: New York) 1993. P.6.

regional council at the United Nations (UN).[17] Traces of this sentiment can be examined in his Zurich speech, where Churchill urged that "Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the U.N.O. Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe. The first step is to form a Council of Europe"[18]. This is also seen in an earlier address to the States-General of the Netherlands in May, 1946. His language here indicates that he believes the United States of Europe could exist within the UN, and suggests that Britain need not be a part of this, as he stated:

> Special associations within the circle of the United Nations, such as those of which I have been speaking, or like the great unity of the British Empire and Commonwealth, or like the association which prevails throughout the Americas, North and South…should be all capable of being fused together in such a way as to make U.N.O indivisible and invincible…I see no reason why, under the guardianship of the world organization, there should not ultimately arise the United States of Europe.[19]

Churchill's call to unite Europe through the "guardianship" of the UN as well as his noting that there existed a clear distinction of the British Empire and Commonwealth, and that it was not connected to Europe, both serve as evidence that even though he wanted Europe to be a strong and united bloc, it did not need to be of the type of structure that the EU is. Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that he believed Britain should be involved in a type of organization like the EU. This distinction in Churchill's attitudes towards Britain's separate role in Europe allow for further debate on his beliefs about British integration in Europe to take place, and therefore can be said to contribute to modern British Euroscepticism by his lack of clear support for Britain in the EU.

Churchill Further Separates Europe Through Empire and America

While Churchill provided clear examples of his support for a United

[17] *Ibid,* 7.
[18] Churchill, *His Complete Speeches,* 7381.
[19] Churchill*, His Complete Speeches,* 7322-7323

States of Europe, his belief in British involvement in the project can be questioned because of the foreign policy priorities he placed on the British-Empire/Commonwealth and the Anglo-American "Special Relationship"[20]. This can be seen both during the war, his time out of office, and his return to power in the 1950s; his triangular vision of British foreign interests being divided between the United States, Empire and Commonwealth and Europe still meant that Britain could not fully commit to European integration, and rather had to adopt more of a good neighbour policy with Europe[21].

For Churchill, preservation of the British Empire under his leadership was important, evidenced by his statement at Mansion House in 1943 that he had "not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire"[22]. From his earliest days as Prime Minister, Churchill associated Britain and the Commonwealth as one, and even thought of himself as the leader of the entire Commonwealth[23]. Thus for him, British post-war policy needed to include the Empire as a cornerstone of its foreign policy. Even after he left often in 1945, the Labour government's foreign policy also generally reflected this sentiment. Perhaps this is attributable to the fact that Churchill's attitude was reflective of the British population's at this time as well. In 1950 two-thirds of polled Brits believed that Britain's foreign policy for be centred on the principle of "Empire first", and that support was concentrated among upper and middle class Conservative voters[24]. This was clearly popular among his electoral base, it served Churchill well to not alienate his voters by integrating his foreign policy too close to Europe. Thus, Churchill the imperialist was happy dedicating a major portion of his foreign policy towards Commonwealth and Empire, even if it was at the expense of Britain further integrating into Europe.

As a half-American himself, Churchill's other foreign relation that he prioritized over Anglo-European relations was the "Special Relationship". During his "Sinews of Peace" speech in March, 1946 in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill demonstrated his commitment to the

[20] John W. Young *Britain and European Unity 1945-1999* (London:2000) 1.
[21] Peter Sherman, *Britain, the European Union and National Identity*, 92.
[22] Winston S. Churchill *The End of the Beginning: War Speeches* (London 1943) p. 268.
[23] J. B. Watson *Empire to Commonwealth 1919 to 1970*, p. 79
[24] Bob Jessop, *Traditional Conservatism and British Political Culture*, 91.

Anglo-American alliance, evidenced in his speech when he noted: "The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy"[25] and:

> Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our over-riding loyalties to the World Organization? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength."[26]

Churchill's speech demonstrates his view that Britain's foreign relations future lies with the United States. By saying that the UN would only achieve its full stature and strength prove that he believed this was the most important relationship for Britain in rebuilding the western world after the end of the war. Therefore, while Europe was important and he believed in a United States of Europe, he did not necessarily believe that British interests rested there.

Churchill's prioritization of foreign relations and associations with both the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations can therefore be seen as examples of why British integration in to Europe was not sudden or completely successful in the decade after the war. Britain saw the utility in focusing on these other relations, and saw how it could operate without European integration. Thus, Churchill's foreign policies helped to forge modern British Euroscepticism by not whole-heartedly embracing Europe in the immediate aftermath of the war, and instead having a focus on relations and associations with the United States and the British Commonwealth.

Wartime Imagery, Culture and Identity

As the British Empire began to diminish from its territorial height in 1922, in the decades following the war, the country's collective identity began to root itself in British responses to the Second World War[27]. Ideals of resilience during the Blitz, heroism of British civilians at Dunkirk, and the bravery to fight on alone against a fallen Europe could all be personified in Winston Churchill, the dynamic wartime

[25] Churchill, *His Complete Speeches* ,7286
[26] *Ibid,* 7289
[27] Kelsey, Darren, Media*, Myth and Terrorism: A Discourse-mythological Analysis of the 'blitz Spirit' in British Newspaper Responses to the July 7th Bombings*. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 2-3.

leader and "Greatest Briton"[28]. In particular, 1940 has become a year of almost legendary folklore, viewed as Britain's finest hour standing alone against the face of tyranny after the Fall of France[29]. Churchill's speeches in particular serve as a source of inspirations for Eurosceptics to invoke ideas of independence from Europe. His "we shall fight on the beaches…we shall never surrender" speech demonstrates a political narrative of courage and self-reliance that did not apply to the fallen continent of Europe[30]. Therefore, as Churchill carefully crafted his own brand and image, as a type of personification of British identity, his romantic language of independence and distinction from mainland Europe serve as a bedrock for modern British identity. As this independence notion could not apply to mainland Europe, a distinct difference of identity began to emerge. Churchill's rhetoric of the British island standing alone separated Britain from Europe in the minds and hearts of the British and therefore contributed to modern British Euroscepticism as well.

While national identity is linked to the past, it also shapes the future. As one academic has noted, Britain has inherently been a conservative society, unwilling to adopt new methods of governance or risk effecting its independent and sovereign parliamentary-democracy[31]. Churchill helped to instill notions of British independence from the rest of Europe, and these perceptions have been reflected in the public's unwillingness to move towards European integration, and demonstrate Churchill's role in laying the foundation for modern British Euroscepticism. These notions became even more apparent during the 2016 UK Referendum.

Churchill and the 2016 Referendum

The use of equating Churchill to British identity has been used in contemporary times to promote a certain Leave/Remain stance towards British membership in the EU. As political discourse continued after the 2016 Referendum, Brexiteers have attempted to liken the situation to Churchill's handling of 1940. Conservative Minister Penny

[28] Nicholls, E. Henry. "Endeavour's Greatest Briton." *Endeavour* 26, no. 4 (2002): 126.
[29] David Reynolds, *From World War to Cold War: Churchill, Roosevelt, and the International History of the 1940s*. (Oxford; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007), pg. 75.
[30] Faza, Andres L. British Cultural Narrative in Winston Churchill's Political Communication, 2014.7-10.
[31] Peter Sherman *Britain, the European Union and National Identity*, 92.

Mordaunt wrote in *The Daily Telegraph*:

> In our long island history, there have been many times when Britain has not been well served by alignment with Europe…When Britain stood alone in 1940 after the defeat at Dunkirk, we were cut off and ridiculed. True leadership sometimes does feel isolating. Yet we have never suffered for it. We are resourceful; we are well connected; our brand is strong in the world[32].

In this piece, Mordaunt is clearly drawing several parallels to Churchill's speeches of standing alone, surviving without Europe and trying to utilize the instilled identity of the British independence and self-reliance that Churchill helped to build. In this sense, despite Churchill's own preference for a United States of Europe, with some form of British involvement, Brexiteers have been utilizing a Churchill/1940 narrative to push their own anti-Europe agenda.

During the Referendum campaign, the Vote Leave camp was highly successful at inserting a Churchill narrative in to their campaign messaging. Their entire campaign was surrounded around the idea of British exceptionalism, and therefore could stand to be independent from Europe. By invoking Churchill in to this messaging, the myths constructed around the history of the Second World War, and the British Empire were also utilized, which further contributes to the ideas of British exceptionalism [33]. Recognizing the successful marketing strategy being used by their opponents, the Britain Stronger in Europe camp also employed Churchill's popularity to push their agenda. Prime Minister Cameron was on record stating that:

> At my office, I sit two yards away from the Cabinet Room where Winston Churchill decided in May 1940 to fight on against Hitler—the best and greatest decision anyone has made in our country. He didn't want to be alone, he wanted to be fighting with the French and with the Poles and with the others, but he didn't quit. He didn't quit on Europe, he didn't quit on European democracy, he didn't quit on European freedom[34].

This was an obvious attempt to try and utilize Churchill in to the debate to strengthen a pro-Europe position, however there were serious

[32] "The Spirit of Dunkirk will see us Thrive Outside the EU," *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 February 2016.
[33] Alex Von Tunzelmann, "The Imperial Myths Driving Brexit", *The Atlantic*, (August, 2019).
[34] Edoardo Campanella, Marta Dassu, *Anglo Nostalgia: The Politics of Emotion in a Fractured West*, 74.

flaws in the assessment. Rather than use points like Churchill's belief in a United States of Europe, Cameron's quotation instead focuses on reinforcing the myths surrounding Churchill pursuing independence from Europe—a point which strengthens the Leave campaigns messaging. Regardless, the Vote Leave campaign successfully utilized Churchill's speeches and persona to appeal to British identity in order to advance their political agenda. In this sense, Churchill himself helped to contribute to modern British Euroscepticism through these factors.

Conclusion

Over the past several decades, Churchill has become a legendary figure in the British imagination and identity. Therefore, it is no surprise that when Britain was about to decide their fate in the future of the European Union, leaders of both campaigns tried to argue that Churchill would have been on their side. The history of Britain in the EU is complicated and controversial; the history of Anglo-European relations is even more so. While it may be politically expedient to apply Churchill's legacy to lend support to a certain pro or anti Britain-in-Europe stance, the history of Churchill's attitude and policies make it impossible to cast him in either camp. However, as this paper has attempted to demonstrate, Churchill himself was a globalist, and he was a believer in a united Europe. Nevertheless, it was also Churchill and his speeches, legacy, and policies that laid the foundation of modern Euroscepticism in Britain. At any conclusion, it is worthy to note that the fact that politicians and historians continue to debate which position Churchill would have taken in a contemporary debate on British membership in the EU is a testament towards his lasting legacy as an influential Prime Minister and craftsman of British identity.

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Support, Silence, and Resistance: The Nazification of German Universities during the Third Reich

Cole DeJager

During the Third Reich, German universities were swept up in the ideological frenzy of National Socialism along with the rest of Germany. In 1933, professors from many different disciplines supported Hitler in the form of addresses that were "presented and published in a brochure entitled 'Vow of Allegiance of the Professors of the German Universities and High-Schools to Adolf Hitler and the National Socialistic [sic] State.'"[1] The teaching profession in Germany was generally nationalistic and student groups were already displaying strong anti-Semitic tendencies before 1933.[2] German universities were ripe for National Socialism in 1933. The enthusiastic support for National Socialism in the universities is further proven by the fact that in 1933, 1700 members of faculty and 313 full professors were removed from their positions; they were removed either because they were of Jewish descent or they had "left-wing sympathies".[3] This was seen as a purification and nationalization of higher-education. It was carried out because the universities were seen as a way to revitalize Germany's cultural heritage. The turn to National Socialism was met with enthusiasm from all sides, the professors and students all seemed to support the new project of the Germany University. If one looks at the general atmosphere of the universities at surface level, it may seem that there were no anti-Nazi sentiments or resistance. The nationalistic speeches of University rectors and the general atmosphere of German universities in 1933 and after demonstrate this. Yet, not everyone involved in German higher education were fully enthralled by National Socialism during the Third Reich. The anti-intellectualism of the Nazi Party did not completely agree with the inherent intellectualism

[1] Georg Bollenbeck, "The Humanities in Germany after 1933: Semantic Transformations and the Nazification of the Disciplines," in *Nazi Germany and the Humanities*, ed. Wolgang Bialas and Anson Rabinbach, trans. Thomas La Presti (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007), 2.
[2] Terrence Prittie, *Germans against Hitler* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1964), 158-59.
[3] Wolfgang Bialas and Anson Rabinbach, *Nazi Germany and the Humanities* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007), x.

of universities. Some academics dealt with this anti-intellectualism by intentionally obfuscating their research to escape ideological censorship, while other academics openly rose up and defied the regime. A prominent example was the White Rose, a group of students and a professor at the University of Munich.[4] The White Rose became a symbol of resistance and idealism after they were executed for their dissent. A close look at the thoughts and feelings of students and some professors during the Third Reich reveals the presence of anti-Nazi sentiments, and even some outright resistance to the Nazi regime. This resistance was not committed by force; rather, it was done by idealistically and romantically calling for hope and action.

The political atmosphere at German universities before and during the Third Reich demonstrates that students generally supported National Socialism. Youth entering German universities had already adopted nationalistic tendencies before 1933. In 1932, 107,000 young people were members of the Hitler Youth.[5] Even in the 1920s, there was some support for National Socialism from university students. This was especially true in southern Germany where in 1923, students from the University of Munich participated in Hitler's Putsch.[6] Despite the lack of evidence to show that support for Hitler was widespread in German universities during the 1920s, "The Reich Chancellery expressed its concern about the strong influence of Hitler upon students, and on professors as well".[7] The National Socialist German Student Union—abbreviated to NSDStB—was founded in 1926 but did not gain prominence until 1931. In July of 1931, the NSDStB managed to gain control of the national students' union.[8] Students were drawn towards Hitler and the Nazi Party because they called for action in opposition to the "excessive intellectuality of the other purely political groups."[9] Thus, many of the students at German universities supported National Socialism due to their lack of intellectual obfuscation.

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[4] Inge Jens, "Foreword," in *At the Heart of the White Rose: Letters and Diaries of Hans and Sophie Scholl*, by Hans Scholl and Sophie Scholl, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1987), vii.

[5] Prittie, *Germans against Hitler*, 156.

[6] Geoffrey J. Giles, *Students and National Socialism in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 27.

[7] *Ibid*.

[8] *Ibid*., 44.

[9] Giles, *Students and National Socialism*, 61.

Despite the anti-intellectualism of National Socialism, prominent professors from many disciplines jumped at the chance to display public support for the new regime and Hitler. The famous philosopher Martin Heidegger ended his rectoral speech in Freiburg with the phrase "'Heil Hitler!.'"[10] The support of National Socialism from within institutions of higher-education symbolized a "'purification, salvation, and new awakening'" of intellectual life.[11] In Heidegger's rectoral address at the University of Freiburg, he speaks of the German university's role in leading the nation's spiritual transformation. In the address, Heidegger states that the German university's historical mission is to become "a place of spiritual legislation."[12] Heidegger's support of National Socialism was of huge importance because by 1933, he was already a world-famous thinker. His philosophical influence on educated Germans helped attract them towards supporting Hitler and his regime.[13] After becoming Rector-Führer of the University of Freiburg, Heidegger fully supported Hitler. Very soon after giving his rectoral address, he sent a telegram to Hitler about his plan to bring "'the University into line.'"[14] There is no question that at the time, Heidegger and some other high profile academics like himself fully supported Hitler and National Socialism.

Peter Drucker, an Austrian-born American scholar, was a visiting lecturer at Frankfurt University in 1933. His memoir entitled *Adventures of a Bystander* provides a firsthand account of the political atmosphere of German universities at the beginning of the Third Reich. While he was at Frankfurt University, Drucker wrote and published a book about Friedrich Julius Stahl, a 19th-century Jewish political philosopher. The book was "immediately banned and publicly burned."[15] The Nazis anti-intellectualism scared scholars like Drucker. The fear of German universities being taken over by the Nazis was shared among many

[10] Bollenback, "Nazification of the Disciplines", 2.
[11] *Ibid*., 11.
[12] Martin Heidegger, "The Self-Assertion of the German University: Address, Delivered on the Solemn Assumption of the Rectorate of the University Freiburg the Rectorate 1933/34: Facts and Thoughts," ed. Hermann Heidegger, trans. Karsten Harries, *The Review of Metaphysics*, vol. 38, no. 3 (March 1985): 479.
[13] Yvonne Sherratt, *Hitler's Philosophers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 106-07.
[14] Sherratt, *Hitler's Philosophers*, 117-18.
[15] Peter Drucker, *Adventures of a Bystander* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1979), 160-61.

of Drucker's colleagues at Frankfurt University. In 1933, Frankfurt University was "the most self-confidently liberal of major German universities, with a faculty that prided itself on its allegiance to scholarship, freedom of conscience, and democracy."[16] In the inaugural meeting with the Nazi commissar of Frankfurt, the new commissar, "launched into a tirade of abuse, filth, and four-letter words such as had rarely been heard in the barracks and never before in academia."[17] This display of outright anti-intellectualism and hatred prompted some professors to leave with their Jewish colleagues. It also prompted Drucker to make his decision to leave Germany.[18] Drucker's account of Frankfurt University's reaction to National Socialism demonstrates that not all professors were supportive of the regime. Frankfurt was, however, a liberal stronghold, some other universities—particularly in southern Germany—had more openly supportive scholars of National Socialism.

Despite the general support for National Socialism in German universities, it was not completely widespread. Some academics only supported the regime to protect themselves; for example, Bialis and Rabinbach argue that the "reason for the ostentatious displays of loyalty in 1933 was that academics were well aware that the Nazis had nothing but contempt for them."[19] Academics, particularly those involved in the humanities, knew they would be under close watch because of the anti-intellectual tendencies of the Nazi regime. Therefore, many of them adjusted their academic pursuits in order to serve the Nazi regime. Yet, there is a tough disinclination to be made between the scholars who served the regime to advance their personal position in academia and the ones who did so because they sincerely supported National Socialism.[20] This distinction is not black and white, and is not a distinction that can be objectively made. For a lot of German philosophers, Nazism "played at best a symbolic function."[21] This means that while many of them adjusted their academic pursuits on a surface level to serve the regime, this was only due to the flexibility of philosophy and the lack of a clear policy about the humanities under

[16] *Ibid*.
[17] *Ibid*., 162.
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] Bialis and Rabinbach, *Nazi Germany and the Humanities*, xiv.
[20] *Ibid*., xxvii.
[21] *Ibid*., xxviii.

National Socialism.[22] Despite the fact that some academics did not support the anti-intellectualism of the Nazi regime, the majority of them did not openly dissent against or resist the purging of Jewish academics from universities. Yvonne Sherratt states that "If any small number of professors disapproved of the ethos of the ruling regime, they certainly kept their views to themselves. If dissent could be discerned at all, it was only through omission, so whereas one group of philosophers were rabidly Nazi, others retreated into a realm of abstract scholarship, and as the years went by a silence descended like a thick fog."[23] Therefore, in Nazi Germany, many students and professors were supportive of the regime and the ones who were not, stayed silent in order to protect themselves from persecution.

There is evidence that some students and academics did not stay silent in their protest against the regime. The University of Munich based White Rose, for example, wrote and published leaflets that openly criticized Hitler and the Nazis. Among this group was Kurt Huber, a professor of philosophy and musicology at the University of Munich during the Third Reich, who was "conservative, nationalistic and a romantic, perfect fodder for the Nazis."[24] Huber did not subscribe to National Socialism, in fact, he "regarded Hitler as a destroyer of German values, not as their embodiment."[25] As a conservative Catholic, Huber saw National Socialism as a despicable ideology and sometimes he could not hide his contempt. The student members of the White Rose sat in on Huber's lectures where he commented on "the rights of individuals, the importance of religion and compassion to one's fellow man."[26] Huber used his expertise in the school of philosophy known as German Idealism to combat Nazism from the classroom. The German Idealists were philosophers that Nazi-supporter scholars like Heidegger used to justify National Socialism. Huber on the other hand, used the German Idealists to speak out against the Nazi regime. His lectures on German philosophy inspired Hans and Sophie Scholl to form the White Rose—a group that resisted National Socialism with their philosophically "idealistic" and "romantic" words.[27] The White

[22] *Ibid*., xv.
[23] Sherratt, *Hitler's Philosophers*, 207.
[24] Sherratt, *Hitler's Philosophers*, 213.
[25] *Ibid*., 215.
[26] *Ibid*.
[27] *Ibid*., 221.

Rose produced six leaflets that openly attacked and criticized the Nazi regime. These leaflets are evidence that there was some open resistance to National Socialism from within the German universities. Huber's inspiring words and hatred of Nazism sparked a flame in the hearts of the members belonging to the White Rose. He inspired them to use the intellectualism that the Nazis despised and speak out, rather than stay silent like the majority of the academic community.[28]

The first leaflet demonstrates that Huber's words had a strong effect on the Scholl siblings and their friends. In the opening lines of the first leaflet, the White Rose academically addresses their nation's silence and lack of action in the wake of National Socialism: "Goethe speaks of the Germans as a tragic people, like the Jews and the Greeks, but today it would appear that they are a spineless, will-less herd of hangers-on, who now—the marrow sucked out of their bones, robbed of their center stability—are waiting to be hounded to their destruction. So, it seems—but it is not so. Rather, by means of gradual, treacherous, systematic abuse, the system has put every man into a spiritual prison."[29] They took Huber's call to action and intellectually attacked National Socialism from within the University. In the second leaflet, they address the anti-intellectualism of National Socialism: "It is impossible to engage in intellectual discourse with National Socialism because it is not an intellectually defensible program."[30] The White Rose offered a scathing intellectual and emotional critique of National Socialism. The final leaflet, before the group was caught, was written by Kurt Huber himself. In the final leaflet, Huber calls on the German people to "fight against the party! Get out of the party organizations … Get out of the lecture rooms of the SS corporals and sergeants and the party bootlickers! We want genuine learning and real freedom of opinion."[31] This final leaflet represents the legacy of the White Rose—their allegiance to the love of wisdom and their call for resistance. The White Rose's demand for justice demonstrates that not everyone at German universities supported National Socialism. In 1943, the core members of the White Rose were arrested, tried,

[28] Sherratt, *Hitler's Philosophers*, 219.
[29] Inge Scholl, *The White Rose*, trans. Arthur R. Shultz (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 74.
[30] *Ibid*., 77.
[31] *Ibid*., 92.

and executed for their rebellious activities.[32] Their intellectual dissent from within the University became a symbol of resistance to the German people. Terence Prittie states that "Millions of Germans had become accustomed to reading between the lines, in a country where every printed word was supposed to be censored … To most of these Germans the story of the 'White Rose' suggested an epic of courage and idealism."[33] The White Rose was a loud voice of hope amongst the silence of German academics during the Third Reich. They used their intellectual abilities to combat National Socialism in opposition to the many academics who either supported the regime or stayed silent due to fear of persecution.

In Nazi Germany, the universities were generally very supportive of National Socialism. The universities already displayed anti-Semitic tendencies prior to 1933, both on the part of professors and students, as many any professors welcomed the regime in 1933 and did not speak out against the removal of their Jewish colleagues. The removal of Jewish faculty and the Nazification of the disciplines was seen as a steppingstone in Germany's cultural revival. Heidegger pointed towards this in his rectoral address when stated that German universities have the duty and destiny to become the center of a national-spiritual transformation. Other academics, like those at Frankfurt University in 1933, found the National Socialist ideology disgusting; some left with their Jewish colleagues and others, like Peter Drucker, left the country. Drucker's memoir shows that support for National Socialism and their anti-Semitism was not completely widespread. This is further demonstrated by the obfuscation of academic work within the humanities—these silent scholars did not speak out or leave, but they also did not openly endorse the regime. The silence and intentional muddying of the waters in German academia was not acceptable to everyone. Those like Kurt Huber and the White Rose at the University of Munich stood their ground in the face of the Third Reich's anti-intellectualism by publicly attacking National Socialism's cruelty and totalitarianism. Huber and the White Rose represented the loud minority that openly opposed Hitler and the Nazis from within the German universities. The White Rose and their activities demonstrate that not all voices in German academia were silenced by the regime.

[32] Giles, *Students and National Socialism*, 299.
[33] Prittie, *Germans against Hitler*, 176.

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Traditional, Western, or Both? Concurrent Usage of Persian and European Elements in Qajar Royal Art

Catherine Frawley

In his article "From the Prophet to Postmodernism," Finbarr Barry Flood writes of the "bias for the historical," a concept that refers to scholars' preference for studying the distant past.[1] He argues that in the field of Middle Eastern art history, scholars "seem to take it for granted that no art worthy of comment was produced in the Islamic world after 1800."[2] Similarly, art historian Oleg Grabar has argued that "Islamic creativity may have meaning for Westerners only if it dates from before 1700."[3] Art produced during the time of the Qajar dynasty, which established itself in the late 18th century, sits on the threshold of "the historical" and, by default, "the modern" or "un-historical." The presence of a "bias for the historical" in Qajar art scholarship is evident in Laurence Binyon's chapter on Persian painting in *Persian Art*. Binyon writes that royal paintings produced during Qajar ruler Fath Ali Shah's reign "have no claim to very serious consideration, but are often amusing and sometimes charming."[4] Since the Qajars came to power on the brink of modernity, which brought with it increased globalization, they experienced great societal, political, and technological changes throughout their rule. Therefore, Qajars adapted their art to match the new needs brought on by these changes. Qajar art is characterized by the concurrent usage of European artistic styles, techniques, and technologies and traditional Persian images and forms. Persian art historians have suggested that this hybrid nature of Qajar art has caused it to be considered tasteless and inauthentic. Flood writes that Qajar art is criticized for a "lack of authenticity in blending 'tradition' and 'modernity,' two states of being usually spatialized as the local and the (Euro-American) global, or temporalized as past and present."[5]

[1] Finbarr Barry Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism?" In *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (London: Routledge, 2007), 33.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 33-34.

[4] Laurence Binyon, "Persian Painting," in *Persian Art*, ed. E. Denison Ross (London: Luzac and Company, 1930), 71.

[5] Flood, "Prophet to Postmodernism," 43.

This has resulted in Qajar art being considered "bad and impure" and, as Binyon argues, not worthy of serious study.[6] The European elements of Qajar art preclude it from the interests of scholars biased towards "the historical." When scholars dismiss Qajar art as unworthy of serious study, they fail to address two important questions that may lead to a deeper understanding of the Qajar dynasty's objectives and motivations: how did the Qajar shahs integrate both European and traditionally Persian elements into the art produced under their rule, and why did they go to great lengths to do so?

For Qajar rulers, especially Aqa Muhammad Shah, Fath Ali Shah, and Naser al-Din Shah, visual art was a key element of their project to fashion and maintain a royal dynasty. Like any aspiring royal family, they wished to be seen as the legitimate rulers of their country. They made use of Persian imagery, style and mediums from the Safavid and pre-Safavid eras to establish legitimacy among their subjects, who would have been familiar with these types of images and their connotations. At the same time, increased European contact and involvement with Iran during the reign of Fath Ali Shah and Naser al-Din Shah created the need to establish their country as a legitimate player on the world stage, especially in the face of potential European domination. This situation led to the appropriation of "different techniques and technologies" which were then "assimilated to preexisting tastes and traditions" to appear both on par with European powers and sensitive to Persian traditions.[7] Scholars disagree somewhat about whether European elements or traditional Persian ones are more characteristic of royal art during the Qajar period. In her article "Wall Painting and Imagery before the Qajars," Persian art historian Layla Diba minimizes European influences on Qajar paintings, presenting her reader with examples of ancient Persian wall paintings to argue that Qajar painters "inherited a diverse and rich tradition of visual representation which originated in antiquity."[8] Other works emphasize Naser al-Din Shah's western approach to both painting and photography as characteristic of Qajar art. It is important to remember that the Qajar dynasty

[6] Ibid., 35, 43.

[7] Nile Green, "Technologies of the Image: Art in 19th-Century Iran," *Iranian Studies* 51, no. 5 (2018): 798.

[8] Layla Diba, "Wall Painting and Imagery Before the Qajars," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1-4 (2001): 15.

spanned 136 years, during which much change occurred, particularly in terms of contact with European powers and the availability of new technologies, such as photography. With this in mind, it appears that neither modern European nor traditional Persian elements alone are characteristic of royal art during the Qajar period; rather, the mixing of the two is the essential quality of this art. Qajar art was neither "an off-shoof of European easel painting"[9] nor solely informed by Persian antiquity, but was a constant negotiation between the two which changed over time. Thus, as the relationships between European powers and Iran progressed, European elements became more prevalent in Qajar art, peaking during Naser al-Din Shah's reign. Though art in this period experienced change, the intention behind the shahs' royal images remained consistent. Therefore, Qajar rulers used traditional and western elements to display the power and legitimacy of their position and their dynasty.

The Qajar period began in the late 18th century, when with the backing of Turkic tribal forces the notoriously cruel Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar eliminated the potential heirs of the Zand dynasty, established his capital at Tehran, and crowned himself shah. Aqa Muhammad Khan was a member of a sect of the Qajar tribe, a Turkic shepherd-warrior people from northern Persia. The first Qajar ruler was assassinated in 1797, living less than a year after his coronation. It has been noted that Aqa Muhammad Shah died "before his royal image makers were able to formulate a personalized iconography of power for him."[10] There are few images of him available for analysis, however, there are a handful of portraits from late in his reign, as well as records of images he used to decorate his royal spaces; both, of which can be used to form conclusions about his use of art. Although Aqa Muhammad Shah's royal art does not show much European influence, his use of traditional Persian imagery is worth discussing because it laid the foundation for artistic themes that his successors would use in combination with European elements. An important aspect of the art produced under Aqa Muhammad Shah

[9] Diba, "Wall Painting," 5.

[10] Layla Diba, "Images of Power and the Power of Images," in *Royal Persian Painting,* ed. Layla Diba and Maryam Ekhtiar (London: Tauris, 1998), 53.

was its visual connections to the Safavid dynasty, which had ruled Persia from 1501 until being driven out by an Afghan army in 1736. The Qajar tribesmen had been supporters of the Safavid rulers, and thus saw their people as the Safavids' rightful successors.[11] Two short-lived dynasties ruled between the Safavids and the Qajars: the Afsharid dynasty and the Zand dynasty, which overlapped in time but operated in different areas of Iran. The new Qajar shah presented himself as the rightful successor to the Safavids using two visual techniques: first, by depicting himself with Safavid artifacts, and second, by displaying his victory over the usurping Afsharid and Zand dynasties. Portraits of the shah demonstrate both of these strategies. In the few images of the shah produced during his reign, he is pictured with a Safavid sword.[12] Shortly after his coronation, he symbolically removed this sword from the tomb of Shaykh Safi al-Din Ardabili, the patriarch of the Safavid dynasty, pledging to continue the Safavids' legacy by using the sword to defend Shi'ism.[13] He is also pictured wearing the Kayanid crown, created at his request for his coronation. In his comprehensive article about the history of the Kayanid crown, Abbas Amanat points out that the shah refused to wear Nader Shah's crown, preferring to have a new one made on the model of the late Safavid Qizilbash fabric cap.[14] Nader Shah was the founder of the enemy Afsharid dynasty, with which Aqa Muhammad did not want to be associated. Instead, he made a "leap into the past" by creating a crown "inspired by Safavid headgear."[15] The shah is also pictured with jewel-encrusted armbands that had belonged to the Safavids. Besides simply linking him with the Safavid rulers, Aqa Muhammad Shah's regalia helped establish his position as rightful ruler because he had defeated the Afshar and Zand rulers to obtain the armbands and the Kayanid crown's jewels. Amanat writes that Aqa Muhammad "had fought long and hard for these paraphernalia of power, killing, torturing, and blinding at least two contenders from the vanquished houses of Zand and Afshar."[16] The gemstones and pearls that decorate the Kayanid crown were

[11] Diba, "Images of Power," 33.
[12] Abbas Amanat, "The Kayanid Crown and Qajar Reclaiming of Royal Authority," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1-4 (2001): 23.
[13] Amanat, "Kayanid Crown," 23.
[14] Ibid., 22.
[15] Ibid., 23.
[16] Amanat, "Kayanid Crown," 20.

most likely taken from the Zands, and the armbands were stolen from the Zand crown prince Luft Ali, who was subsequently blinded and executed. The first Qajar ruler thus aimed to emphasize his connection with the Safavids both by appropriating "the visual language of Safavid power" through his use of Safavid regalia,[17] and by demonstrating his superior power when compared with false successors to the Safavids through displaying his spoils of war.

In addition to employing the visual language of the Safavids, Aqa Muhammad Shah integrated the visual language of the mythical Persian past in his decorative projects. In the palace he built at his birthplace, Astarabad, an image of the legendary combat between Persian heroes Rustam and Isfamdiar adorned the gateway.[18] Paintings of the adventures of Rustam and those of various other Persian heroes decorated the palace's audience hall.[19] According to Layla Diba, Rustam was "traditionally considered as the protector of Persian monarchs and was instrumental in their rise to power;" thus, the presence of his image acted "as a visible reminder of the Qajars' legitimacy."[20] Being the founder of a dynasty built through force and violence, the new shah was not fully established as legitimate ruler of Persia, forcing him to lean on already established imagery associated with power and glory. To this end, he employed both symbolically significant mythical figures and Safavid imagery in his royal art. The shah aimed to identify himself both with "the victories of his immediate predecessors and the glories of ancient rulers."[21] The association of oneself with one's predecessors, both immediate, ancient, and mythical, continued to be part of royal art during the reigns of Fath Ali Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah.

Fath Ali Qajar became shah upon the death of his uncle, Aqa Muhammad Shah. The numerous colourful and lavishly ornamented portraits of the second Qajar ruler are perhaps the most famous works of Qajar art. Despite accusations of frivilosity and decadence by scholars such as Laurence Binyon, Layla Diba argues that Fath Ali Shah "fully understood the power of images and used them

[17] Diba, "Images of Power," 33.
[18] Diba, "Images of Power," 34.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 35.
[21] Diba, "Images of Power," 34.

systematically to consolidate his dynasty."[22] He had the means to invest in royal art, as his uncle had left him a relatively stable country, money, and an assembly of artists at his disposal.[23] He commissioned many monumental portraits, wall paintings, and rock-reliefs depicting himself and his court, leading both royal and public spaces to function "as a lavish stage for images designed to convey the pageantry and splendor of Qajar rule."[24] Fath Ali Shah's lavish spending on artwork, among other things, contributed to a decline in his reputation in the 1830s.[25] The cursory and dismissive nature of art history covering his artistic endeavours can perhaps be attributed to this deteriorating public opinion about his competence as shah. His overspending and excessive production of royal artwork also caused him and by proxy his art, to be viewed as frivolous and superficial, inviting comments such as Laurence Binyon's. Extravagant spending aside, however, Fath Ali Shah's artistic endeavours must be understood as a concerted "quest for dynastic legitimacy" that ultimately missed the mark.[26]

Like his uncle before him, Fath Ali Shah sought to link himself with his immediate predecessors to establish his position as legitimate ruler. While Aqa Muhammad Shah linked himself to the Safavid dynasty, Fath Ali Shah emphasized his connection with Aqa Muhammad himself to showcase the hereditary nature of the new Qajar dynasty. In 1812, the shah commissioned two larger-than-life group scenes, one featuring himself and the other his uncle, to be painted side-by-side in the citadel palace of Sulaymaniyah in Karaj. In one wall painting, Aqa Muhammad was seated and encircled by thirteen chiefs of the Qajar tribe in military garb. In the other, Fath Ali Shah sat surrounded by twelve of his sons, all of whom wear crowns.[27] Diba writes that the image of Aqa Muhammad Shah lent Fath Ali Shah "historical legitimacy" by acting as a genealogical tree.[28] This painted genealogical tree demonstrates that Aqa Muhammad earned the right to rule through his military valour (implied through the tribesmen's

[22] Layla Diba, "Qajar Photography and its Relationship to Iranian Art," *History of Photography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 85.
[23] Diba, "Images of Power," 35.
[24] Ibid., 32.
[25] Ibid., 45.
[26] Ibid..
[27] Diba, "Images of Power", 39.
[28] Ibid.

military outfits), and like any legitimate king he passed that right on hereditarily. The adjacent image of Fath Ali Shah and his sons demonstrates that the dynasty will persist into the future; the crowns that his sons wear imply that one day Fath Ali Shah will pass on the kingship to one of them. Images of Fath Ali Shah often feature his children alongside him. The shah had over one hundred children, and sought to demonstrate his virility and fruitfulness by depicting them in art. By showing off his progeny, he assured viewers that there was no shortage of heirs to the Qajar throne, lending the dynasty an appearance of stability and "continued prosperity."[29] Fath Ali Shah also emphasized his connection with the Safavids, and by doing so solidified his link to Aqa Muhammad, who had so avidly adopted their image. In a 1797 portrait by Mirza Baba, Fath Ali Shah is depicted with the Safavid sword that Aqa Muhammad retrieved from the Safavid tomb, as well as the jewelled Safavid armbands (see Fig. 1).[30] The shah also redecorated and restored Safavid structures in Isfahan, the former Safavid capital, including the Hasht-Bihisht pavilion.[31] His investment in Safavid regalia and monuments demonstrates his desire to maintain a connection with them as well as with his uncle, proving himself the legitimate king of Iran.

Fath Ali Shah also employed ancient Persian images, both historical and mythical, in royal artwork to reinforce the legitimacy of his position. The shah's artists mined the art of the Persian Achaemenid and Sasanian dynasties (550-330 BC and 224-651 AD, respectively) for elements to use in their own art. Particularly striking are the seven rock reliefs depicting the shah and his sons that he commissioned to be built throughout Iran. These reliefs were modelled after the Sasanian and Achaemenid rock reliefs scattered across Iran, and were "deliberately situated in proximity to Sasanian and Achaemenid sites"[32] and "locations associated with Persia's ancient past or religious practices;"[33] for example, one was located at the Qu'ran gate in Shiraz through which pilgrims pass on their way to shrines. These images were important because they were publicly located and widely visible,

[29] Ibid., 36.
[30] Amanat, "Kayanid Crown," 23.
[31] Diba, "Images of Power," 40.
[32] Diba, "Wall Paintings," 16.
[33] Diba, "Images of Power," 41.

unlike art commissioned for the shah's royal spaces. The reliefs utilize a Sasanian and Achaemenid medium (rock), and they also appropriate the style of the ancient reliefs. In both the old and new reliefs, figures are uniform, frontal and flat. The Qajar rock reliefs also borrowed content from the Sasanian and Achaemenid reliefs to "articulate a visual display of power."[34] Fath Ali Shah commissioned a rock relief in the Tangeh Savashi mountain pass depicting himself and his sons engaged in a hunt. This relief is reminiscent of the Sasanian rock relief at Taq-i Bustan which depicts the boar hunt of Khusraw II, a Sasanian king.[35] The Qajar relief at Rayy depicting Fath Ali Shah taming a lion shows a connection to Achaemenid reliefs, which often included lions and sometimes depicted a ruler battling a lion, for example in a relief at Persepolis.[36] Both the Qajar and the ancient rock reliefs aimed to "evoke a masculine world of virility and strength" by picturing rulers in combat with animals.[37] Qajar usage of the medium, content, and style of ancient art, as well as the strategic placement of the new reliefs, was an attempt to gain legitimacy by identifying with the greatness and glory of two ancient Persian empires.

Wall paintings that decorated Fath Ali Shah's palaces also drew on the Sasanian and Achaemenid traditions, primarily by appropriating artistic forms and content from ancient rock reliefs and Sasanian wall painting. The majority of royal wall murals "showed the shah in monumental group scenes of enthronement, hunting, and battle crowded with numerous supporting figures."[38] Various scholars have discussed the visual similarities between the configuration and organization of Sasanian rock reliefs and wall paintings and Fath Ali Shah's wall paintings. The mural depicting a seated Fath Ali Shah surrounded by his sons and various members of his court at the Negarestan palace in Tehran exemplified these formal similarities. In her article "Wall Painting and Imagery Before the Qajars," Layla Diba notes that the Negarestan mural's "constant repetition" of tightly packed courtiers arranged in uniform frontal poses "bespeak[s] the influence of of ancient rock reliefs."[39] The flatness and rigidity of the figures, isolated

[34] Ibid.
[35] J.P. Luft, "The Qajar Rock Reliefs," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1-4 (2001): 31-32.
[36] Diba, "Images of Power," 40.
[37] Diba, "Images of Power," 40.
[38] Ibid., 36.
[39] Diba, "Wall Painting," 6.

from each other yet close together, also revive characteristics of what little is left of Sasanian mural painting, especially the murals at the Sasanian palace of Kuj-i Khwajah in southeast Iran.[40] Remains and descriptions of the wall paintings decorating the reception hall of this palace match the composition of Fath Ali Shah's Negarestan palace painting. Both were composed of rectangular murals that spanned three walls, and featured the ruler at the centre surrounded by courtiers. Figures in Fath Ali Shah's painting also demonstrate similar physical characteristics and costumes to those in reconstructions of the Kuj-i Khwajah wall paintings. In both works the figures "display heroic and regal proportions (broad shoulders, tapering waists), attributes (beards and crowns), and costumes (elaborate robes with borders)."[41] Both the Sasanian and Qajar murals' size, large number of courtiers, regal figures, and "lavish patterning and gilding" were intended to demonstrate the "magnificence and rigid ceremonial of the imperial court" according to Layla Diba.[42] As in the case of the rock reliefs, Fath Ali Shah aimed to associate himself with the ancient Sasanian dynasty to establish the legitimacy of his reign.

Like his uncle, Fath Ali Shah drew on the mythical Persian past by identifying himself with well-known heroic warriors and rulers from a distant Persian "golden age." Layla Diba notes that the "golden radiance of the shah's robe and his jewelled regalia evoke the sacred aura (farr-i izadi) of Persia's ancient kings." This technique is evident in Mirza Baba's 1798 painting "Fath Ali Shah Enthroned."[43] The shah followed in his uncle's footsteps when he commissioned painter Mih'r Ali to decorate his new Isfahan palace, Imarat-i Naw, with images of legendary Persian heroes. The previously discussed rock relief at Rayy also evokes ancient Persian mythology through the image of the lion. The lion is a significant symbol in Persian myth, as heroes and rulers like Rustam, Alexander, and Bahram Gur often proved their strength by fighting lions and "sometimes had to defeat lions to attain the throne."[44] Thus, Fath Ali Shah uses a familiar mythical narrative to associate himself with these heroes, and to imply that his abilities and

[40] Ibid.
[41] Diba, "Wall Painting," 6.
[42] Diba, "Images of Power," 39.
[43] Ibid., 37.
[44] Ibid., 40.

right to rule matched those of mythical Persian figures.

The royal art that Fath Ali Shah commissioned also involved European elements. Increased European contact influenced Qajar royal art in a variety of areas, affecting the art's medium, content, and intended audience. Advancing relationships with European powers and Russia in the early 19th century led the shah to orient aspects of his artistic projects towards European tastes and conventions. During Fath Ali Shah's reign, large-scale oil painting on canvas became a common medium for royal paintings.[45] This differed from earlier Iranian painting conventions, which had typically included large-scale wall painting, manuscript illustration, and miniature-scale painting. The use of oil paint and canvas was a European import that the shah used in tandem with traditional Persian mediums such as wall painting and rock reliefs. Royal paintings under Fath Ali Shah also featured Europeans, an uncommon practice in earlier Persian painting. European visitors to the Qasr-i Qajar palace in Tehran noticed paintings of Westerners in various niches, as well as larger portraits of European women.[46] At the Qajar citadel palace in Tabriz, Europeans and Persians were featured together in a mural cycle that portrayed Fath Ali Shah's military victories over Russian troops.[47] Depictions of Europeans in painting demonstrate both increased contact with and understanding of European culture, as in the case of the Qasr-i Qajar paintings, and a propagandistic attempt to depict the Qajars "as equal or perhaps superior participants" to Europeans on the world stage, as in the case of the Russo-Persian war murals.[48] This goal is also evident in the wall paintings of the Negarestan palace's audience hall, which picture foreign envoys and officials paying homage to the shah,[49] suggesting his equal status with the rulers of the foreigners' home countries.

An important aspect of Fath Ali Shah's external orientation of royal Persian art was the gifting of royal portraits to foreign rulers and officials. He often gave portraits of himself as presents to visiting dignitaries and ambassadors. Between 1798 and 1822, the shah sent more than fifteen portraits to the rulers of England, Russia, France,

[45] Flood, "Prophet to Postmodernism," 35.
[46] Willem Floor, "Art and Artists in Qajar Persia," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 137.
[47] Diba, "Images of Power," 39.
[48] Diba, "Images of Power," 39.
[49] Ibid.

and India.[50] These paintings "acted as portable vehicles projecting the image of Qajar authority abroad," and were a response to the "very real possibility of foreign domination."[51] According to Layla Diba, the threat of foreign interference in Iran "necessitated the formulation of an image of Persian power abroad."[52] To this end, Fath Ali Shah employed the common European convention of portrait gifting to convey his wealth, implied through his lavish regalia and costumes, his military prowess, and his always conspicuously displayed Safavid sword.[53] Much of Fath Ali Shah's royal art demonstrates a shift from the royal art of his uncle and other earlier Persian rulers in terms of its intended audience. Though both Fath Ali and his predecessor used art to portray themselves as powerful and legitimate rulers, the former's art was often intended to impress important Europeans, both visiting and abroad. The European elements of his royal art, especially those that suggested his equality with European rulers, were also intended to give Iranians confidence in their ruler's ability to navigate world politics. The targets of his artistic projects were both internal and external, Persian and non-Persian.

Naser al-Din Shah continued Fath Ali Shah's attempts to impress both Iranians and the world through art. His royal art differs from Fath Ali Shah's, however, in that it displays increased usage of European and modern artistic styles and techniques. In his article "The Powerful Art of Qajar Photography," Ali Behdad describes Naser al-Din as "a 'modern-minded' (mutajaddid) king" who was "fascinated by western technologies and European literature and paintings."[54] Naser al-Din Shah was the longest reigning Qajar shah, ruling from the time of his father Muhammad Shah's death in 1848 until his own death in 1896. Photography, which became popular during Naser al-Din's rule, played a critical role in his artistic endeavours. He "eagerly adopted" most modern European technologies, and photography was no exception.[55] His enthusiastic embrace of photography did not, however, completely

[50] Floor, "Art and Artists," 135.
[51] Diba, "Images of Power," 40.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ali Behdad, "The Powerful Art of Qajar Photography," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1-4 (2001): 147.
[55] Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on Qajar Art and Its Significance," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1-4 (2001): 185.

overtake royal painting and other more traditional mediums. The shah "recognized the potential of photography...to project an image of a modern monarchy," but he continued to use "more traditional forms of visual imagery."[56] He used a combination of modern and traditional, European and Persian art forms and technologies to "construct an image of the ruler in much the same way that Fath Ali Shah had," and that Aqa Muhammad Shah had done before him--an image of power and legitimacy.[57]

Naser al-Din Shah's royal artists adopted elements of European painting in a variety of ways. Portraits of the Shah possess an increasing level of Western artistic qualities when compared with Fath Ali Shah's royal portraits. In "Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace," Jennifer Scarce writes that many of his portraits depict him "with an increasing simplicity of dress far removed from the flamboyance of Fath Ali Shah." Thus, clothing similar to European military uniforms replaced Fath Ali's lavish robes, and a black lambskin cap "replaced the extravagant headdresses of the early Qajar period."[58] Unlike Fath Ali Shah's portraits, Naser al-Din Shah's display subdued colours and minimal gilding and ornamentation. The mood of the paintings is generally more somber and austere. Finbarr Barry Flood argues that Naser al-Din's artists "mined European royal portraiture for inspiration," which involved appropriating colouring and costumes, as well as poses.[59] Naser al-Din Shah is always pictured either seated in a chair or standing, whereas Fath Ali Shah was often seated on the floor in his portraits, which was perhaps too "oriental" a pose for the modern-minded monarch.

Naser al-Din Shah went to great lengths to provide his painters with the ability to integrate Western artistic conventions into their work. During his reign he sent many artists to Europe to study, including court painters Abul Hasan Ghaffari and Mirza Ali Akbar. Ghaffari was sent to Italy in 1861, and upon his return he was commissioned to teach painting at the Dar al-Funun school in Tehran, from which promising artists would be selected to work for the Qajar court.[60] In

[56] Diba, "Qajar Photography," 88.
[57] Ibid., 86.
[58] Jennifer Scarce, "Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1-4 (2001): 112-113.
[59] Flood, "Prophet to Postmodernism," 35.
[60] Layla Diba, "Muhammad Ghaffari: The Persian Painter of Modern Life," *Iranian Studies* 45, no. 5 (2012): 647.

"Muhammad Ghaffari: The Persian Painter of Modern Life," Layla Diba notes that Ghaffari made his students copy prints of works by Italian artists such as Titian and Raphael, "instead of the works of Persian master manuscript painters."[61] Akbar's career followed a similar trajectory in that after studying at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, he taught a "Europeanized academic" style of easel painting to students at the Dar al-Funun.[62] By appointing painters trained in European academic painting to teaching positions, the shah built a new artistic tradition and ensured that it would be passed on to the next generation of painters. The shah also imported European teachers to work at the Dar al-Funun. The skill level of Naser al-Din's painters and that of their students was increasingly measured by their ability to paint in a style of "perfect European realism," achieved in part by European techniques such as chiaroscuro and the law of proportions, which reduced the characteristic flatness of Persian painting.[63] The shah created "picture galleries based on the European model" in his royal spaces,[64] and often asked artists to paint copies of European landscapes to hang in these galleries.[65] The replica landscapes were often "proudly displayed alongside the European originals" to demonstrate that his artists' abilities were on par with those of their European counterparts.[66] He shared with his predecessor the desire to display equality with European powers.

Despite this Europeanization of painting, royal art under Naser al-Din Shah continued to include traditional Persian elements. Artists of this period often blended European and Persian elements within a single painting. In various paintings, including Ghaffari's 1854 and 1857 seated portraits, the shah layers a robe of "patterned Kerman shawl fabric" on top of a European style coat and pants.[67] In Bahram Kirmanshahi's 1857 portrait Naser al-Din Shah looks particularly traditional, as he is pictured with diamond armbands and a sword, accessories based on the Safavid regalia worn by his ancestors. These clothes and accessories, however, adorn a body that appears stylistically

[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Diba, "Qajar Photography," 86.
[64] Floor, "Art and Artists," 138.
[65] Diba, "Qajar Photography", 95.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Scarce, "Gulistan Palace," 113.

different from the bodies of Fath Ali Shah and Aqa Muhammad Shah. A new focus on light and shadow gives the shah's body a depth that is absent from earlier royal Persian portraits. This hybrid nature of painting under Naser al-Din Shah is the result of an attempt to impress a variety of people with diverse opinions. In a changing global landscape, the shah needed to demonstrate that he was able to keep up with modern European techniques, conventions, and styles, both to Europeans and to fellow Persians in favour of modernization and reform. At the same time, and often within the same pieces of art, he attempted to appeal to Persians with more traditional tastes.

Photography under Naser al-Din Shah displays similar trends as does painting. It is important to briefly address photography when discussing Naser al-Din's artistic endeavours, as photography was a favourite medium of the shah. This may be explained in part by the fact that it was also a hobby of his; the shah himself took about half of the approximately 40, 000 photographic prints in the Gulistan Palace Library's collection.[68] Both Queen Victoria and Emperor Nicolas I gifted photography apparatus to Muhammad Shah, Naser al-Din's father.[69] The increased contact with European powers and threat of domination during Naser al-Din's reign provided him both opportunity and the impetus to "adopt certain innovations and technologies, such as photography" to demonstrate that Iran was "a modern nation-state" that would not be easily taken advantage of.[70] Naser al-Din Shah set out to use photography in the same way as European royals did; it was used to "record court life, document architectural monumental and archeological sites, to chronicle the shah's trips, and to illustrate pictorial reports documenting his domain."[71] His artists also used it to assist them in creating a naturalistic and realistic style of painting. Photography was used as a tool to assist artists in producing art in the style of academic European realism that the shah was so fond of, specifically by helping artists learn "perspective, simulation, chiaroscuro and the application of the law of proportions."[72] Artists employed these techniques in both landscape and portrait painting in an attempt

[68] Diba, "Painter of Modern Life," 651.
[69] Behdad, "Powerful Art," 144.
[70] Diba, "Painter of Modern Life," 645.
[71] Ibid., 651.
[72] Zahra Fanaei et al, "An Analytical and Comparative Study of Male and Female Images in Qajar Dynasty Paintings," *Middle Eastern Studies* 53, no. 3 (2016): 420.

to meet the standards of European painting.

As in painting, photographs commissioned by Naser al-Din Shah blended European and Persian elements. In the case of photography, a modern technology imported from Europe, the medium itself acted as a sign of the shah's Western orientation. Ali Behdad aptly describes photography of this period as a tool that "helped visually inscribe Iran in colonial relations of power, and an efficient vehicle for the indigenous monarch to empower himself within Iran."[73] The shah appealed to tradition-conscious Iranians by commissioning many photographs of his harem, a symbol of power that likely would not translate well in Europe, where rulers had a single consort. He had himself photographed by Antoin Sevruguin while seated in front of the Peacock Throne, built by Nadir Shah Afshar, which acts as "a symbol of his monarchical power" familiar to Iranians.[74] He used photography to connect himself with the Achaemenid and Sasanian dynasties, continuing his predecessors' project in a new medium. He commissioned photographers "to build a large photographic archive of Persian antiquity," which included images of significant Achaemenid and Sasanid sites such as Persepolis and Takht-i Jamshid.[75] Like Fath Ali Shah and Aqa Muhammad Shah, Naser al-Din "understood the power of affiliations" with the historical Persian past.[76] He also understood the potential benefits of combining these affiliations with western mediums, such as photography, and European painting techniques. To a greater extent than his predecessors, Naser al-Din Shah had to project an image of power and legitimacy to a heterogeneous audience. To solidify his position as ruler he had to demonstrate his ability to lead the country into a new modern era to Europeans and fellow modern-minded Iranians. At the same time, he drew on traditional and familiar Persian imagery to demonstrate his legitimacy among tradition-minded Iranians.

Continuity and change are particularly salient concepts in the history of Qajar royal art. It is difficult to argue that either one or the other best characterizes Qajar art, as both were constant features of the period that acted side by side. Though the extent to which

[73] Behdad, "Powerful Art," 151.
[74] Ibid., 149.
[75] Behdad, "Powerful Art," 150.
[76] Ibid.

Qajar rulers employed Western artistic conventions, techniques, and styles increased later in the Qajar period, both European and Persian elements are significant aspects in the art of this dynasty. The Qajar period is marked by continuity in the intended effects of royal art. The use of traditional and Western elements, though varying over time, aimed to present the Qajar shahs as powerful and legitimate rulers, deserving of kingship and competent enough to handle the position. For Qajar rulers, particularly Fath Ali Shah and Naser al-Din Shah, simply linking themselves to a glorious Persian past was not enough; they had to demonstrate that they could successfully lead their country into the future, which was increasingly modern and Western. Their attempts to prove themselves to a diverse audience has sometimes led scholars and critics to condemn Qajar art as an ugly, chimerical school of art that is undeserving of the serious attention given to pre-Qajar art. Casting aside the belief that Qajar art is tainted by its European aspects, however, opens the door to a fascinating discussion about the changing world that the Qajars faced and how they adapted to it.

In a broader sense, the history of the hybrid nature of Qajar art could contribute to a discussion of the tensions between Westernization and traditionalism that are so prevalent in various arenas of Iranian society.

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William Hall V.C., Race, and Empire

Catherine Hutt

On October 28th, 1859, William Hall was awarded the Victoria Cross, making him the first Canadian sailor, first Nova Scotian, and first black man to receive this honour.[1] This essay will explore the ways that a racialized existence intersects with Empire and its self-memorialization. William Hall's usefulness to Empire will be juxtaposed with the Empire failing to fulfil its promises of usefulness in terms of both material income and immaterial fame. Hall was useful to the British Empire as a subject but in turn the Empire was not useful to him. As a racialized subject as his race barred him from benefitting immaterially from the Cross. The actions that earned him the Cross were delivered with bravery, marrying the material to the immaterial as the physical actions of the body were informed and compounded through bravery. An award is a mixture of both the material and the immaterial and the Victoria Cross is no exception. The Cross is a material award given to recipients and it carries its immaterial value through the valour required to receive it as well as its role in Empire's self-memorialization. In this essay, I have chosen to use the word "black" to describe Hall's race as it is the most commonly used term by modern sources. However, this is not to indicate how Hall may have described his own racial identity and it is important to be aware of using modern identity categories to discuss historical figures.

William Hall was born in 1824 in Nova Scotia to Jacob and Lucinda Hall. His parents had escaped slavery and fled to Nova Scotia during the War of 1812.[2] Harvey Amani Whitfield offers insight into the historical context of Nova Scotia at that time, arguing that the ending of slavery in the province, which would have been around the time of Hall's birth, was "only to be succeeded by a persitent racism."[3] Whitfield cites the isolation of black populations in the province on

[1] Bridglal Pachai, "HALL, WILLIAM (1829-1904)," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed January 31, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hall_william_1829_1904_13E.html.

[2] "William Hall, V.C." Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed February 2, 2020. https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc

[3] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies ", *Acadiensis* XLI, no. 2 (2012): 17

poor lands as well as the strong rejection from white Maritimers of "anything resembling equality with their black neighbours."[4] Hall grew up in this climate, working in shipyards before enlisting in the Royal Navy in 1852.[5]

In the inception of the Victoria cross, it was "an award for 'conspicuous' bravery displayed in battle."[6] First awarded to after the Crimean War (1854-1856), this was the first award which recognized the valour of every rank.[7] During the Siege of Lucknow in 1857, William Hall was a member of the naval brigade which landed to assist ground forces. He and his co-gunman Thomas James Young were the two surviving gunmen in the two teams of twenty four-pound gun crew. Although the teams were meant to be composed of six men each, Young and Hall continued to fire their gun with only the two of them remaining.[8] It is worth noting that Young was white and that it would not have been unusual to have a black and white sailor working alongside one another as the Royal Navy was a racially diverse institution.[9] Each member of the naval brigade was a representative of the Crown's power, regardless of their individual identities. Young and Hall each rallied the strength of three men and did so under the immense pressure of active combat. The material actions of reloading the canon, moving forward, and continuing to fire all contributed to the British Empire successfully maintaining control over India. These actions are a marriage of the material and the immaterial. In this way they "contributed materially to the lifting of the siege."[10]

Hall and Young's actions were displays of 'valour' and 'devotion' and for this reason they were recommended for the Victoria Cross exemplifying the intersection of material and immaterial in their valorous actions.[11] Hall is being rewarded by the Empire itself,

[4] Whitfield, "The Struggle over Slavery", 43
[5] "William Hall, V.C." Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed February 2, 2020. https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc
[6] Lara Kriegel, "The Transforming Power of the Victoria Cross, 1856–2010." SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 56, no. 4 (2016): 871
[7] *Ibid.,* 872
[8] "William Hall, V.C." Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed February 2, 2020. https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc
[9] Martin Hubley, "Mass desertion and mutiny - The case of HM Brig Columbine" Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed February 3, 2020. https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/mass-desertion-and-mutiny-case-hm-brig-columbine
[10] Pachai, "HALL, WILLIAM (1829-1904)"
[11] "William Hall, V.C." Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed February 2, 2020.

which is materialized through the Cross and the people creating the chain of command which rewards it, and his brave actions being marked as useful and contributing both materially and immaterially to the Empire, beyond Hall's single moment of use in the battle. The immateriality of his actions are useful in the Empire's "production of new heroes for a new age"[12], signalling the rank-and-file soldier representative of the age which democratized wartime honours. It could be speculated that Hall being awarded the Cross speaks directly to the 'democratizing' of honours, yet he is omitted from the material commemorations of the award. Hall's emotional attachment to the material Cross did not match the fervour felt by other recipients who allegedly refused to be parted from their Crosses even for engraving.[13] When interviewed, Hall lamented that "It's nothing to have a Cross now; they're as thick as peas."[14] The Cross fails to provide the sense of valour for Hall which it seeks to evoke by the bold lettering on it which reads 'FOR VALOUR' it has stamped onto it.[15] The material Cross fails in reminding Hall of his immaterial valour, despite it being so boldly stamped onto it.

Kriegel describes the positive reception of this 'democratization' in newspapers and describes how the Cross "held out not only the promises of military distinction and financial security but also those of cultural acclaim and pecuniary fortune."[16] But Hall was not met with "pecuniary fortune". Hall himself said, when asked about the Victoria Cross: "It isn't worth very much . . . after all, only ten pounds a year. If it wasn't for my regular navy pension of forty pounds a year besides, I don't know how we'd get along here. The farm is small, and my two sisters live with me."[17] The Cross had a monetary value attached to it equalling an extra ten pounds a year, but Hall's lived experience denies the claim that this small amount could create financial stability. It is unlikely that the addition of the Cross sum was significant in his life materially as he continued to work even as he received with this

https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc

[12] Kriegel, "Transforming Power", 876

[13] Kriegel, "Transforming Power", 877

[14] Blakeley,"Canada's First", 258

[15] "William Hall, V.C." Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed February 2, 2020. https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc

[16] *Ibid*., 879

[17] Phyllis R. Blakeley, "William Hall, Canada's First Naval V.C." *Dalhousie Review*, Volume 37, Number 3, (1957): 258

pension. For example, Hall did not retire from the navy until 1876, which was nearly 20 years after the siege of Lucknow.[18] His entire naval career lasted 24 years. Hall continued to work after receiving the Cross; he was not catapulted into an early and comfortable retirement. Even when retirement from the navy did come, he returned home to work. Although Pachai notes that between his actions at Lucknow and actually receiving the cross he moved up to captain of the foretop, he was not met with financial security during his life.[19] However, his promotion could represent an instance of the Cross benefitting as it would have both increased his earnings and potentially added to his sense of self-worth.

Race is consistently brought up in regards to William Hall. Phyllis R. Blakeley, in William Hall, Canada's First Naval V.C., quotes the speeches delivered in 1945, four decades after his death, at the unveiling of a monument erected in his honour. Rear-Admiral C. R. H. Taylor described Hall as a "brave coloured seaman, whose devotion to duty in the finest tradition of the navy and the British race resulted in the saving of many British lives.[20]" Here Hall is being depicted as a devoted and faithful servant to the 'British race'. Although it could be imagined that the language used here to describe Hall as saving 'British lives' and serving the 'British race' implicitly includes him within those categories, it is unconvincing as this description is proceeded with signalling Hall as black by using the adjective 'coloured'. Using this language brings Hall's material and racial existence to the forefront, excluding him from the 'British race' by separating him through the use of the word "coloured"

A prime example of the potential for 'cultural acclaim' which Kriegel describes was the The Victoria Cross Gallery, a fifty oil painting series by the British artist Louis Desanges.[21] Paintings are tools with which Empire creates memory and extols its own virtues and successes, as Keith Mercer describes.[22] Joany Hichberger considers the series as

18 Pachai, "HALL, WILLIAM"
19 Pachai, "HALL, WILLIAM"
20 Blakeley,"Canada's First", 258
21 Hichberger, Joany. "Democratising Glory? The Victoria Cross Paintings of Louis Desanges." Oxford Art Journal 7, no. 2 (1984): 42
22 Keith Mercer, "Colonial Patriotism to 'Mystical Chords of Memory': The Halifax Celebrations and Commemorations of The Shannon-Chesapeake Battle", *Acadiensis* XLIV, no. 1: (2015): 49

having "constructed memorable images of young officers from the upper middle class, and articulated the claim of that group to command the Army through their possession of the qualities of 'efficiency' and 'valour'."[23] Desanges's works contribute materially to the creation of the immaterial memories of Empire by establishing the Victoria Cross as " the most prestigious of all military accolades."[24] Kriegel describes the recipients of the Victoria Cross as "collective points of reference for the British nation" which "offer[ed] up set of heroes [...] fixing in time the actions of battle"[25]. Yet Hall is blatantly omitted from this memory-creating material. Kavanaugh was awarded the Victoria Cross for "disguising himself as an Indian and creeping through enemy lines to guide the army relieving Lucknow."[26] This included wearing charcoal on his face to darken his light skin, to play the role, which is the scene depicted in Desanges' work of Kavanaugh. It is a striking visual marker for the viewer to have the action of darkening one's face be so significant in the part of pretending to be the enemy that it is this particular action which Desanges chose to illustrate. The viewer is given a binary representation of good and bad which parallel the lines of dark and light. To include Hall in this series would mar the narrative of white valour relieving the British Crown in India.

With his small additional pension of ten pounds a year, Hall did not achieve financial stability after receiving the cross and working a long career in the Royal Navy. He was omitted from the visual representations in Desanges' collection as the binary visual representations of "good" and "bad" which refused to be complicated by the inclusion of a non-white hero. Although Hall was launched into a sort of Hall of Heroes, as seen by the monument erected in his honour, these are not things that Hall experienced while alive. He was useful to the Empire with his actions that were compounded by the immaterial values that the Cross was created to reward. However, the racialized materiality of his body interrupted, in the eyes of Empire, his immaterial valour and bravery, thus barring him from being a stronger part of Empire's self-memorialization.

[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Hichberger, "Democratising Glory?", 44
[25] Kriegel, "Transforming Power", 873
[26] *Ibid., 48*

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A World of Wonders in One Closet Shut: Empire and Encounter Reflected in Early Modern English Botany

Adam MacLaren

On the southern shore of the Thames, facing the Palace of Westminster, sits the now deconsecrated church of St. Mary at Lambeth, a rather dumpy and unassuming Victorian stone church. Within it, tucked in amongst London's most celebrated and famous sites of heritage, is housed perhaps its most overlooked: The Garden Museum. A short walk from Westminster Abbey, the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Palace, Victoria Tower, and the Tate Britain, the Garden Museum seems a middling option lost between giants. Yet, as with most things at first unassuming, the Garden Mseum holds a place as culturally rich and historically significant as its neighbours. Moreover, the English public museum as an entity could not have existed without it, for buried within the yard of the former church of St. Mary are the Johns Tradescant.[1] The two Tradescants were, on the one hand, highly influential gardeners and botanists of the early seventeenth century assigned with the development and maintenance of several important manors. Their contributions to the field of English gardening during the reign of the Stuarts alone is cause worthy of recognition. On the other hand, a closer and more careful investigation into the figure of the Tradescants in the context of the world in which they lived illustrates how their lives may be used as a conduit for understanding the changes occuring in England in their time. The Johns Tradescant, through the foundations they laid for the development of both the modern museum and the uniquenesses of the English garden, serve as synecdochial examples of the greater fundamental changes to London, and England as a whole, that would become so synonymous with both in centuries to come.

The dawn of the 17th century may be understood as the dawn of a modern England; within the lives of both of the Tradescants (c. 1580 - 1662), England would experience the succession of five monarchs

[1] Title is taken from their epitaph. The Tradescants, when referenced together, are pluralized within this essay as attorneys-general, culs-de-sac, and mothers-in-law. Captain William Bligh (d. 1817) of the HMS *Bounty* (of '*Mutiny on the*... 'fame) is also buried here.

and two Lords Protector; the English crown would gain dominion over all of Britain and establish imperial roots upon three continents in two hemispheres; rising focus upon exploration, mercantilism, and the increasing globalization of trade would transform England from an insular and predominantly Eurocentric kingdom to one of global presence and participation, focused upon contact and encounter. Throughout such fundamental changes to the English state, the Johns Tradescant are present; while their activity cannot be seen as directly contributive to the aforementioned changes occurring within England at the time, the effect of such changes upon their lives demonstrates their historical significance. In such grand narratives, the Tradescants were largely marginal figures, but on the page nonetheless. Their lives may for this reason be understood as synecdotal examples of how their microcosmic activity and contributions to horticulture, botany and archeology may help to illustrate the macrocosmic changes to London and England at this time.

On the first of January, 1610, John Tradescant the Elder[2] was hired by Robert Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury, as a gardener on his estate in Herefordshire at the manor of Hatfield House.[3] By this time, James VI & I had ruled the isles for seven years and Robert Cecil, Secretary of State and invaluable member of the court under both Elizabeth and James, had begun to rebuild his manor. Cecil was given Hatfield by James VI & I in exchange for his palace at Theobalds, as Hatfield was at the time "out of date [and] … unfashionable."[4] Cecil hired Tradescant to work on the property as a gardener to find the prestige he had found at Theobalds. While only under service to Robert Cecil briefly until Cecil's death in 1612, Tradescant proved himself capable and was kept on by Robert Cecil's heir, William.[5] The career of a professional gardener, especially within the context of the seventeenth century, is necessarily bound to the portions of society that are able to maintain gardens. Thus, the coteries of the gentry and gardeners were necessarily tethered; such social proximity suggests ample opportunity

[2] By 1610, John Tradescant the Younger was then only two years old, delegating John the Elder to John the Only for a further fifteen years.

[3] Jill Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales, 1560-1660.*Yale, 137; Prudence Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants : Gardeners to the Rose and Lily Queen.*London, 1984, 28

[4] Leith-Ross, *Tradescants*,28.

[5] Ibid., 40.
Francis, *Gardening,* 317.

for dialogue. This is evident within the life of John Tradescant the Elder, as his own career would begin alongside several agents of change in the contemporary English state. This relationship is furthered when antecedent historical factors are introduced to the ties of the noble to his or her garden - and consequently, their gardener.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries allocated great parcels of land to a new generation of gentry during the Protestant Reformation. The period from 1570 to 1620 saw more country houses built than any other fifty-year interval, and with them their country gardens.[6] Along with the former monasteries and abbeys came their gardens, an integral part of cloister life found across monastic communities in England, as well as in Europe more broadly. The monastic conception of the garden was largely predominated by an overarching Christian understanding of the world as being ordered into rigid and static natural hierarchy.[8] The medieval monastic garden reflected this static world-view through its conception of how space was to be utilized. As Terry Comito observes:

> The form of the medieval garden, so far as we can reconstruct it, is remarkably fixed: an open area with a mass, generally organized around a centre … Even Renaissance gardens keep the same design motifs, although disposing them differently in space, until they are superseded by the picturesque or English garden of the eighteenth century.[7]

This focus upon the reflection of a hierarchical and static worldview remained largely unchanged by the Elizabethan era, as the prevalence toward "good order and stability" in society remained akin to the garden.[8] How then was this entrenched conception of the garden eventually displaced by the 'picturesque,' and how did it become so uniquely English? One explanation revolves upon the aforementioned 'tetheredness' of the garden and gardening to the aristocracy. The horticultural legacy inherited from the medieval era helped to inspire the preservation of a garden culture and simultaneously allowed for the intercession of the characteristics of the nobility of the Elizabethan & Stuart reigns to be reflected in the gardens themselves - just as the characteristics of the gentry were beginning to change in their own

[6] Ibid., 55.
[7] Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance*.Rutgers UP, New Jersey, 1978, 25.
[8] Francis, 55.

right. As the nobility was granted these new manors, they were also becoming increasingly focused upon expansive trade; as such their gardens too would come to be influenced by this increasingly global attention.

On 3 June 1618, John Tradescant the Elder sailed from London, accompanying Sir Dudley Digges, a founding member of the East India Company and the Northwest Passage Company, on a mission to Arkhangelsk at the behest of Tsar Michael Fedorovich.[9] While the political arm of the mission sought contact with the Russian crown to affirm trading rights through a presumed sea-route to the East (itself demonstrating the increasing expansiveness of English mercantile aims), Tradescant was tasked with the collection of botanical samples from the northern country.[10] Tradescant, in his own surviving account of his journey to Arkhangelsk, writes of reaching as far as the islands to the north-west of the Russian delta and port.[11] The route taken by the Digges party is remarkable in how it required the party to travel around the Scandinavian peninsula to reach the port, a considerable distance for the period. Tradescant would travel as far only to return to England after a month, having collected significant samples and artefacts, many of which would become foundational to his collection. One such example, found on page 48 of the Tradescant's publication of their collection, the *Museum Tradescantianum*,is that of "Shoes to walk on snow without sinking."[12]

Only two years after his return from northern Russia, Tradescant set out again to the newly opened corners of the European world. He accompanied the Royal Navy under Sir Robert Mansell in an endeavour to fight pirates off the coast of present-day Algiers.[13] Tradescant disembarked at the Moroccan port of Tetouan to obtain, among other botanical samples, a cutting of a pomegranate tree[14] that would later be planted at Hatfield.[15] Thus, we may see how the increasing attention toward voyage, as demonstrated by the Digges and Mansell

[9] Leith-Ross, 52.

[10] Leith-Ross, 52.

[11] Tradescant qtd. Leith-Ross, 60.

[12] John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum: or, A collection of rarities. Preserved at South-Lambeth neer [sic] London by John Tradescant.*London, 1656, 48

[13] Leith-Ross, 69.

[14] The pomegranate tree is known as *Punica granatum*L var. *flore pleno*,recorded as *malus punica* within the *Museum Tradescantianum*; Tradescant's evocation of the term 'punic' reveals its northern African heritage This can be found in Tradescant, 89

[15] Leith-Ross, 71.

expeditions, are reflected in horticultural terms; as English contact is widened, so too are the kinds of flora to be found in English gardens, as Tradescant demonstrates. The mantle of exploration and encounter as raised by John the Elder would be similarly raised by his son, John Tradescant the Younger. Tradescant the Younger would engage in collecting expeditions to Virginia from c. 1630, returning just after his father's death in 1638, again engaging in the collection of flora and artefacts as his father had done. The great voyages of the Tradescants made to further the botanical field illustrates the desire for increasingly more diverse and extensive contact among increasingly more diverse peoples during this period. Tradescant, merely the humble gardener, was able to see far more than an individual of his stature would have been able to only fifty years prior.

While exceptional, the journeys of the Johns Tradescant must not be seen as without context; the period of the early seventeenth century is one dominated by increasingly global contact - as well as the consequences of such encounters. John Tradescant the Elder was equally engrossed by the desire to expand encounter, for better or for worse. The problematic legacy of this mandate for encounter is expressed through a quote from W. J. T. Mitchell's *Landscape and Power* ,as he states:

> Semiotic features of landscape, and the historical narratives they generate, are tailor-made for the discourse of imperialism, which conceives itself precisely (and simultaneously) as an expansion of landscape understood as an inevitable, progressive development in history, an expansion of 'culture' and 'civilisation' into a 'natural' space in a progress that is itself narrated as 'natural' "[16]

Thus, the relationship of the wanton claiming of the other that seems so inherent to imperialism is reflected in the landscape building that Tradescant is involved in, directly in the context of the English garden. Perhaps it is this intercession of the political with the botanical that furthers the development of the English garden as it own mode, integrally connected to these mechanisms of colonization. This idea is furthered by Weltman-Aron, who writes:

> At a time when a discourse confirming colonization abroad also wonders about the legitimacy of such ventures, another discourse on the so called new access to the visual beauty of domestic space occurs simultaneously.

> A policy of national, internal colonization can be represented with modes which obviously alter, or seem to dominate, the environment.[17]

For Weltman-Aron, the very act of gardening is likened to the 'domination' over landscape as with institutional colonization, as an increasingly pervasive element of English identity generally at the time. By collecting foreign flora to introduce them into English gardens, Tradescant was furthering the way that the English garden may be seen as necessarily dependent upon the rare or exotic. This sentiment would not be out of range for a society that was increasingly predicating itself upon its own success as an imperial, mercantile, and maritime power.

A further consequence of this change in what may be considered especially 'English' within a garden is the increasing role the garden had in displays of opulence and social standing. Francis addresses the transition of the contents of a garden as being largely similar across class boundaries, to one more unique and identifiably 'noble.'[18] Francis posits that during the Elizabethan age, the contents of one's garden, regardless of social strata, would consist predominantly of vegetables and fruit.[19] However, by the eighteenth-century, the focus of the garden was shifted largely toward ornamentality.[20] Francis summarizes clearly, stating:

> At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, gardens were essentially the same as they had been for centuries. They were enclosed spaces whose primary function was the utilitarian one of providing food, medicines, flavourings and scents for the household … The new century and the new Jacobean regime brought rapid change. Adventurers returned from across the seas with untold exotic delights for the garden … Gardens were viewed by some not just as a personal pleasure but as a new context in which to display wealth and status.[21]

Francis furthers this by liking the increasing importance bestowed upon the 'exotic' to social status, specifically in regard to the emergent ability of conspicuous material wealth not merely to indicate status, but as able to confer status as well.[22]

In the accounting records of the Duke of Buckingham for the

[17] Weltman-Aron, Brigitte. *On Other Grounds*University of New York Press, 2001, 109.
[18] Francis, 50.
[19] Francis, 77-79.
[20] Ibid., 327.
[21] Ibid., 4-5.
[22] Ibid., 50.

year 1624, there is recorded a payment of £124 14s "paid to John Tradescant … for his journey into the Lowe Countries for his charges and Trees".[23] Therefore, it follows that having returned from fighting pirates off the northern coast of Africa, Tradescant the Elder found his way into the service of the most favoured of all the Jacobean courtiers: George Villiers. Nominally, Tradescant was appointed head gardener of the Duke's estate at Burley-on-the-Hill in Rutland, charged with the maintenance and upkeep of the grounds.[24] Tradescant's appointment to Villiers supports his position as being uniquely situated near seminal members of the Jacobean court, as well as furthering the association of the role of gardening in Stuart society as increasingly predicated upon the upper classes. Furthermore, the relationship of Tradescant to Villiers represents more nuanced change occurring within the English state at the time; Buckingham represented an emergent *nouveau riche*in the time of James VI & I's court, indicative of the rapid expansion of nobility consequent of James' sale of peerages during this time.[25] [27] As a result of his prominence, the Duke had nearly limitless resources available to his estate and garden; he merely needed to decide what was fashionable. This suggests Tradescant's reputation as one of the preeminent and most fashionable gardeners of the time. Yet, the personal relationship of Tradescant to the Duke of Buckingham extended beyond the simple gardener-noble relationship as previously mentioned. Returning from a state trip to France to collect the future Queen Henrietta Maria for marriage to the future Charles I, Buckingham "sent … a gentleman to bring him his rich new clothes so that he may show himself in all his vanities;" this 'gentleman' was John Tradescant the Elder.[26] Why would Villiers have chosen Tradescant? Perhaps the social clout of a man as well traveled and educated as Tradescant relegated himself to an errand-runner for the second most influential man in the realm, or perhaps there was a personal quality to John the Elder that endeared him to many agents of change within early seventeenth-century England. For whatever reason that drew John Tradescant the Elder to these great figures like

[23] Leith-Ross, 75.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Villiers, through political situating, would become himself one of the most influential men in England.
[26] Leith-Ross, 77.

a moth to a flame, his participation with such figures continued to develop. In 1627, the Duke of Buckingham was sent to relieve the Huguenot town of La Rochelle by way of martial support against the French Catholics. Those that fought alongside Buckingham included "John Tradescant the Dukes gardiner now an Ingineere and best of all this true and most deservinge."[27] Again, the choice of Tradescant to serve as a military engineer during the Siege of La Rochelle may reveal the kinds of social association the role Tradescant had; the modest gardener of Robert Cecil was now likened to a polymath entrusted to direct a military campaign. While a military disaster, the expedition was not totally fruitless, as Tradescant was able to collect a specimen of sea gillyflower (*Matthiola sinuata*,recorded in the *Museum Tradescantianum* as *Leucojum marinum*) [28] recorded in Parkinson's *Theatrum*commenting "The first was brought out of the Isle of Ree[Rhe] by Rochel [La Rochelle] by Mr Iohn Tr. [Tradescant]".[29]

Buckingham's assasination in 1628 would cost Tradescant his job and allow him to settle at Lambeth, near the church of St Mary's. The handsome wages made under Buckingham further allowed some of Tradescant's time to become devoted to laying the foundation of the 'Ark.' Tradescant's Ark was the collection of their curiosities and specimens over the course of his travels, later formalized as the *Museum Tradescantianum,*as of then still very much in its infancy. In August of 1630, by royal warrant, John Tradescant the Elder was appointed Keeper of the Gardens, Vines and Silkworms at Oatlands Palace in Surrey.[30] [32] Only ten years earlier had the architect Inigo Jones helped to establish the first instances of a unique English style of architecture at Oatlands, where he was commissioned by Queen Anne of Denmark to renovate the manor.[31] As with Tradescant, Robert Cecil recognized the genius of Jones, and had commissioned work by the architect at Hatfield House, designing a renovation for the portico while Tradescant was gardener there in 1610; however, it was never completed.[32] The similarities of Inigo Jones and John Tradescant the

[27] Leith-Ross, 82.
[28] Tradescant, 134
[29] John Parkinson, *Theatrum botanicum: the theater of plantes. Or, an universall and compleate herball. / Composed by John Parkinson apothecarye of London and the kings herbalist.* London, 1640,624
[30] Leith-Ross, 93.
[31] Christy Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition.*Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007, 44.
[32] Anderson, 4.

Elder are striking, not only in their contemporaneousness, but how either man was able to employ his work to further its socio-cultural weight to adapt to changes of the English state. Jones, through his art, sought to "step into the arena of accessible social and political debate".[33] It is therefore valid to assert that the increasingly global - if not imperial - changes that Tradescant had made to the English garden may not be seen as equally socially relevant? Could the increasing focus upon rarity in horticultural presentation reflect the changes in public self-understanding of England as a nexus of international contact? What social significance does the use of this botanical rarity have on the designation of social status among the elite in regard to social changes in Stuart England more broadly?

In 1607, the same year that Robert Cecil acquired Hatfield House, three years before John Tradescant the Elder was hired there, the Virginia Company founded the settlement of Jamestown.[34] Thirty years later, John Tradescant the Younger set out on his return to England from Jamestown, having collected two hundred previously unrecorded plants, as well as the now-obligatory few curiosities. One such curiosity was the sash of Powhatan, given to John Tradescant by his friend Virginia colonist John Smith.[35] Again the connection of the Tradescant's advancements in botany, in this regard the active encounter and reappropriation of flora, is reflected in socio-historical parallels; Mitchell's claim upon the imperial imposition upon the 'natural' here is demonstrated through the colonial acquisition of an indigenous artefact. Although John Tradescant the Elder may never have visited Virginia in person as his son did, he was active in the emergent transatlantic trade, holding several bills of adventure with the Virginia company.[36] By the early 1630s, John Trasecant the Elder was the royal Keeper of the Gardens, Vines and Silkworms of Oatlands Palace, meanwhile, John Tradescant the Younger was in America, engaged in the same botanical explorations his father had experienced in Russia and northern Africa fifteen years earlier. The Tradescants are therefore to be seen not merely as actors in the increasingly global scope of English trade and encounter in the early seventeenth century,

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[33] David Howarth, David Armine, and Millar, Oliver. *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts : Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar.*Cambridge NY, Cambridge UP, 1993, 87.

[34] Itself named after the original owner of Hatfield, Tradescant's first charge - James VI & I

[35]Leith-Ross, 47. The same John Smith made famous by the Pocahontas legend and Disney.

[36]Francis, 137.

but as guided, willing participants, who through investment and action, directly contributed to the English Age of Discovery. Unlike Drake or Raleigh, however, the Tradescants were of common stock, further demonstrating not merely geographical mobility as a consequence of the opening scope of trade and encounter, but the social mobility as well.

John Tradescant the Elder served as royal gardener at Oatlands until his death in 1638, and was immediately succeeded by John the Younger.[37] He is recorded having maintained Oatlands closely, and would not leave the country again. Thus, the Tradescant's own age of exploration came to an end. Apart from his royal duties, there exists little record of Tradescant during this time, save a mention of his garden at Oatlands by Inigo Jones in 1638 and a contribution of 2s to a fund for Irish Protestant relief enacted by Charles I in 1642.[38] By this time, the Tradescants had served the court and crown for thirty-two years across three continents; this service ended suddenly as the onset of the English Civil War caused the Queen to flee from Oatlands, mooting the position as royal gardener there. Only one record of Tradescant having continued to work at Oatlands during the Interregnum exists, as Tradescant claimed payment for work done to the manor in 1648; he received only half.[39] Oatlands itself was dismantled during the Interregnum, with its bricks used to construct a near-by canal, and Tradescant's orange trees sold for £20.[40] Leith-Ross suggests that it is this absence of work that forced Tradescant to return to Lambeth and create a secondary source of income: the Ark.

As previously mentioned, John Tradescant the Elder had begun to catalogue and order his collection of flora and artefacts that he had collected during his travels upon the death of the Duke of Buckingham in 1628. Over time, both Tradescants would gradually and continually add to their collection, through both personal acquisition and gift. Both Tradescants would employ their proximity to the elite to acquire much of their collection, "often from duplicates or unwanted gifts or bribes initially intended for lofiter hands: left-overs from the excesses of courtly conduct and consumption."[41] The disruption of the Civil War

[37] Leith-Ross, 106.
[38] Ibid., 107.
[39] Leith-Ross, 114.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Arnold, Ken. *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums.* Ashgate Pub.

would allow for John Tradescant the Younger to focus his attention toward the collection. Tradescant's home in Lambeth that housed their collection had received visitors intending to witness the collection since they had settled there in the late 1620's.[42] [44] From the period following its establishment to the Interregnum, the Ark had become widely famous; a list of great European collections of 'curiosities,' composed in southern France by Pierre Borel, makes mentions of "Jean Tredesquin a la Maison de oiseux."[43] One such *oiseaux* were the remains of what was, at the time, the extant dodo, recorded in the *Museum Tradescantianum*as "Dodar, from the Island *Mauritius;* it is not able to flie being so big."[44] By the time of the Interregnum, the absence of royal appointment to provide a living, in tandem with the immense popularity of the Ark, suggests that Tradescant relied upon public admission to the Ark to support himself.[45] The increased attention toward the collection may have inspired Tradescant to begin to catalogue the Ark, for it was not until this time that an effort to record it appears. What would emerge is the *Museum Tradescantianum* , the formal catalogue of the collection written by Tradescant the Younger.

The collection garnered further fame throughout the life of John Tradescant as the most extensive in England at the time. Unlike contemporary private 'Cabinets of Curiosity,' the Ark was open to the public; for this reason, the Ark is fundamentally the earliest public museum as such, rather than a private collection of artefacts. This contribution to the realm of public museums, with specific regard to the English museum tradition, carries with it its own complications. In their review of the British museum as an entity, Longair and McAleer write:

> Knowledge, its acquisition, presentation and dissemination - key impulses driving the establishment of museums - became intertwined with the promotion of commerce and, consequently, the development of empire … From the acquisition of Powhatan's mantle, still part of the Tradescant collection at the Ashmolean Museum, British museums have consistently relied upon Biritish maritime and imperial endeavours for the

Aldershot, 2006, 19.

[42] Leith-Ross, 92.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Trad., 4. The head and feet of this dodo are still housed at the Ashmolean.

[45] Leith-Ross, 114.

acquisition of objects relating to different cultures from around the world.[46]

This tying of the contribution the Tradescants made to the museums with the development of empire harken back to their similar developments in botany. Yet, in light of this critique, it was their actions that relegated the collections of artefacts intended for collection into the realm of public education, rather than collection for private entities. This would itself, in a way, delegate the museum as an institution focused on furthering one's education of world rather than conquering it. It is for this reason that the Tradescant may be allotted a degree of amnesty from the problematic history of the museum upon which Longair and McAleer write. After passing hands within the Tradescant family, the collection was eventually purchased by Elias Ashmole, a wealthy London collector, who upon his own death would leave the Tradescant collection to the University of Oxford.[47] The collection continues to be housed within the Ashmolean Museum, the first university museum in the world.[48]

The second edition of the *Museum Tradescantianum*,the formal catalogue of the Tradescant collection at Lambeth, was published by John Tradescant the Younger in 1660. The book is prefaced with a full page dedication to the restoration of Charles II. The dedication in the second edition is not surprising, as the Tradescants had served the Crown directly or to representatives of it, ie. Robert Cecil, Earl of Salibury, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, or lastly James VI & I and Charles I, for fifty two years - through three monarchs, across three continents, five kingdoms, Civil War, Interregnum, and finally the Restoration. The collection that John Tradescant had begun, when Robert Cecil sent him the 'Lowe Countries' to buy fruit trees in 1610, would serve as the world's first fully public museum a mere twenty years later, and the first university museum forty years after that. The work of both Johns Tradescant would prove the material foundation for the English contributions to the fields of archeology, botany, horticulture, and biology. Furthermore, the Johns Tradescant further committed to grant the public access to these wonders. It is this last point that truly encapsulates the lasting significance of the

[46] Longair, Sarah and John McAleer. *Curating Empire: Museums and the British imperial experience*.Manchester UP, Manchester, 2012, 2

[47] Leith-Ross, 143-145.

[48] Ibid.

Tradescants; the Johns Tradecscant recognized that in the face of the pivotal changes in global encounter and exchange in the seventeenth century, it is the obligation of the agent in such changes to not merely further exploration and discovery, but to place ourselves within those grander narratives though the commitment to granting access to all those who may further it. Just as with St Mary's under Big Ben, the Tradescants find themselves as men of modest means and stature, who are able to achieve great influence and respect, and establish as lasting legacy as participants in a paramount period of early modern English history.

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Renaissance Magic as Catalyst for Scientific Revolution

Evan Wakal

The crux of the entire issue regarding the coexistence of Renaissance magic and science can be distilled down to one of ambiguous definition. The universality of hermetic language, once decoded, coupled with its central doctrine that god is all, and all is good, therefore exploration of the good leads towards *nous*, which in turn leads to immortality and a union with god, was handed down from the *Hermeticum* of Trismegistus. This tradition of exploration to better understand the "bridge" position held by mankind between divine and earthly led to empirical observation in what became medicine, astronomy, and chemistry. In the 15th and 16th centuries, there was very little distinction between what constituted magic and what constituted science. In fact, science was not a term used very often, nor was it anything close to the scientific method known today. The precursor to biology in the Renaissance was known as natural philosophy, or *magica naturalis*[1]; chemistry's precursor was known as Paracelsian chemical philosophy. While there are much greater differences between our scientific disciplines of today and their Renaissance precursors, it is crucial to remember that this period saw the start of the observational method. It is reasonable to think that definitions, like the scientific method itself, were the subject of the same rigorous process of refinement.

The word Renaissance itself means "rebirth". Beginning in Italy and spreading north and west, new ideas and philosophies took root in Europe. The word "rebirth" is an interesting choice, which illustrates the mentality of the early Renaissance aptly. Since the middle ages, the ancient Greek names Aristotle, Galen, and Celsus were commonplace in the academic world. Much like the conditions in ancient Greece itself, knowledge was passed down in a formulaic way. The Medieval university was a conservative entity, with a brand of scholasticism that was very averse to innovation.[2] As the Renaissance progressed, and as

[1] Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance,* (Boston: Brill, 2007),18

[2] Allen G. Debus, *Man and Nature in the Renaissance,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

more scholars began interacting with the Byzantine Empire, new texts and those thought lost began to spread in Italy.[3] Among these texts were the scholastically accepted names of Galen, Celsus, and Ptolemy, but other more occult works were translated as well. These works from antiquity included mysticism, cabbalistic, and Hermetic knowledge as well as detailing natural magic.[4] These works set in motion an intellectual rebellion against scholasticism and its commentaries on ancient wisdom; one that would bring about the practices of chemistry and alchemy, but also observational and quantitative science.[5]

The rejection of the scholastic model would not be possible without the translation of Hermetic writings. In order to trace the extent to which Renaissance magic and science are intertwined, the explanation of what exactly Hermeticism is and how it changed the mindset of Renaissance scholars needs to be addressed. Hermetic texts dealt with alternative philosophies, ones that held mysticism in much higher esteem than Galen, or Aristotle. In short, Hermeticism can be described as overwhelmingly anti-Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic in scope.[6] As Aristotle and his ilk were seen as atheists, there was a conscious effort by the Catholic Church to integrate religion into the academic world. The prime example is the *Corpus hemeticum*; most likely written by several different Greeks, not Trismegistus, as it was believed in the Renaissance era. The text was an amalgam of Platonism and Stoicism, with obvious influences from the Jewish Cabala and Persian Zoroastrianism.[7] The Hermeticists of the Renaissance who delved into this text, and the *Asclepius*, believed they were reading the writings of a man who predicted the rise of Christianity. The reality of the situation was somewhat different. The *Asclepius* and the *Corpus hermeticum* were in fact written during the stages of Christianity's infancy, when Christianity strongly resembled paganism in many ways.[8] Trismegistus is arguably the source for the idea of a demiurge in Hellenistic thought, as in *Poimandres*. God, a being of life and light, created a craftsman mind and

1978), 4.
[3] Ibid., 5.
[4] Ibid., 6.
[5] Ibid., 7.
[6] Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Promise: Experiment and Mysticism in the Chemical Philosophy (c.1550-1800)* (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2006), 41.
[7] Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 3.
[8] Ibid., 2.

seven governors, whose mandate is fate. Because of this, the cosmos is regarded as a body, an inseparable extension of god, of which man is a part.[9] The Hermetic tracts describe illuminations of *gnosis* refracted through the adept's own lens of *nous*.[10] *Nous,* a Greek term for "the intuitive faculty of man," according to Trismegistus, was granted to all people but set as a prize for souls to achieve.[11] In the dialogue *Poimandres,* Trismegistus is told, "That which you see and hear is the word of the lord, but your mind is god the father; they are not divided from one another".[12] Trismegistus' dialogue with his son, or adept, Asclepius passes this knowledge along: "Because of this Asclepius, a human being is a great wonder, a living thing to be worshipped and honoured: for he changes his nature in a god's, as if he were a god."[13] Nature was both God's domain and body; by extension man was both as well. Mankind was created as a bridge between the *ousiodes,* or divine likeness, and *hulikos*, or earthly. Made from mortal and immortal to adequately serve both beginnings, humanity was to wonder at heavenly things and worship them, while tending earthly things and governing them.[14] Preserving the earthly world follows the will of God, as all things are part of him and required to do. A core idea of the Hermetic philosophy is that the act of unravelling the mysteries of the universe would bring the seeker closer to God.[15] Philosophy became a tool, rather than purely an exercise.[16]

The translation and dissemination of Hermetic writings spread the idea that the age of antiquity, and times previous, were golden ages of innocence and purity.[17] Due to this notion the Renaissance reader saw his surroundings as derivative of what came before. Everything was baser and more corrupt then it had been in ages past. This idea was echoing those of the Greeks in the hermetic texts, who espoused the same idea but in regard to the Egyptian kingdoms that proceeded their

[9] Hermes Trismegistus, *Hermetica*, ed. B.P. Copenhaver. (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1992), 4.
[10] Yates, 4.
[11] Trismegistus, *Hermetica*, 7.
[12] Ibid., 2.
[13] Trismegistus, *Hermetica*, 69.
[14] Ibid., 71.
[15] Yates, 144.
[16] Ibid., 4.
[17] Ibid., 1.

own in the 2nd century.[18] The Egyptians were known for their complex magical systems and had the respect of the Greek philosophers and mystics. This fact coupled with the belief of Renaissance readers that Hermes Trismegistus was believed to be an Egyptian magus led to the pursuit of magical interests in Renaissance Italy. Natural magic went hand in hand with Hermeticism, and it is here that problems begin to arise with the Church in Europe. Up until this point in European history, magic sat firmly in the realm of heresy. Witchcraft was defined as consorting with devils, and those who were found guilty by the Church were dealt with most harshly. As the Witch Craze of the 15th and 16th centuries rampaged through Europe, academics found it necessary to distinguish their new *magica naturalis* from the type of magic which would lead them to the Inquisition's pyre. Two scholars, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico, discussed treatises which outlined the difference between their beloved natural magic and the "casting of spells".[19] In Ficino's *De Vita,* he writes:

> There are two kinds of magic … the first is practiced by those who unite themselves to demons by a specific religious rite … and often contrive portents. But the other kind of magic is practiced by those who seasonably subject natural materials to natural causes to be formed in a wondrous way.[20]

This is a most, if not the most, important distinction in regard to natural magic and philosophy. Giovanni Pico had previously accepted magic as central to his philosophical study, but had not made the distinction between what was referred to as "necromantic" magic, the practice of which lead to persecution, and natural magic.[21] Another scholar and playwright, Giambattista Della Porta praised the earthly travels of Neo-Platonic scholars Pythagoras and Empedocles, calling the knowledge they accumulated in their travels and professed to their acolytes a science by the name of "magick."[22] Later he would cite Proclus' *De sacrificio et magia* as saying that "magick" was nothing more than the survey of the whole course of nature.[23] The *Magia naturalis* of Della Porta, Pico, and Ficino was an attempt to distinguish the

[18] Ibid., 5.
[19] Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance* ,21.
[20] Ibid., 23.
[21] Ibid., 21.
[22] Ibid., 29.
[23] Ibid., 32.

natural philosophy of Neo-Platonic scholars from the demonology and ceremonial magic that the Inquisition was attempting to root out.[24]

This new natural magic, for which the term natural philosophy is interchangeable, was still very much a theological enterprise, but its proponents began to draw mathematics and observation into its field of study. Scholars like John Dee believed that a true Renaissance Magus would have a basis of knowledge that included hermetic practices and thought, as well as an understanding of mathematics, in which to apply these principles.[25] This was in direct opposition to ancient Greek philosophy, which stagnated because it concentrated on theory only, neglecting practice as base and beneath Man's purpose.[26] Instead of strictly adhering to the ceremonial aspects of mysticism, or the Aristotelian method of theoretical mathematics, the two dovetailed into a new discipline. This new practice was mystical, replete with allegory and myth, but also practical in the sense that it encouraged observation and the application of the knowledge hidden in myth and magic. The allegorical approach was implemented because it seemed unwise to discuss potentially powerful truths about the universe in plain forms.[27] The goal of such a practice was to determine the occult, or hidden, connections between earthly and celestial bodies and harness those connections. The most common methods of doing so in the Renaissance were through the practice of Alchemy and Cabalistic Numerology, the latter of which led to many advances in Astrology. Although the distinction had been made by several scholars, the practice of natural magic and alchemy was still seen as almost heretical by the Roman Catholic Church, and many well-known hermeticists over the course of the Renaissance would pay dearly for their practice

Having outlined the progression from Hermes Trismegistus to the Renaissance theory of natural magic, it seems fitting to discuss the two disciplines which arose and benefitted most from academia's newfound observational practice. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the two foremost disciplines are Alchemy and Astrology. Both benefitted from the synthesis of mathematics and natural magic in different ways. The study of both led to advances in the mechanical sciences, as

[24] Ibid., 34.
[25] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,* 148.
[26] Ibid., 4.
[27] Sherwood F. Taylor, *The Alchemists* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1992), 168.

scholars found that more powerful and accurate tools were required to continue their respective studies.

The first discipline of note is alchemy. This new emphasis on observational science attracted men like Paracelsus, who is regarded as a herald of the Scientific Revolution.[28] The son of a Swiss country physician, Paracelsus was exposed to Renaissance thinking and alchemical practice at an early age.[29] He would go on to become the driving force behind alchemical exploration in the medical academic world, which would bear his name as Paracelsian Chemical Philosophy. Alchemy was introduced to European scholars through Arabic writings, and it stressed allegory, mysticism, and observational evidence as three of its main tenants. Paracelsus embodied these ideals when calling for adepts to learn from observing nature rather than sitting in their universities. This caused an intellectual rift between Paracelsians, and the Aristotelian and Galenist thinkers over the course of natural philosophy and medicine.[30] Although advocating for what many regard as a magical pursuit, Paracelsus thought physicians would find illumination in the two books: scripture and nature.[31] Just as scripture was dissected by means of biblical hermeneutics, nature was dissected and analyzed. Cornelius Agrippa, in his tract *Philosophy of Natural Magic* detailed the constituents of matter and chemical interactions as understood in the 16th century. All "elemented" bodies were composed of air, water, fire, earth, or a combination of these. The destruction of the body did not mean the destruction of these elements, as they were thought to return to their base form.[32] These four elements had attributes, for example, fire was hot and dry while air was hot and moist. These qualities and classifications speak to a beginning trend in observation.[33] The interactions of the elements and their attributes is the basis of alchemical practice. The exact attributes are not important; the importance of alchemical systems of classification lies in the type of experimental thinking it produced. Agrippa expounds on the elements further by detailing a hierarchical structure concerning the

[28] Debus, *Man & Nature in the Renaissance,* 15.
[29] Ibid., 19.
[30] Ibid., 20.
[31] Ibid., 21.
[32] Cornelius Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy: Natural Magic*, ed. W.F. Whitehead. (New York: Dover Publications, 2006), 38.
[33] Ibid., 39.

purity of elements, their substrates, and compounds.[34] The value of alchemical study to the future sciences, in Agrippa's own words, was simple:

> Let no man, therefore, without these three sorts of Elements, and the knowledge Thereof, be confident that he is able to work with anything in the occult Sciences of Magic and Nature[35]

Alchemy was quite clearly seen by its Renaissance proponents as a religious experience as well as a scientific one.[36] Agrippa codified a system of learning that, ostensibly, would prepare the natural magician to work properly with experimental and observational techniques. The rarefied language and ceremony were seen as a necessary part of this education, as the consequences of allowing the unworthy access to secret knowledge was considered theologically disastrous. But, in keeping with the dialectical mood of the time period, Renaissance medicine had many theories based firmly off of hermetic philosophies such as astrology. Pico's *Disputationes adversus astrologiam iudiciariam*, Fracastoro's writings, even Paracelsus himself prescribed to theories which detailed disease caused by miasmas, or clouds whose root could be traced back to crossed astrological signs.[37] Alchemical texts were rife with passages assigning metaphysical attributes like soul, and *spiriti* to inanimate chemicals and minerals.[38] Alchemy was not an exclusively spiritual pursuit though, as technological advances in the instrumentation were required. These advances benefitted the medical profession, as chemistry's medical value was soon observed. The 15th century saw many books on the preparation of medical oils and tinctures published.[39] Medicine, because of its close ties to alchemy and chemistry benefitted greatly from these advances. Scholars like von Nettesheim and Porta claimed that chemistry was an essential science in the understanding of the human body, and this did lead to some breakthroughs, although they were somewhat abstracted to what is now known as fact. Paracelsus postulated that disease was caused by seeds that took root in certain places in the body.[40] As a result, cures

[34] Ibid., 41.
[35] Ibid., 41
[36] Debus, 17.
[37] Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance,* 19.
[38] Debus, *Man & Nature in the Renaissance*, 17.
[39] Ibid., 18.
[40] Ibid., 27.

were designed, and dosages carefully monitored.

Paracelsian alchemy was also the precursor to the first litmus tests conducted by Edward Jordan in the 17th century.[41] Chemical philosophy was by no means the only scientific area that found itself intertwined with occult scholarship. The study of the human body also benefitted greatly from the new focus on observational techniques. Prior to the mid 15th century, anatomy was taught only to acquaint medical students with the human body, and Galen's authority on medical matters reigned supreme.[42] Texts like Vesalius' *De fabrica* began to tear down some ancient knowledge, much to the author's own chagrin as he was a devout Galenist, and observational techniques worked their way into medicine.[43] More accurate illustrations took hold in the early 16th century, which led to new theories containing passages such as "aerial spirits interacting with the lungs."[44] While not scientific by today's standards, it is an important observation steeped in hermetic thinking. Books and theories on the microcosm and macrocosm of man and universe were printed, and Paracelsian scholars argued that the body's organs worked like chemical instruments, distilling and treating outside chemicals within the flesh.[45] Perhaps the most important physiological development of this time period is William Harvey's theory of blood flow. Taken from a disparate number of disciplines, Harvey used observational methods and mystical analogy to outline his theory that the human heart was the center of a circulatory system, making allegorical comparisons between it and the Sun.[46] To Harvey, the heart was a mechanical pump that circulated blood around the human body. Harvey's theory was a death blow for the ancient theory of "humors" that effected the human body and opened the way for chemically based study of blood and the human body.[47] While many of these theories, such as a mechanical heart and Paracelsus' "seeds of disease" are inaccurate, they very clearly lay the groundwork for more telling biological discoveries in the centuries to come.

The second major science that flourished under the combination

[41] Ibid., 29.
[42] Ibid., 59, 63.
[43] Ibid., 63.
[44] Ibid., 60.
[45] Ibid., 66.
[46] Ibid., 67.
[47] Ibid., 69.

of hermetic mysticism and observation was astronomy. Until the 17th century, Ptolemaic astronomy was held as the authority when all things in the heavens were considered.[48] Renaissance magic held Cabalistic Numerology in very high faith, thanks to the German magician and theologian Agrippa.[49] Contained in the *Philosophy,* alongside his writings on alchemy, Agrippa discussed the seals and characters of the planets. These divine letters are characters designed to communicate the signs and stars which dictate the virtues and essences of all materials. In a modern parlance, these symbols would be akin to scientific nomenclature that, while abundantly clear and expedient to those trained in reading it, would be nigh unintelligible to laymen.[50] While numerology and semiotics are not scientific, the attention given to numbers and universal nomenclature themselves pointed academia in an inevitable direction. Numerology and its focus on numbers led to mathematical deductions, which were then applied to observations made on the natural world. Agrippa, like Dee, believed that there could be no true magic without a synthesis of math and philosophy.[51] The idea that numbers were the key to understanding the universe also resonated quite strongly with Johannes Kepler, who accurately calculated the orbit of the planets. Each planet was given a geometric shape which corresponded to its orbit. The hallmark of his time is still present as his later work focuses on categorizing the harmonies emitted by each planet and applying it to numerological system of music.[52] Many consider John Dee a groundbreaking example of a Renaissance magus in the sense that while he was primarily concerned with Cabalistic knowledge, the focus on numbers combined with the will to operate led him down a more quantitative path.[53] Perhaps the most famous Renaissance astronomer is Copernicus. Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium caelestium,* published in 1542, contained his revolutionary thesis detailing how the Sun was the center of our galaxy and not the Earth. His thesis was heavily chastised by the Catholic Church, so he presented it to those who he thought would listen: the hermetic scholars. The fact that his theory, literally, revolves around

[48] Ibid., 76.
[49] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,* 147.
[50] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy: Natural Magic,* 111.
[51] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition.*, 148.
[52] Ibid., 151-52
[53] Ibid., 150.

the sun has created two attitudes towards the Copernican thesis. One is that his attention was drawn to the Sun for mystical, hermetic reasons, and the second is that Copernicus simply chose the hermetic style of delivery to attract the attention of his peers.[54] Regardless, his heliocentric model is certainly indicative of its time in its presentation. On the other side of the coin so to speak, are scholars like Giordano Bruno. Bruno was an Italian monk and scholar who is most famous for believing there were an infinite number of populated worlds in the universe, each with their own solar system and so on. Despite Bruno's lucky, but unfounded, guess regarding the nature of the universe, he was a proponent of Copernican theory. He did, however, chastise Copernicus for his "limited understanding" of the nature of the universe, saying that the Polish astronomer understood his own theory solely through mathematics, and not the spiritual side.[55] This is a perfect example of the dichotomy of Renaissance science. This was an age in which observational science was in its infancy, one where metaphysics was held in the same regard as mathematics. Renaissance magic, and by extension natural philosophy and alchemy, was a religious pursuit just as much as it was scientific, if not more.

For Paracelsus, Copernicus, and Kepler, observational science was a way to rectify the gap perceived to be between the Divine and Nature, who was increasingly revered as a divine force itself.[56] Natural magic and philosophy was a means to this end, and although many of the observations recorded are tinged with mysticism and hidden beneath allusion and allegory, many important steps forward were made during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. Alchemy continued to exist into Newton's time, however, the modern age often overlooks his writings on transmutation in favor of his replicable scientific discoveries. For men like Bruno and John Dee, observational science took a back seat to Numerology other and mystical techniques with number and memory. As the focus of science shifted towards replicable experiment, work like that of Dee and other mystics fell out of favor. The main point that contemporary scholars confuse is that all of the aforementioned work, from Kepler and Copernicus, to Dee and Bruno, fell under the title of magic at one point or another. The important thing to

[54] Ibid., 154.
[55] Ibid., 155.
[56] Debus, *Man & Nature in the Renaissance,* 13.

remember is that magic and mysticism were regarded as valid pursuits for academics at the time. Many of our modern scientific techniques trace their roots back to activities which began as heretical, hermetic, and occult. Renaissance magic was not the agent of change itself, but it played an instrumental role in changing the academic landscape in Europe.[57] By turning their eyes towards methodologies that placed great emphasis on observation and personal discovery, Renaissance magic cleared the way for modern science.

[57] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition.* 155-56.

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Teaching, Travel, and Mission: Independence in the Life of Annie Leake Tuttle

Eleanor Willner-Fraser

Several factors were stacked against Annie Leake Tuttle: she was a woman, born in rural Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century. Despite these potential limitations, she led a varied and active life, teaching, travelling, and performing mission work, and only marrying later in life. This essay explores the question of what options for independence were available for Canadian women in the second half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, based on Annie Leake Tuttle's life writings. After an overview of Annie's life and autobiography, the paper takes a chronological approach, analyzing key stages in her life in relation to the question of independence. It concludes by examining the broader themes of Annie's supportive family and its provision of a stable home base, as well as changes that were occurring in society, and how these elements made it possible for her to lead a relatively self-sufficient life. The paper argues that Annie's life illustrated different ways that a woman of her time could attain independence, specifically within the fields of teaching and mission work.

Annie Leake was born on August 3, 1839, at a farm in Cross Roads, Parrsboro, Nova Scotia.[1] At the age of eleven, she left her parents' home to go help the family of her uncle Christopher, a Methodist minister who was living at the time in Chatham, New Brunswick.[2] In 1857, while back home in Parrsboro, two events occurred that Annie described as "turning point[s] in [her] life": her conversion to Methodism and a talk advertising the Normal School in Truro, which was a teacher-training institute.[3] Annie began working as a teacher in May 1858, the start of a career that would last for over twenty-eight years and would take her to schools around her native Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, and even to St. John's, Newfoundland. In late 1887, she became the first matron

[1] Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, ed., *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle: Working for the Best* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 12.
[2] *Ibid*., 20.
[3] *Ibid*., 30-31; *Ibid*., 34-35.

of the Methodist Woman's Missionary Society's Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria, British Columbia, which housed – and attempted to convert – Chinese immigrant women who had been working as prostitutes.[4] In January 1895, at the age of fifty-five, Annie married widower Milledge Tuttle of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, whom she had had a romance with in 1860.[5] After Milledge's death in March 1902, Annie visited relatives and friends and continued her involvement with the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS). In July 1907, at the age of sixty-eight, Annie Leake Tuttle entered the Old Ladies' Home in Halifax, where she would die on December 17, 1934, at the age of ninety-five.[6]

In 1897, Annie began writing the history of her parents' families. At this point, she was living with Milledge and his children, "a family to which she did not truly belong," and through writing, she "claimed her family identity for herself."[7] In February 1906, she started a different form of writing, which she called "The Story of my life, or pleasing incidents in it."[8] Whiteley notes that Annie started this second writing project between Milledge's death and her entry into the Old Ladies' Home, in "a period of dislocation and anxiety."[9] Whiteley also explains that Annie's "account began as a memoir … the testimony of one who saw herself as a witness to a bygone era."[10] This quality is evident when Annie mentions visiting "[a] veritable 'log School house,'" even using quotation marks to emphasize the quaintness of such a building.[11] However, her work morphed into an autobiography as she started "record[ing] her struggles and also her personal accomplishments, which were well out of the ordinary for a woman of her day."[12] Annie divided her life and autobiography into chapters, starting, for instance, with "The Simple Life: 1839-1849," which relates memories and anecdotes from her childhood, up until she first moved to the house of

[4] *Ibid*., 67.
[5] *Ibid*., 93; *Ibid*., 44-45.
[6] *Ibid*., 104; *Ibid*., 137.
[7] Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, "'My Highest Motive in Writing': Evangelical Empowerment in the Autobiography of Annie Leake Tuttle," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 28-29, https://historicalpapers.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/historicalpapers/article/view/39482/35804.
[8] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 12.
9 "'My Highest Motive,'" 29.
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 13.
[12] Whiteley, "'My Highest Motive,'" 30.

her uncle Christopher.[13] Late in life, Annie passed her autobiography along to her niece, Edna Leake Nix.[14] The edited version, *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle*, consists of Annie's autobiography, with brief chapter introductions by Whiteley, as well as some of Annie's letters and other miscellaneous writings.

Writing about her life would not have been a particularly unusual choice for a woman in Annie's position. Women who wrote about their lives were often "from evangelical backgrounds" or entering a new situation.[15] John Wesley, an important Methodist leader, encouraged Christians to undertake some form of writing.[16] Annie's life writing would have been "religiously-justified," acting "as testimony to the working-out of God's plan for her."[17] Joanna Bowen Gillespie explains that early-nineteenth-century American Protestant women used the concept of Providence flexibly, to explain both "good and bad eventualities."[18] Annie used the same strategy, claiming, for instance, that although she did not marry Milledge in her youth, "'Our Father' had us both in His care and things worked out best for us both."[19] Annie's life writing fit within a Christian autobiographical tradition

When examining Annie's teaching career, an obvious feature is her frequent movement between different teaching positions, sometimes due to external factors and sometimes of her own initiative. She taught in nine different locations (see Figure 1 for locations of Nova Scotia positions). Other than two ten-year stretches – one in Truro and one in St. John's – she generally held positions for less than a year, often much less than a year. Several times, Annie needed to leave a position because the school building was not fit for instruction in the winter, as was the case with a school in Athol in 1862.[20] Rural Nova Scotian schools in the mid-nineteenth century varied in quality, with many "in poorer

[13] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 12.
[14] *Ibid*., vii.
[15] Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw, and Donna Smyth, eds., *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women, 1771-1938* (Halifax: Formac, 1988), 3.
[16] Joanna Bowen Gillespie, "'The Clear Leadings of Providence': Pious Memoirs and the Problems of Self-Realization for Women in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 2 (summer 1985): 212, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/stable/10.2307/3122952.
[17] Whiteley, "'My Highest Motive,'" 27; *Ibid*., 33.
[18] "'Clear Leadings,'" 203.
[19] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 46.
[20] *Ibid*., 47.

communities … simply falling apart."[21] This variability would have required some improvisation: one school took place in a carpenter's shop, and, for another, Annie made her own globe and abacus, with her father's help.[22] She speculated that one school did not invite her to return because she was "too modern," perhaps because she had insisted that they rearrange the seating according to the Normal School pattern.[23] Another reason that Annie left a teaching position was to attend school herself, for instance to complete a second term at the Normal School.[24] It was common for women teachers to do short stints at the Normal School "to improve their qualifications."[25] In one case, Annie turned down a teaching position at a new graded school in Amherst because the salary was too low, noting that although residents had been charged taxes for the school's construction, not enough money was left for teachers' salaries.[26] Rural Nova Scotians were not happy about the institution in 1864 of "compulsory school taxation," which led to the burning of schoolhouses, including in Cumberland County.[27] Already, female teachers received lower wages than men, justified based on the fact that they were restricted to certain teaching licences and on the argument "that women were just performing a natural feminine function."[28] Annie would not have been the only woman teacher to change locations "as a strategy for improving [her] wages and working conditions."[29] A final motivation for leaving teaching positions was for personal or familial reasons, such as displeasure with her aunt,

[21] Paul W. Bennett, "The Little White Schoolhouse: Myth and Reality in Nova Scotian Education, 1850-1940," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 13 (2010): 139, http://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/docview/881834302?accountid=10406.
[22] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 43; *Ibid*., 48.
[23] *Ibid*., 42-43.
[24] *Ibid*., 45.
[25] Janet Guildford, "Family Strategies and Professional Careers: The Experience of Women Teachers in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia" (lecture, Dawson Lecture Series, Nova Scotia Teachers College, Truro, NS, March 29, 1994), 23.
[26] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 50.
[27] T. H. Rand, *Annual Report of Superintendent* (1865), quoted in A. F. Laidlaw, "Theodor Harding Rand," *Journal of Education* (March 1944): 213-14, quoted in Bennett, "Little White Schoolhouse," 140; Laidlaw, "Theodore Harding Rand," 211, and William B. Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Nova Scotia," in *Canadian Education: A History*, eds. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1970), 102, quoted in Bennett, "Little White Schoolhouse," 140-41.
[28] Guildford, "Family Strategies," 15-17.
[29] *Ibid*., 25.

with whom she was staying.[30] Whiteley argues that although Annie expressed "frustration" about the obstacles in her teaching career, "she found satisfaction in [her] occupation."[31] Through the ups and downs of her teaching career, Annie would have developed a resourcefulness and confidence.

Although the majority of Annie's travels between teaching positions occurred via road transportation, during the course of her life, she was part of a transportation shift that had a significant impact on women's ability to travel. Most of Annie's early journeys occurred via horse and carriage, including the stage coach and the mail service.[32] Early-nineteenth-century British North American roads were in poor condition, containing "'deep holes,'" although Nova Scotia's "'Great Roads'" were greatly expanded between 1815 and 1850.[33] Annie only rarely emphasized the difficulty of land transportation, as when her brother John came to collect her at the Normal School in Truro in late March 1862, which was "a drive of at least sixty miles over West Chester Mountain … before the days of railroads … not an easy drive for the horse, and an anxious one for [Annie]."[34] She also pointed out as exceptional that when she was teaching in Athol, she would get "a farmer's team an old horse & carriage and driv[e her]self home twenty miles, after school on a Friday evening."[35] In general, she seemed to travel with relatives, and she only "timidly" agreed to go for a drive with Milledge when they first met, and he seemed to be "looking for a wife."[36] Although women did increasingly travel solo over the course of the nineteenth century, there was an "imagined opposition … between … exploration, travel, and geography," and femininity and

[30] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 47.
[31] Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, "Annie Leake's Occupation: Development of a Teaching Career, 1858-1886," *Historical Studies in Education* 4, no. 1 (May 1992): 108, https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/734.
[32] See, for example, Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 41.
[33] Isabella Lucy Bird, *The Englishwoman in America* (1856; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 27, quoted in Robert MacKinnon, "Roads, Cart Tracks, and Bridle Paths: Land Transportation and the Domestic Economy of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Eastern British North America," *The Canadian Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (June 2003): para. 1, http://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/docview/224236487?accountid=10406; Reginald D. Evans, "Transportation and Communication in Nova Scotia, 1815-1850" (master's thesis, Dalhousie University, 1936), 19, quoted in MacKinnon, "Land Transportation," para. 9.
[34] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 46.
[35] *Ibid*., 47.
[36] *Ibid*., 44.

domesticity.[37] Annie noted that a solo trip to Boston in 1863, to visit an aunt, "was a venture surely, my first time in a large city and all alone with no one to meet me."[38] The new Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), which Annie took to Victoria in 1887, would have provided women with more opportunities for independent movement, because they were "under the care of the railway company."[39] The first half of the nineteenth century saw a transition from individual travellers' having to plan and manage their own journeys to a view "of travel as a service to be purchased."[40] Annie provided next-to-no details about her rail journey, but did comment that she "found all the comfort necessary in the Pullman car," Pullman cars being a type of sleeping car.[41] Women would have had separate train cars.[42] Train travel was a "liminal" space, in which women were in public but could also "take certain liberties they would not take in a truly public space," although they were expected to maintain a "respectable appearance" within this new environment.[43] Annie's autobiography illustrates changing transportation practices and the possibilities that these changes were opening up for women.

Annie's autobiography implies that she understood the significance of her chance to travel. Some of her accounts give detailed route information, as with her travels by carriage between Aylesford and Barrington at the age of fifteen with her uncle Christopher's family, including his ten-month-old baby. They drove via Nictaux, Liverpool, and Shelburne, and Annie wrote, "How! well I remember every stage of that journey."[44] Besides this familial travel, much of her travel was related to her mission work with the WMS, and she stated that

[37] Monica Anderson, "Introduction," in *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 15; Lisa N. LaFramboise, "Travellers in Skirts: Women and English-Language Travel Writing in Canada, 1820-1926" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1997), 1, http://www.collectionscanada.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp04/nq23012.pdf.
[38] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 48-49.
[39] LaFramboise, "Travellers in Skirts," 94.
[40] Will Mackintosh, "'Ticketed Through': The Commodification of Travel in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Early Republic* 32, no. 1 (spring 2012): 63, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/10.1353/jer.2012.0001.
[41] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 70; Rebecca Jumper Matheson, "'Ways of Comfort': Women's Dress for Long-Distance Train Travel in America, 1870-1915," *The Journal of the Costume Society of America* 43, no. 1 (April 2017): 26, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/10.1080/03612112.2017.1288486.
[42] LaFramboise, "Travellers in Skirts," 100.
[43] Matheson, "Women's Dress," 30; *Ibid*., 35; *Ibid*., 27.
[44] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 24-25.

she was able to sightsee, for example at Niagara Falls, because of her "missionary duties, or more properly privileges."[45] Earlier in her autobiography, she called her time in British Columbia a privilege, referring to the opportunity to travel "across the Continent," visit many places, meet great missionaries, and get to know the Chinese girls.[46] This passage suggests that Annie was curious about the world and enjoyed travelling. Similarly, in discussing the "Northern Route through California, Oregon, Washington, &c," Annie commented on "the grandeur of the Mountain scenery some of the finest in the world," while, closer to home, she referred to "the beauties of a June in the Annapolis Valley."[47] At one point, she also noted "feel[ing] the need of a change."[48] Travel, with its opportunity to see new places and escape the quotidian, seemed to inspire a sense of gratitude and awe in Annie.

Annie's involvement with the Methodist WMS enabled her to assume a position of authority and to perform work that she considered meaningful. During her tenure as matron of the Chinese Rescue Home, in Victoria, she managed the Home's finances and provided the resident girls and women with instruction, including related to the Bible and housework.[49] She hoped "to train [them] for a better and for an eternal life," expressing enthusiasm and "joy" when some of the girls converted to Christianity.[50] She expressed her sense of her work's importance when she asked, "Will they not rise up in the judgment to condemn us, that we withheld from [them] the knowledge of salvation?"[51] Writing in 1886, Frances E. Willard, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, claimed that women had an innate "*organizing* power," evident in their frequent "'board meetings,' 'conferences,' [and] 'conventions.'"[52] Indeed, upon her return to Nova Scotia, Annie was able to rise up within the ranks of the WMS, acting as the "Organizer for Cumberland Co. for ten years," a position that

[45] *Ibid*., 103.
[46] *Ibid*., 72.
[47] *Ibid*., 73; *Ibid*., 25.
[48] *Ibid*., 89.
[49] *Ibid*., 79.
[50] *Ibid*., 85-86.
[51] *Ibid*., 85.
[52] "Power of Organization as Shown in the Work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," *Lend a Hand* 3, no. 1 (March 1886): 168, http://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/docview/1300262301?accountid=10406.

involved travelling around the county to attend meetings.[53] In 1905, Annie also "attend[ed] the annual meeting of the W.M.S. Board of Management held in Peterborough, Ontario."[54] Within the WMS, Annie took up leadership roles in both Victoria and her native Cumberland County, Nova Scotia.

Annie would have been unusual, although not alone, in not getting married in her youth. In a letter to her niece Edna, Annie praised Edna for "wait[ing] until [she was] over 22 years of age" to get married, implying that women tended to marry by their early twenties, as opposed to at the age of fifty-five.[55] Although "marriage was the chief mode of survival for adult women in Canada … a significant proportion of Canadian women did not marry, especially before the Second World War."[56] Annie did express a certain regret at not having had children, writing to her sister-in-law Lottie, "It must be nice to be a mother & Grandmother … But of course I have to get along without and I suppose get along very well also."[57] Annie became stepmother to nine children through her marriage to Milledge Tuttle in 1895, a label that she admitted to not enjoying, although she believed it to be God's "choice for [her]."[58] In referring to the stepmother role as a "position" and in describing herself as giving "faithful service" to Milledge's family, Annie did not paint a very romantic picture.[59] Her relative lack of enthusiasm about getting married, compared to Milledge, contrasts with her earlier declaration about their 1860 romance that "Something involuntary had taken possession of me, something that was … to cling to me always everywhere."[60] Annie maintained her practical tone when she described the marriage itself, commenting on housework and on Milledge's work ethic and final illness.[61] However, she did characterize Milledge as "[a] good and faithful husband always and a faithful father,

[53] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 103.
[54] *Ibid*., 101.
[55] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 97.
[56] Jenéa Tallentire, "'The Ordinary Needs of Life': Strategies of Survival for Single Women in 1901 Victoria," *BC Studies*, no. 159 (autumn 2008): 45, http://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=36615625&site=ehost-live.
[57] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 128.
[58] *Ibid*., 75.
[59] *Ibid*., 75; *Ibid*., 101.
[60] *Ibid*., 94; *Ibid*., 44-45.
[61] *Ibid*., 94-95.

faithful unto the Church."[62] Annie seemed to value her independence, or at least to have grown accustomed to it, for she left the Tuttle house after Milledge's death, desiring to be able to reach church on her own.[63] Annie took a practical view of her midlife marriage, simply one episode in a life of independence.

While Annie did not portray her marriage with Milledge as a significant part of her life, she referred to her family frequently, revealing her interdependent relationship with them. Her extended family's importance to Annie is evident in the fact that she had all her relatives' birthdays notated.[64] Many of her trips involved visiting relatives, and she described having had the opportunity to visit all her brothers and all her nieces and nephews as "a great privilege."[65] Tallentire notes that many single women depended on their relatives "for their financial support," while "families depended deeply on the unpaid domestic labour of women."[66] Annie was, in fact, able to support her family financially, at least some of the time: in 1880, she paid off her struggling parents' mortgage.[67] Guildford explains that women entered teaching partly "to support themselves and their families."[68] On a similar note, some young people left rural Nova Scotian communities in search of employment, sending money back to their families.[69] Annie's financial contribution to her family included paying for her sister Louisa's wedding dress, even though she was having difficulty at the time saving money for her own Normal School tuition.[70] In a similar self-denying vein, Annie resigned her teaching position in St. John's to look after her sick father, noting that she was the only one of her siblings available to help their parents "in their time of need."[71] Whiteley asserts that "we cannot determine what blend of fatigue, family duty, and financial frustration caused

[62] *Ibid*., 95.
[63] *Ibid*., 101.
[64] *Ibid*., 96.
[65] *Ibid*., 76.
[66] "Strategies of Survival," 53.
[67] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 63.
[68] "Family Strategies," 12.
[69] Rusty Bittermann, Robert A. MacKinnon, and Graeme Wynn, "Of Inequality and Interdependence in the Nova Scotian Countryside, 1850-70," *The Canadian Historical Review* [74], no. 1 (March 1993): 32, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/ 10.3138/CHR-074-01-01.
[70] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 45.
[71] *Ibid*., 60.

Annie's decision."[72] In any case, the familial support network extended in both directions, and her family helped a young Annie prepare for her teaching career, as when her father accompanied her to the store to purchase warm clothing for the forty-mile drive from Parrsboro to Apple River.[73] Later in Annie's life, she stayed for a month with a cousin in Pictou after Milledge's death, "need[ing] rest," and after the Halifax Explosion, she received several offers to stay with people outside Halifax, including a niece in Windsor.[74] Annie's relationship with her family combined independence and dependence.

Unlike many of her relatives, Annie stayed for most of her life in Nova Scotia, using her home province as a stable base for her varied activities. Eventually, all her siblings left the province.[75] Annie's brothers would not have been unusual in moving to the United States, which was a popular destination for English-speaking Canadian emigrants.[76] Scholars of migration discuss two major relevant economic forces, "'push' and 'pull,'" with push forces being those that would make an individual want to leave a region, such as lack of opportunities, while pull forces attract a person to an area, for example cheap land.[77] Examining two rural Nova Scotian communities, Middle River and Hardwood Hill, Bittermann, MacKinnon, and Wynn conclude that over half the farms in each community were unable "to meet the needs of their occupants."[78] Annie's own family struggled economically, which was at least part of the reason that she agreed as a girl to go help her uncle Christopher's family.[79] However, she would return to her parents' house in Parrsboro as a home base throughout her life, for instance after turning down the low-paying teaching position in Amherst and during the summers while teaching in St. John's.[80] After Annie left the Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria in 1893, she visited relatives in San Francisco, North Dakota, and Arizona, but she eventually "felt the

[72] "Development of a Teaching Career," 107-08.
[73] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 39.
[74] *Ibid*., 101; *Ibid*., 118.
[75] *Ibid*., 101.
[76] Alan A. Brookes, "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," *Acadiensis* 5, no. 2 (spring 1976): 26, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30302523.
[77] E.S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47-57, quoted in Patricia A. Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look," *Acadiensis* 15, no. 1 (fall 1985): 10, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30302704.
[78] "Inequality and Interdependence," 23-24.
[79] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 15.
[80] *Ibid*., 50; *Ibid*., 60.

impulse to get back to [her] Native land, among those who were left on the Old Home."[81] However, Annie soon realized that "it was not [her] home for any length of time," and she wrote in a letter to her niece Edna in 1902 that "[i]t is not a very comfortable situation to be homeless in one's old age."[82] Annie also confided to Edna in 1926 that she did not want to end up an invalid.[83] In both cases, Annie betrayed a fear of ending up dependent in her old age. Although many elderly Nova Scotian women faced poverty, Annie had saved up enough money for "a 'Government Annuity' bringing [her] in an income of $200.00 yearly."[84] She found a new home in the Old Ladies' Home in Halifax, writing to her brother and sister, "it is so comforting to feel that one little spot is my own, where I can sit and write &c without any interruptions."[85] She would use the Old Ladies' Home as a base for trips to WMS meetings and "to [her] old homes, Parrsboro, Pugwash & Truro," thus circling back to her places of origin. Throughout the changes that occurred in her life and in society, and despite forces that might have compelled her to leave Nova Scotia, Annie returned frequently to her home.

Annie's activities – teaching, mission work, and travel – would have been on the forefront of what was acceptable for a woman in this period of transition. The "feminization" of the teaching profession in Nova Scotia gathered steam only after the passing of the 1864 Free School Act, which "centralized … public schooling in the province."[86] Annie had begun teaching in 1858.[87] With teaching, women performed "the work of the private sphere – the training of children – … in a public arena."[88] In general, women were not permitted to speak in public: when female teachers wrote papers for meetings of the Provincial Education Association, "the papers were read [aloud] by men and the writer remained anonymous."[89] An exception – besides

[81] *Ibid*., 72-74.
[82] *Ibid*., 74; *Ibid*., 106.
[83] *Ibid*., 134.
[84] Suzanne Morton, "Old Women and Their Place in Nova Scotia, 1881-1931," *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 20, no. 1 (October 1995): 22, http://journals.msvu.ca/index.php/atlantis/article/view/4147; *Ibid*., 111.
[85] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 113.
[86] Guildford and Morton, *Separate Spheres*, 121.
[87] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 35.
[88] Guildford and Morton, *Separate Spheres*, 122.
[89] *Ibid*., 136.

teaching – would have been religion, or at least Methodism, within which women could lead "public prayer meetings" and hold "private all-female class meetings."[90] After her conversion to Methodism, Annie went on trips with her grandfather, "testify[ing] as to what great things God had done for [her]."[91] Women's speech in this context likely would not have pleased everyone, given that a minister in 1872 considered "both 'heroic zeal' and 'Christian meekness' [to be] female virtues."[92] Methodists also permitted women's participation in church societies.[93] Annie's involvement with the Methodist WMS enabled her to go to the Chinese Rescue Home in 1887, just six years after the WMS's founding, taking the CPR to Victoria just one year after the start of its "transcontinental operations" in 1886.[94] In many ways, Annie's life kept pace with changes in society, including in women's position.

The study of Annie Leake Tuttle's autobiography offers insights into potential paths to independence for Canadian women in the years leading into the twentieth century. Although this essay has only begun to explore these paths within Annie's life, already, some trends emerge. Teaching and religion were two major aspects of Annie's life that enabled her to live a life of relative independence. Through teaching, she gained an income to support herself and even her family and, no doubt, developed self-reliance. Through her membership of the Methodist Church, she acquired the opportunity to write and speak in public and to act as a leader in mission work, both within her regional organization and far from home. Throughout all these activities, Annie relied upon the support of her family and the stability of home, while also taking advantage of developments within society. In doing so, she led a life that, even by today's standards, seems extraordinary.

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[90] *Ibid.*, 95.

[91] Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 34.

92 Guildford and Morton, *Separate Spheres*, 103.

93 Lynne Marks, "'A Fragment of Heaven on Earth'?: Religion, Gender, and Family in Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Church Periodicals," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 6th ed., ed. Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, and Adele Perry (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2011), 160.

94 Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 70; Rosemary R. Gagan, "No Serious Risk in Sending her to Pt. Simpson," in *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 161; LaFramboise, "Travellers in Skirts," 7.

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"The Spirit is Poured Upon all Flesh" Quaker Beliefs on Women's Equality in Preaching and Prophesying

Hannah Wygiera

Quakers were a radical religious group that formed in rural England in the 1600s as an offshoot of the Protestant Anabaptists. An aspect of Quaker thought deemed radical, was their acceptance of the role of women in the Christian community. What set apart the Quakers from the rest of English society in their approach to women? How were their views regarding gender norms different from the rest of society? This paper argues that although Quaker views were radical, Quakers believed men and women were equal in God's eyes and that women could preach and prophesize freely. This argument is justified by examining the fundamental ideas of the Quakers, considering arguments for and against women preaching, and the analysis of Quaker teaching in personal publications from preaching female Quakers.

Fundamental Quaker ideas were radical in comparison to those of traditional English society, specifically, in terms of their approach to gender norms. Quakers believed men and women were equal and that their spiritual characteristics were interchangeable.[1] Their goal for society was to deconstruct the ideas of one's self, and eliminate concepts of gender, status, and intelligence.[2] Men and women were believed to be equal because they had stripped off their outer selves and instead focused on their spiritual selves, relying on God's light within them to give them authority to speak. This "inner light" was given equally to all who believed.[3] Because of these ideas, Quakers were receptive to the idea of women preaching and prophesying, even allowing women to be missionaries.[4] Phyllis Mack's book, *Visionary Women,* highlights the significance of the Quaker idea of equality: "Thus, religious practice

[1] Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1992), 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, 7.
[3] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 266.
[4] Mack, *Visionary Women*, 1.

offered the individual moments of social as well as spiritual liberation, allowing the worshiper to express a sensibility and authority that was largely inaccessible to him or her in secular life."[5] This understanding does not single out women; instead, it comments on how Quaker beliefs brought equality and accessibility to all, regardless of gender and status. Quakers allowed for freedom of expression and provided a platform for both men and women to speak, sharing Scripture and visions. They were no longer men and women, but spirits who could express both male and female qualities, bringing equality to all Quakers.[6] For example, according to contemporary societal beliefs, women portrayed emotions and men were public speakers. Quakers expressed both qualities, regardless of their gender.[7] They expressed emotion in their devotion to God, and women were often seen in town squares preaching and prophesying. This was considered radical by early modern English society who had clearly defined gender roles and characteristics assigned to men and women. Quaker beliefs stepped outside of these distinctions, creating a radical idea of inner equality between men and women.

Quaker beliefs were not widely accepted in seventeenth century English society, especially regarding the Quaker interpretation of gender norms. Many believed these women were disrupting society by speaking and preaching, using arguments for women's ability to preach counterintuitively. Scripture was referenced to support female prophesy, but it was also used to discourage women from preaching and prophesying. An example is found in a documented dialogue between two men, published in 1699; One, a Christian, argues against women preaching, the other, a Quaker, argues that women should be able to express themselves spiritually. Both men used scripture to support their arguments, believing it to be the ultimate authority in the matter. In comparison, the Christian is literal in his interpretation of Scripture, while the Quaker allows room for interpretation.

The Christian's argument begins in 1 Corinthians, where Paul says, "Let your Women keep silence in the Churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; …for it is a shame for Women to speak in the

[5] Mack, *Visionary Women*, 50.
[6] *Ibid.*, 237.
[7] *Ibid.*, 237-38.

Church."[8] The Apostle Paul was a spiritual authority to both the Quaker and the Christian; using Paul's words gives authority and strength to the Christian's argument. He believes Paul commanded all women to remain silent in churches and they should not preach and prophesize. Following the Quaker's rebuttal, the Christian reiterates that women should not speak in the Church or ask questions to increase their knowledge. Therefore, they should also not teach others.[9] The Christian acknowledges that they have a different idea of what prophesying is and he defines it to make the meaning clearer stating that prophesying can mean foretelling, which the Christian acknowledges is something women can participate in.[10] The third definition refers to praising God, which the Christian points out is a part of the Christian liturgy in which women can participate.[11] However, the second definition refers to interpreting, which he claims is something done explicitly by men.[12] He outlines these definitions to argue against the Quaker's use of Scripture that supports women preaching, noting that the Quaker's example which states prophesying refers to praising God, and not preaching.[13] He uses Scripture to back up these distinctions, reaffirming that women are not allowed to interpret and teach, but can foretell and praise. He concludes his argument: "But *Womens Preaching* is contrary to the Scriptures, (as I have before shewn unto thee) and they pretend to Preach by the Spirit…. Therefore, *Womens Preaching* is to be reckoned and accounted a *Delusion* of the Devil."[14] The Christian remains unchanged in his argument and perspective due to his use of scripture, despite the Quaker's attempt to argue against him. Furthermore, the Christian's main argument is that women preaching goes against scripture and is the work of the Devil. He provides evidence from the Apostle Paul and defines prophesy to show what is allowed and what is not for women. This dialogue provides insight into the arguments against women preaching.

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[8] Anonymous, "A Friendly Dialogue between Two Country-Men, the one a Christian, and the other a Quaker, Concerning Womens Preaching," *Early English Books Online* (1699): 1, accessed March 18, 2019, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:767839708.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, 2.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Anon., "A Friendly Dialogue," 2.

Despite English society being resistant to women preaching, Quaker men stood up for women and provided evidence in support of their preaching. This gave credibility to those women as it was not generally acceptable for them to speak out with authority. Having the support of men shows that women were encouraged to step out and preach. The conversation between the Christian and the Quaker shows a Quaker man who is willing to argue in support of women. Similar sources, such as scripture, can lead to different conclusions based on individual perspectives. Looking at the Quaker's argument, he uses the same verses to come to a different conclusion. He finally concludes that if women cannot preach, men should refrain from preaching as well, thereby demonstrating the Quaker commitment to their understanding of equality between genders.[15] Believing all were equal, if one was to be removed from speaking, all should be removed. Yet, he provides evidence using scripture of women preaching and prophesying. These Scripture references reinforce Quaker ideas of equality with a focus on changing contemporary ideas about women's position in society.

The Quaker in the above stated dialogue focuses on clarifying scripture to provide evidence supporting women preaching. His interpretation of the sources, mostly from the Apostle Paul, shows his bias towards religious beliefs. Nevertheless, they still hold up the argument. In referencing 1 Corinthians 11:5, the Quaker notes that Paul comments on how women should act when preaching. He believes this would be an irrelevant message if women were not allowed to preach as they would not be able to follow Paul's instructions.[16] The Quaker acknowledges that women have a place in the church and points out women in the New Testament who worked alongside Paul.[17] This provides strength to his belief that women have a place in the church. To back up his argument that women can prophecy, the Quaker references Joel 2:28, "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy...."[18] The Quaker points out that Scripture explicitly says both men and women will prophecy. These verses provide evidence supporting the Quaker belief that women could preach and prophesize. By engaging

[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Anon., "A Friendly Dialogue," 1.
[17] *Ibid.*, 2.
[18] Joel 2:28 KJV.

in discussions such as the example given, Quaker ideas were circulated throughout society. Quaker men advocated for women because they believed all were equal, giving women the confidence to share their visions. The biggest advocate for Quaker women preaching were the women themselves as many published their prophecies and circulated them throughout England and the world. These publications offer insight into the beliefs of women who were deemed radical by the rest of early modern English society. They highlight Quaker ideas of equality and are a primary example of the sermons and visions shared by women. One example of these radical women is Margaret Fell Fox, who married George Fox. He was an influential Quaker leader who travelled throughout England preaching, and was charged with blasphemy in 1650.[19] Margaret Fox's home became a focal point in the Quakers' ministry in northern England, and she became an influential advocate for Quaker beliefs.[20] In 1666, she published her pamphlet *Women's Speaking Justified,* which addresses arguments against women speaking in church and presents evidence as to why they are allowed to preach and prophesize. Much of her evidence is the same section of scripture used in the conversation between the Quaker man and the Christian; however, she expands on these verses and examines others to provide a well justified and rational argument. Specifically, Fox considers arguments used against her and justifies her position. Her first piece of evidence comes from Genesis. She argues that when men and women were created by God, they were made equally and without distinction; they were created in the image of God and are therefore the same.[21] The perfectness of Creation meant there were no differences between men and women, as they were never intended to be distinct beings.

Fox also looks at the argument that women are weaker, demonstrated by Eve eating the fruit from the forbidden tree in the Garden of Eden. She claims this argument is inaccurate as Adam also ate the fruit, both being tempted equally.[22] Eve eating the fruit first does not

[19] David Booy, *Autobiographical Writings by Early Quaker Women* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 3.
[20] Booy, *Early Quaker Women*, 147.
[21] Margaret Fell Fox, "Womens Speaking Justified," *Early English Books Online* (1666): 3, accessed March 28, 2019, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99889736.
[22] *Ibid*.

make her weaker than Adam because he ate it as well. Continuing to examine Genesis, Margaret argues for women speaking by looking at God's punishment for Eve after the Fall. She claims that by prohibiting women from speaking, the Serpent speaks.[23] The Serpent represents evil and Fox argues that women and men are called to speak out against this evil. Descendants of Eve, both men and women, must speak out so descendants of the Serpent cannot.

Fox also addresses the argument used against women in 1 Corinthians. Just like the Quaker man in the dialogue discussed, Fox explains the context of this passage and provides an interpretation as to what Paul refers to when he claims women must be silent in churches. She argues that Paul refers to women under the 'Law'. She acknowledges that to be under the 'Law' was to be in sin as Eve had been.[24] Women who had come to recognize God's forgiveness were freed from the 'Law' and this command does not apply to them. Rather, it applies to women who are still in sin. They should not speak because of sin. She notes, "*Let all Things be done to Edifying*. Here there is no Edifying, but Confusion speaking together."[25] She again clarifies that Paul refers to women still under the 'Law' and in sin:

> He did not say, that such Women should not Prophesie as had the Revelation and Spirit of God poured upon them: But their Women that were under the Law, and in the Transgression, and were in Strife, Confusion and Malice; for if he had stop'd Womens Praying or Prophesying, why doth he say, *Every Man Praying or Prophesying, having his Head covered, dishonoureth his Head; but every Women that Prayeth or Prophesieth with her Head uncovered dishonoureth her Head*[26]*?*

Fox argues that if women were not allowed to preach and prophesize, this command is irrelevant. Therefore, women can speak the truth if they have discovered the light within them, as men and women were created equally, and God has given them both the ability to preach and prophesize to fight evil. Fox's pamphlet provides justification for women to preach and prophesy and demonstrates their spiritual equality with men. Thus, her writing provided women with the freedom to speak in churches.

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[23] *Ibid.*, 4.
[24] Fox, "Womens Speaking Justified," 8.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*, 8-9.

The beliefs of the Quakers were considered radical in seventeenth century English society, especially their views of equality between men and women. They focused on Christ's light within them as an equalizing force that broke down societal barriers such as gender and status. Although, Quakers faced opposition from other members of society who used scripture to argue against women preaching, they refuted arguments by providing their own interpretation of scripture to explain that women could preach and prophesize. Both male and female Quakers argued for women and advocated for their beliefs. As Margaret Fell Fox concludes, "[the] Spirit is poured upon all Flesh, both Sons and Daughters.... [So] let all Mouths be stopt that would limit him, whose Power and Spirit is infinite, who is pouring it upon all Flesh."[27] Thus, Quakers believed women were equal with men by God's power and therefore should be allowed to preach and prophesize.

[27] Fox, "Womens Speaking Justified," 12.

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Critical Comedy and the Zealous Zoschenko

Matthew Zolkivski

Preface

The social realities for the Soviet population following the revolution are extremely unique to the Soviet Union, despite how complex they may be. One of the most radical changes to the society was the institutionalization of the Kommunalka, otherwise known as the communist apartment or communal apartment. This was done to solve the major housing crisis that was ongoing following the end of the civil war, while also providing a means of surveilling their people. One of the authors who discuss this process and the repercussions is Paola Messana, who was able to get first person accounts of how it was to live in communist apartments. One such person described how, "other than high-up communists, there were few who escaped the collective apartment, where even KGB agents and spies were housed."[28] Rarely in history does one see such a generally universal experience of living, such as in that of the Kommunalka, however, "up until the mid-1960s, 80 percent of the population in the cities were affected, from Moscow to Baku."[29] Another important factor to mention before delving further into the societal mechanics of the Kommunalkas is that there is a disconnect between Zoshchenko and Messana. Aside from being fictional, Zoshchenko's characters would not experience the effects of the purges in the 1930s, while many of Messana's interviewees did. However, Zoshchenko did experience the various denunciations that would have been occurring around and following the time of the revolution of 1917. This is important to note as it may affect the perspectives that many of the seventy, eighty, and ninety-year-old Russians who had lived in the communal apartments during that period.

Background: Zoshchenko

To understand the thought process of Zoshchenko, one must first examine his literary life and the reasoning, or lack thereof, behind his

villainization as an author. Zoshchenko was well loved within the Soviet Union for many years and his work, *Nervous People and Other Short Stories* was considered to be a classic up until his vilification by the interior.[30] The type of distrust and paranoia that many people felt during the Stalinist years were very clearly felt by Zoshchenko after his works were denounced. After Zoshchenko was expelled from the Writers Union, he no longer was given vouchers for food for his family and many institutions that had given him advanced royalties for his works were asking for him to return them.[31] Furthermore, after the death of Stalin, Zoshchenko attempted to get fully reinstated but was denied that as it would have proven that the government had made a mistake in the first place.[32] These types of disagreements would continue to exist between Zoshchenko and the Soviet Union up until his death in 1958. Despite the condemnation of his works, many people continued to retell his stories because they were so relatable to them. There were no huge hard-hitting victories, nor were there any socialist heroes. It was all, to put it simply, about the lives of the people. What was "hard hitting" about Zoshchenko's works, was the social reality that it contained. Zoshchenko's works were outlawed because "one was not supposed to notice these things," as they were deemed trivial and unimportant.[33] Furthermore, it was seemingly Zoshchenko's awareness of what was going on within the society, combined with his immense popularity, and his ability to recognize the many small chips and scratches within the pure perfection of Soviet Reality, that ultimately led to his fall from personal literary grace.

Introduction

In this paper, I will be discussing Zoshchenko's work, *Nervous People and Other Short Stories,* and the extent to which various stories corresponded to the social realities of the urban life in communist apartment during the Soviet 1920s and pushing into the 1930s. First of all, I will analyze the downfall of Russian society in the 1920s to interpret whether or not Zoshchenko's short story, "Nervous People" within *Nervous people and Other Short Stories,* is accurate to the social reality of the Soviet Union. I will approach this using two perspectives: the state priority of surveilling their population and how it affected the people forced into such context, and the first-person perspective

of living in said context. Second of all, a sense of fear permeated into the aristocracy of the Soviet Union's society after the fall of the tsar due to the consistent hunting of people who were of the upper class, while those who were veterans of the red guard, had government jobs, or who were of the proletariat, felt stable within their societal position, or became part of the new "upper class." Everyone with a potential to have ties to the white guard or the aristocracy had deep ingrained fear of what could happen to them if their background were to be discovered. Third, the shift from the old impoverished/aristocracy system to one of cramped collective poverty caused a combined sense of irritability and despair to permeate the physical culture of Russia under the Soviets. This will focus in more closely on the misery of people and how it affected Soviet society in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In contrast, the writings of Zoshchenko fail to approach or satirize the various denunciations that occurred, going all the way back to the revolution. This was likely due to the fear of being denounced sooner than he did for speaking out against the Bolsheviks.

Section 1: Irritable People

First, Zoshchenko writes many satirical short stories about the social realities of post-revolutionary Russia. The story, 'Nervous People" discusses the general distrust and irritability that permeated the Kommunalka, or communist apartments because of the downfall of privacy due to communal living. A summary of the short story: the people within the apartment begin a brawl over a brush that is eventually broken up by an officer. They then get sent to court and end up in another brawl at the end of the story because the "Judge turned out to be a nervous kind of man too."[34] The public aspect of the Kommunalka, as described by Harris, discusses the idea that the Kommunalka were a form of "hybrid space, which [he] calls 'public privacy.'"[35] This statement is extremely etymologically flawed because it is a contradiction about a basic social practice of privacy. The ability to feel that one had privacy and to pursue a sense of privacy was in

[34] Zoshchenko, Mikhail. *Nervous People and Other Satires*. London: Victor Gollancz LTD, 1963. 124-126.

[35] Harris, Steven E. (Steven Emmett). "In Search of "Ordinary" Russia: Everyday Life in the NEP, the Thaw, and the Communal Apartment." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 6, no. 3 (2005): 583-614. doi:10.1353/kri.2005.0038. Pg. 604.

the hands of the family units themselves, the main issue being that it was mostly a symbolic matter.[36] This type of symbolic privacy was needed because the switch to communal living from their former way of life had caused many people to feel a growing sensation of alienation due to their disconnection with their old way of life, "their habitat," as put by Gerasimova.[37] According to an interview from Messana's book, "communal life was terrifying," largely because of the immense amounts of pettiness around space within the former family's home.[38] Despite the person having formerly owned the house and having furniture and other material goods in the house, the new forcible tenant were acting as though the house had never belonged to the family in the first place.[39] Hence, the public opinion of living within the communal apartment was one of tension and agitation, especially toward those who had formerly owned the house and had been privileged. This story alone shows that Zoshchenko was not far from reality in his telling of nervous people.[40]

The other aspect of the short story, "Nervous People," is that of the government's involvement in the communal apartment itself. Although the government is not mentioned at length or in detail, their involvement in the communist apartments following their formation, was not passive. The Bolsheviks and Lenin purposefully eliminated the individual and private family home in order to produce a collective living situation that prevents any one family from having the privilege of a private home.[41] According to Harris, " following the communal apartment's emergence, the state used it as a tool for maintaining dominance over its urban population but never transformed it into an ideal for the domestic sphere."[42] This level of government control was likely implemented due to the types of small level disorder and revolutions that were ongoing in the countryside following the Petrograd revolt, as well as a means of preventing any more counterrevolutionary activity. This collectivization of swaths of

[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid, 606.
[38] Messana, 9.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Note: however it would seem that he did not mean nervous as in the fearful kind, but rather nervous as in "filled with nerves" or agitated.
[41] Harris, 608.
[42] Ibid, 605.

their population would allow them to maintain control over the people. The other aspect that likely played a role in this variety of surveillance and suppression would be that there was a former elite that remained within the urban population, hiding in plain sight. Overall, it was all for the sake of a collectivized social situation that would prevent the loss of power from the Bolshevik, and later Stalinist governments.

Section 2: The Fearful Aristocrat and the Prospering Peasant

Third, fear saturated aristocratic Soviet society during and following the revolution of 1917, especially for those who were connected to the White guard. Many were often suspicious or possibly even jealous of those who were of the old aristocracy, hence why the roles of workers and the bourgeoisie were inverted by the Bolsheviks. There are two prominent perspectives that must be approached on this topic: that of the former aristocrat and that of the new aristocracy. The bourgeois aristocrat must be discussed first as many of the issues that arise during the 1920s are connected to them. After the collectivized housing initiative was implemented by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the situation became much worse for the aristocracy. Although many aristocrats stayed in Soviet Union, many more fled from it following the revolution, only to return during the Khrushchev years.[43] Messana interviewed one individual whose father lacked fear of using his wealth after the collectivized housing was initiated. For her family, despite food shortages, their "table had everything: crab salad, black caviar, [her father] also bought little light biscuits with which he made a cake by adding butter, coffee, and cognac."[44] Aside from this clear presentation of their wealth, her father had also been a member of the white guard.[45] She goes on to tell of "'Chernyi Voron,' the black crow, the van [that] was parked in the street" and goes on to tell of how the sound of an idling car outside her home still scares her.[46] To elaborate, the "Chernyi Voron" were essentially what she was referring to as the government officials who came and took her father away, despite the lack of evidence that he had ever been in the white guard.[47] This was a

[43] Messana, 24.
[44] Ibid., 31.
[45] Messana, 31.
[46] Ibid., 32.
[47] Ibid.

fairly common occurrence during the 1920s for aristocratic Russians, hence why they had so much fear the longer the Bolshevik government was in power. These government officials, these "Chernyi Voron," were the individuals that Zoshchenko's short story, "Dog Scent," discusses, however other short stories such as.[48] Hence, the sense of fear that permeated society was mostly within those who knew they had aristocratic lineage or were former aristocrats themselves. Fear permeated through these people because they were deemed dangerous or as war criminals for having fought with the white guard.

The other side of this reality, especially during the early years of the 1920s, lies with the perspective of the common proletariat, government workers, and anyone else who had not been an aristocrat. For some people, the living conditions were extremely cramped, however they did not seem to mind too much. Messana interviewed one individual who had lived in an apartment with 32 people, a Liubov Vasilievna Zakharova.[49] Her "father was, of course, a responsible civil servant, a member of the Party," hence, her family was substantially more privileged."[50] Because of the father's status within the party, they weren't treated as equals to the rest of the population, but in fact were treated better by being given three rooms and a maid rather than the standard single room.[51] This shows that, rather than there no longer being an aristocracy, there was instead a more modest and new age version of aristocracy, providing privileges in return for service to the party. Furthermore, while the old aristocracy was fearful of such things, the other people would have parties where "all the women would make cakes, [and they] would put the "patefon" in the kitchen, bringing out the vodka, and everybody danced."[52] This shows that at least some portions of the Soviet population were able to enjoy life within their context. This testimony presents the communist party, not as villains who insight fear in their people, but rather as individuals who attained power from those who had formerly had power, choosing to use it as a source of revenge. Hence, the aristocracy had good reason to fear their situation as it had been an inversion of the rolls of people who had

[48] Zoshchenko, Pg. 134-136.
[49] Messana, 12.
[50] Messana, 12.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

trodden on the peasants and workers, to being the people who would be trodden on by the peasants and the workers.

Section 3: The Everyday Poverty, Despair, and Misery of the Average Soviet Citizen

Fourth of all, the transition from the binary of the old aristocracy/mass poverty system, to a system in which the people of the Soviet Union experienced collective poverty throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, caused the society to devolve into a general sense of despair and misery which permeated the physical society of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the clear bias that the Bolshevik and Stalinist governments had towards members of the party was clearly shown through their apartment building policies. Many of the stories within Zoshchenko's work tell of the effects of poverty upon the people. One such story, somewhat ironically called "Poverty," discusses the bringing of cheaper electric light sources to the communal houses. There are three characters who all have differing perspectives on the newfound light. The commonality amongst all of them is that they all realized how disgusting their living situations were and the landlady could not afford to fix her place up, so instead decided to cut the electrical wires, thus resulting in the other characters labelling her as bourgeoisie.[53] They likely labelled her this way because she was unwilling to improve and progress with the rest of the society, but the idea that the bourgeoisie would have the least money and be the most depressed, is not something alien to soviet reality. Although some may have had an easier time in the communal apartments, as some of Messana's interviews seem to imply, many of the people of the Soviet Union were suffering within their circumstances. Part of the reason for this was because of the type of binary that had previously existed between the aristocracy and the peasant/working class. When they were pushed together by the process of collectivization, there was little many could do. This binary that existed between the aristocracy and the peasant working class did not immediately dissipate the moment the Bolsheviks began their communist apartment program. It is this binary that requires the different contexts to be recognized and compared to

[53] Zoshchenko, 141-143.

Zoshchenko's works.

Class ascription played a huge role in the matter of living situation, even for those of the peasant classes. Amongst peasant classes, there were groups that the government wanted to eliminate. This is largely about class ascription and the fears that many people had over whether they would be "liquidated" from the society or not.[54] Some of the classes targeted that Fitzpatrick discusses, are those of the Kulaks and the Nepmen, or New Economic Policy men. The Kulaks were entrepreneurs and the Nepmen were localized merchant entrepreneurs. The idea that such people would be considered a threat to soviet society is not surprising from a teleological point of view, however in their time, it would have been more like they were briefly freed from the oppressive imperialist system, only to be suppressed under a different system. One of the people that Messana interviewed stated that they, "lived such miserable lives, everyone was poor."[55] This perspective exposes much more of the context, showing that, indeed, everyone was lacking in finances and struggling to maintain their own lives. She goes on to say that, "it was like a nightmare from which I had to wake up. But then life would go on: you had to get up, go to work, keep on going."[56] This is very telling of the common experience of many of those of the urban population. One Romanian woman who had escaped a Soviet camp in the early 1930s described how the Soviets would also track down individuals who had escaped their camps. The context is that she escaped with her child, but she says that they went searching for her and tracked her down, choosing to bring her back to the soviet union and then banishing her to Siberia.[57] the common strategy to attain their Bolshevik desired form of social reality was: "transforming its citizens through industrialization, urbanization, collectivization, and political indoctrination and terror, the most ordinary aspects of everyday life."[58] In this sense of policy, as perceived by a witness, the Bolsheviks show that they did not care about the happiness of their people, but rather that the public felt that they were a negative force upon the country. Hence, the misery of poverty

[54] Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Ascribing Class: The Construction of Social Identity in Soviet Russia," The Journal of Modern History, vol. 65, no. 4. (Dec. 1993), pg. 745
[55] Messana, 35.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid 36
[58] Harris Pg. 584

even permeated into the former lower classes of society because of the extreme policies and actions of the Bolshevik government.

Although the common mood of the Bolsheviks toward the common citizen within the Soviet Union was seemingly poor, the former aristocracy came to suffer much more as they had experienced what it was like to live in luxury. This is not to say that the Bolsheviks did not punish them for having done so, but rather to express how great and sudden a fall it would have been for many of the aristocracy. One of Messana's interviews mentions the common perspective of the Bolsheviks as them asking "how do [gentlemen] explain these luxurious apartments? It is shameful. You must share them with the workers."[59] This was how many of the aristocracy viewed the sudden implementation of the collectivized apartments. One of Messana's interviews discuss the absolute terror and misery of life in her own home after it was transitioned into a communist apartment. She discusses how the residents of different classes would "measure every square inch of the hallway and other common areas and complain about the furniture—good furniture—that my mother had left," claiming that their furniture should all be put in their own room.[60] Not only does this show the types of circumstances that the Bolsheviks forced many families into, it also shows how jaded classes were about aristocrats. This was all part of their plan to control housing, annihilate the idea of private homes, hence pushing their society towards "the adoption of collectivist forms of housing over ones that privileged the individual and the family."[61] The aristocrats who were not initially exposed were tried to live in communal living without ever speaking of their nobility.[62] Those who were exposed grew up with a sense of terror, "enduring daily humiliation."[63] This was the social reality of many former aristocrats within the society. After analyzing the standpoints of the former peasant and the former aristocrat, it seems clear that Zoshchenko's works were not far off. Works such as "A Summer Breather," briefly approach the idea that it is very bourgeois to live in an apartment with just one's family.[64] Another of his works, "The

[59] Messana pg. 8
[60] Ibid 9
[61] Harris 608
[62] Messana 24
[63] Ibid 10
[64] Zoshchenko 162

Lady Aristocrat," villainized aristocratic women for being frivolous, especially when consuming expensive products such as pastries.[65] This particular dialogue was likely inserted for the purpose of making fun of aristocratic women rather than trying to be totally true to form, though one would imagine that an aristocrat would not have the same grasp on finances as that of a proletariat. Zoshchenko focuses more on the life of those who lived in the apartments, regardless of background, however when we did comment on class, he made sure it was pro Bolshevik to a certain extent. It was only when discussing guilt that Zoshchenko shifts his point of view to satirize the use of instinct, as discussed earlier.[66] One could argue that this is his way of discussing the complexities of denunciation, having to be self-denounced rather than denounced by another.

Section 4: Denunciations, their role in Soviet Society and the missing piece within Zoshchano's Satirical Puzzle

Although Zoshchenko does not explicitly reference denunciations, they must still be discussed in reference to communal apartments as they were ongoing prior to, and especially during the Terror years. The Bolsheviks were largely concerned with a pure society, free of corruption, hence the Bolsheviks would question their members annually about themselves, as well as the criticisms and accusations that had been put against them.[67] Furthermore, the Bolsheviks were largely concerned with purging what they called, "Class enemies," that referring to nepmen, kulaks, and any other remaining class that could be considered bourgeois or bourgeoisie related.[68] Denunciations for personal gain was not an uncommon practice either. Although it occurred much more during Stalin's Terror, the denunciations of people for the purpose of personal gain was an extremely common practice in Soviet Russia during the 1920s and 1930s.[69]

This raises the question: why did Zoshchenko not mention or

[65] Ibid 129
[66] Ibid 134-136
[67] Fitzpatrick, Shelia. "Signals from Below: Soviet Letters of Denunciation of the 1930s". *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 4 (Dec. 1996): 831-866. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2946722 Pg. 832
[68] Ibid
[69] Ibid 834

satirize these denunciations within his work? The simple answer is that he had to run everything he published through the central committee.[70] Despite what he was saying about society, he was largely focused on the gradual change of Soviet society through small rebellions that would get approved by the committee. On the other hand, he could have simply found the reality around him to be rather morose, so he decided to write some relatable comedy for his fellow comrades. Most of his comedy seems to focus upon satirizing everyday tasks, occurrences, and the occasional proverbial "jab" at the old aristocracy. Fitzpatrick even state that the topic of denunciation has not had any sort of extensive academic inquiries because of the extreme levels of private classification that the Soviet government held the denunciation files under up until the fall of the Soviet Union in the 1990s.[71] Just as fear had caused many of the aristocratic class to hide their lineage, as well as their identities at times, fear seems to have prevented Zoshchenko from publishing any short stories satirizing denunciations.

Conclusion

In Conclusion, many of Zoshchenko's works discuss the various everyday jokes and problems within society in a satirical manner. The transition of society to communal living was largely affected by the circumstances of each individual. Regardless of their class, the apartments that most citizens were staying in were used for the purpose of surveillance and preventing counterrevolutionary activities.[72] Because of this surveillance, the attainment of privacy then fell upon the civilian as they would need to seek out privacy for their family on their own accord.[73] Privacy was not deemed a right anymore due to the collective initiatives of the Bolshevik government. Furthermore, privacy became a matter of symbolism rather than reality because of the constant suspicions and denunciations that people would be experiencing within Soviet society.[74] Many of the societal structures of privacy were changed in order to prevent any more revolutionary activity, thus securing Bolshevik control over Russia. This is key to

[70] Milne 2
[71] Fitzpatrick 835
[72] Harris 584
[73] Ibid 604
[74] Ibid

Zoshchenko's satires because this series of events is what creates the circumstances in which he writes in the first place. The fear that spread through society was experienced by both the peasant and aristocratic classes, just in different ways. On the one hand, the peasant and working classes enjoyed some festivities, general life fulfillment, and seeking revenge against those who oppressed them. This had been what went on in the early years, however, as time went on, it seems that most everyone except those of higher political status would fear what was to come, and even those in the party would struggle with denunciations.[75] In the background of society, the aristocrats were consistently being seeked out, then later denounced. The issue that arose with this was that people were basing denunciations on instinct, much like a hound hunts birds.[76]As time went on, the situation got worse for all the classes of Soviet society. Class ascription played a huge role in this matter as the hunt for people who had capitalistic ideals, such as nepmen, kulaks, and hidden aristocrats, were deemed unworthy to exist within the society. This leads to the constantly growing issue of denunciations within the society, largely with the purpose of self-interested gain in mind. The longer the government and the people stagnated in this society of distrust and disloyalty, the more denunciations and guilt built up within the very structures that the Bolsheviks had hoped to purify.[77] This leaves the question: to what extent were Zoshchenko's satires accurate to society? Ultimately, the answer is that Zoshchenko could only be as accurate to society as the Bolshevik government would allow him to be. Despite his continuous effort to get approval from the interior and the writers' union, Zoshchenko became a literary casualty within the very society that he wrote so many satires about. Furthermore, he fell victim to one of the few aspects of Soviet society that he could not satirize: he fell victim to a denunciation, seemingly from Stalin himself. Regardless of his denunciation, his works continued to live on within Soviet society. It was the immense relatability of Zoshchenko's works that made him so popular to the society, hence, Zoshchenko's satires were meant to be relatable and only as accurate as the Bolsheviks and comedy would allow him.[78]

[75] Fitzpatrick 834
[76] Zoshchenko, Pg. 134-136
[77] Ibid
[78] By comedy, I mean it involves a level of distortion in order to attain the desired reaction.

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