PANGAEA

The Dalhousie Undergraduate
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Letter from the Editors

As students of history, it is often difficult to look inward. We are so frequently focused on the vast, the epic, and the oh so far away, we sometimes lose sight of what is closest to us. Last year, *Pangaea* went national as the admirable editorial team revived the journal and produced a wonderfully ambitious final product. This year's edition of *Pangaea* returns home with an intimate collection of the best undergraduate historical scholarship produced by Dalhousie University and King's College students. Every submission received this year reaffirmed that Dalhousie and King's undergraduate students are producing original, brave, and meticulous works of history that stack up against any other Canadian institution.

Like the Pangea supercontinent's lasting imprint on today's map, the articles published in this journal historicise our contemporary questions. Our authors work through questions of women's liberation, nationalism and fascism, and racial degradation in geographical contexts spanning from Yukon to Punjab. This is the virtue of history. Not to relay facts and figures; names and dates, but to interpret the past in a way that speaks to the present.

This edition of *Pangaea* will live on in Dalhousie's history department and it will survive in the annals of the internet in perpetuity. For the editors and contributing authors, let this stand as a testament to your resiliency, ingenuity, and curiosity. 2025 is a difficult year to be a student. To produce such wonderful scholarship under the conditions of insecure housing, rising tuition, and an uncertain future, is nothing short of incredible. With rising institutional and state violence against students in Gaza, New York, and right here at Dalhousie, it has never been clearer that young scholars have the power to change the present by understanding the past.

Pangaea 2025 Executive Editors ~ Kriti Maini, Clare Blackmer, Sam Kennie

Pangaea Op-Ed from the History Honours Seminar: Get to Know Your Peers!

Elizabeth Carter

At the risk of sounding cliché, when I first started university, everything was completely online. I started in the Fall of 2020 and, like everyone else, saw my teachers and classmates exclusively through Zoom screens and Brightspace discussion board posts. Only in the last couple of years most things have (somewhat) returned to a pre-Covid "normal." As a graduating student, it is interesting to contrast these early years of university with my most recent, and really explore what makes university the so-called "best years of your life." Fundamentally, what I missed out on the most in those early years was the community that school created—specifically, the relationships between classmates.

Peers are individuals who, in some capacity, are in a similar standing and are considered equals. This term perfectly describes university students, who, despite coming from diverse backgrounds, all arrive with the same desire to learn more. No one enters university an expert, and the joy of school comes from learning new things with people who are equally as excited to learn these things. This only grows as you begin to take upper-year courses and start to figure out the subjects that interest you. Everyone has the same desire to learn, but each person offer different insights and perspectives that make learning so interesting and exciting. This is how progress and innovation occur: not within echo chambers, but in spaces where different ideas interact and bounce off each other.

I am currently writing the Honours thesis and taking the seminar class, and while it has been hard at times (*so* much reading and writing!), it has also been incredibly rewarding. It has been a genuine treat to develop my research project and explore my little niches of history—17th-century Spanish miracles! Most importantly, I have cherished getting to know my classmates and their topics, each person having found their own particular interests that are all so unique and interesting. One aspect of the seminar, which terrified me at first, is the peer reviews. In these, we share our drafts and give comments and feedback on each other's work. While it is incredibly vulnerable to offer up my work, it benefited my writing tenfold, with my peers and their various perspectives contributing different connections and insights or even weaknesses and assumptions in my arguments. I am a better writer and thinker for it.

I want to extend this idea of peer review to *Pangaea*. This year, only Dalhousie and King's students were invited to submit, making each contributor in the journal one of your peers. You probably know them, and not in the abstract way that I knew my classmates in first year, as pictures on a screen, but as the people you see in classes or at school events. Each contributor has written on a topic that interests them, and this is your chance to see their work and their passion. I encourage you to read these works, to gain insight into their perspectives and interests.

I want to conclude by thanking the editors of *Pangaea* for working to organize this journal. I, and the rest of the Honours seminar, were editors and can attest to the major behind-the-scenes work that goes into its completion. A special thanks to Kriti Maini, Claire Blackmer, and Sam Kennie, as well as the Dalhousie Undergraduate History Society, for all the work that they have done this year.

And to you, the reader, I hope you find the pieces in this journal interesting and thought-provoking. I encourage you to sit back, relax, and enjoy reading the result of your peers' hard work. Take this as an opportunity to get to know them and areas of history you might not have explored otherwise. Seeing as our essays are usually given only to our professors, journals like *Pangaea* offer us an important opportunity to read each other's work. This journal, like the Honours seminar, will allow you to get to know your peers better and learn about new topics and perspectives. I hope you enjoy it.

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Björn Again Christian: The Formation of the Scandinavian States

James Godsall

Introduction

The introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia began social arms race for control and consolidation, radically changing the political landscape of Scandinavia. The starting shot was in Denmark, during the mid-tenth century, when the ostentatiously pagan Harald Bluetooth proclaimed Christ his God. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the constellation of chiefdoms that dotted the fjords and valleys would be re-aligned into the states of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, with kings and Christ as their guiding lights. The conversion of Northern Europe was touted by medieval chroniclers as a triumphal sign of God's divine plan. In reality, the Christianization of Scandinavia was a social phenomenon spanning centuries and a product of the culture it was trying to re-invent. In the competitive environment of Viking Age Scandinavia, chieftains competed with one another for wealth and prestige, attracting followers and social networks through gifts and obligations. Kings and chieftains incorporated Christianity as a feather in their cap and a new coin to gain supporters, providing baptisms for their retinues and gaining monopolies on religious authority. Rather than a "black to white"[1] religious conversion, Christianization is best seen as a catalytic social tool, enabling the ambitious warlord in a period of nation-building, consolidation, and immense opportunism.

Conversion in a Scandinavian Context

Defining "conversion" lays the groundwork for discussing the process. In his introduction to *Conversion and Identity in The Viking Age*, Ildar Garipzanov refers to two interpretive models for organizing the transition: 'top-down' and 'bottom-up'.[2] The first model revolves around the idea of 'following the leader', with kings and chieftains acting as shepherds, converting first, with their flock following them. This model relies on a *conversion moment*: powerful figures and inspiring events producing "sudden, dramatic change that deeply transforms personal

[1] Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking Of Northern Europe* (London: Yale University Press, 2012), 135, http://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=568247&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_iv.

[2] Ildar Garipzanov, "Introduction: Networks of Conversion, Cultural Osmosis, and Identities in the Viking Age," in *Conversion and Identity in the Viking Age*, eds. Ildar Garipzanov and Rosalind Bonté (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 1, https://doi.org/10.1484/M.MISCS-EB.1.102030.

worldviews, beliefs, and convictions".[3] This remains the dominant model in historical and political discourse, since it reflects the narrative of early Scandinavian sources. Anthropologists, however, remain skeptical. They favour the second model, a type of grassroots conversion, drawing on individual-scale influences and tracing change through long periods of cultural osmosis.[4] This model focuses on *conversion periods*, explaining *how* Christianity came to be introduced, diffused, then settled into Scandinavia's social fabric and popular imagination. This approach offers depth and balance, sketching through archeology a "gradual trajectory"[5] of cultural-religious change. While both models are valid separately, they are not mutually exclusive.

In his book, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*, Dr. Anders Winroth shows how the definition between these two models must be blurred, as conversion is a messier process than narratives portray. Scandinavia was never isolated from the rest of Europe, the borders were porous, with a constant flow of Christian ideas and symbols pouring in through trade and travellers since the days of the Roman Empire.[6] This would be enough to familiarize Scandinavians with "bits and pieces" of Christianity through traders, mercenaries, and travelers[7]. Meanwhile, the "complete package"[8] came from authorized sources such as missionaries and kings, who established institutions and rituals. Conversion emanated from all directions, both top-down and bottom-up. However, the effects of these influences can still be traced into a simple three-step conversion process: growing familiarization, official conversion (through a king or chieftain), and gradual consolidation.[9] Within this process, one can see that the momentum of Christian conversion may be supported gradually by small cultural influences. However, it hinged on the moment when local authorities embraced it. Each region of Scandinavia beat to a different "religious rhythm"[10] based on the dynamics and politics of local social elites choosing to support or hinder the conversion process. While Christianity did not need elites to circulate, their authority and support were vital for it to take firm root. Why kings and chieftains supported Christianity explains how Christianity came to dominate the North.

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[3] Garipzanov, "Networks of Conversion," 3.
[4] Garipzanov, 2.
[5] Garipzanov, 5.
[6] Winroth, *The Conversion of* Scandinavia, 129-30.
[7] Winroth, 129.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Garipzanov, 5.
[10] Ibid.

Here, it is important to describe the cultural and political landscape of pre-Christian Scandinavia. In his book *Children of Ash and Elm*, Dr. Neil Price attempts to make sense of the 'Vikings', and their era, from the inside out. The term 'Viking' is problematic, as it reflects a homogenous view of an entire culture through the lens of horn-helmeted men engaged in violent piracy. While such pirates did exist, they made up a fraction of a complex and dynamic collection of communities, which, at their core, were "strongly multi-cultural and mutli-ethnic"[11]. Rather than shaggy barbarians, lacking culture or sensibility, these were well-groomed "fastidious" people, ever conscious of a "thoroughly visual world" of "all-enveloping […] symbolism and display".[12] From their dress to their ships, to their runes and poetry—even the patterned tattoos within their skin—their fashion and aesthetics reflected a view of a world imbued with meaning, brimming with life, and "fundamentally permeable".[13] The diversity and fluidity of the Viking experience is best expressed through Price's term *religolect*, which is the closest we can come to understanding Viking pagan Norse religion and spiritual mentality. Like dialects, the Norse religion was not systematized or written down, but a cultural reality distinct and coded to each local community. While these beliefs were regulated and managed by local elites, a sense of difference was ever present, which cultivated relative tolerance[14] and "the core of diversity in the Viking mental landscape".[15] This is not to ennoble the Vikings, whose society was capable of brutal acts of violence and oppression, as seen in their raids and in their keeping of slaves (*thralls*).[16] Rather, it is to emphasize that they were not ignorant or without culture, and thus ripe for Christian colonization. The Vikings lived in world of frontier beliefs, constantly in contact with peoples and ideas other than their own, and conscious of a world beyond their borders.

This interior religious and social experience of the Vikings, their values and beliefs, reflect the wider phenomena of their era. Occurring from 750CE to 1050 CE, the Viking Age was a period marked by a dramatic rise in seaborne piracy, which ultimately culminated into devastating wars for plunder and conquest.[17] However, parallel to this conflict was the mass

[11] Neil Price, *Children of Ash and Elm: A History of the Vikings* (New York: Basic Books, 2022), 24.
[12] Price, *Children of Ash and Elm*, 108.
[13] Price, 10.
[14] Price, 24.
[15] Price, 207.
[16] Price, 141.
[17] Price, 9.

demographic and cultural shift of the Scandinavian diaspora. This was a period defined by permeability, shifting boundaries, trade, exploration, and colonization. As the Vikings expanded out of the heartland of Scandinavia and into Europe, Russia, and across the Atlantic, they created a wider dynamic of cross-cultural-pollination. Beyond raiding and trading, this was "above all else a period of social transformation".[18] Over three hundred years, a fragmented Viking world blurred with Christendom, becoming ever more intertwined. At the same time, ever greater wealth and influence concentrated in the hands of the elites who best adapted and took advantage of the changing political landscape.

Chieftains were the dominant political entity of the pre-Christian Scandinavia. Centered on their hall, their power was ostensibly "based on violence"[19], with the most powerful chieftains commanding the loyalty of the best warrior retinues (*hirðs*). However, behind the violence, Viking Age society revolved around social connections made through wealth and prestige. Scandinavia was a network society, in which the size of one's social network determined a ruler's sphere of influence. For the Vikings, friendships (*vinátta*) combined the idea of kinship and "brothers in arms".[20] They were not private affairs of preference, but social and political contracts with "legal obligations"[21] and "reciprocal duties"[22], According to Dr. Jon Vidar Sigurdsson, generosity, and the importance of gifts–wealth in this system, "cannot be overstated"[23], since all relationships were constantly asserted and reaffirmed through an exchange of gifts.[24] In the gift-giving relationship of Viking friendship, chieftains provided their warriors with prestigious goods—special tokens of honour—and their warriors were obligated to give a "countergift" of their loyalty[25], supporting their lord's interests in war or in their community. It was through this personal social bond that pre-Christian Scandinavians maintained their society in the absence of a state. However, it was a critically unstable system.

[18] Ibid.
[19] Winroth, 41.
[20] Price, 114.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Viking*, trans. Thea Kveiland (New York: Cornell University Press, 2022), chap. 3, "Introduction – Network Society", https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=2889435&site=ehost-live.
[23] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 3, "Networks of Power."
[24] Winroth, 45.
[25] Ibid.

Authority was not inviolable, and the power of chieftains, even their gifts, were associated with luck.[26] As relationships were cemented through gifts, loyalty and power, quite literally, rested on the wheels of fortune. Opportunism and pragmatism characterized friendship between chieftains,[27] because each represented a mutual threat to their sphere of influence, a potentially greater gift-giver who may make their rule obsolete. Chieftains rivaled each other in extravagant displays of "conspicuous consumption",[28] displays of wealth to show who could give the best gifts. Gift-giving lead to a social arms race: the more exclusive the gift, the higher the esteem of the giver and the more powerful he became.[29] The power of a chieftain was relative to the gifts and prestige another chieftain could offer.[30] It was onto this scene of instability and fractious competition that Christianity came to Scandinavia.

To the ambitious warlord, adopting Christianity offered several advantages. The first was the prestige. Christianity was the religion of the Frankish and Byzantine emperors, whose wealth and power—witnessed through trade missions and Viking raids—made an impact on Scandinavia's popular imagination.[31] No ideology was more august, and chieftains wanted a share of that status and wealth. Dr. Winroth compares Christianity to other luxury goods, suggesting it was another coin to win support.[32] This was the immediate purpose of bringing the faith to Scandinavia. Distributing rituals and rites, along with religious items, were means of providing a new prestigious gift to their followers, strengthening existing loyalties, while also building new ones. Baptism was particularly useful in this regard. As both a gift and an institution, it provided a powerful bond of association between the baptized and their sponsoring godparent. Scandinavian rulers forged new connections of "religious fellowship"[33] with prestigious European monarchies and they passed down that prestige to their followers. This "quasi-familial relationship"[34] provided a new means, beyond marriage and brotherhood, of creating a community of loyal warriors and supporters. At the same time, a chieftain capable of providing baptism was also capable of withholding it. Christianity formalized power

[26] Sigurðsson. *Scandinavia in the Viking Age*, chap. 7, "Religion and Power – The Holy Kings."
[27] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 3, "Network of Power – To his Friend a Man Should be a Friend / and to His Friend's Friend too."
[28] Sigurðsson, "Introduction – Peaceful Region."
[29] Winroth, 45.
[30] Winroth, 44.
[31] Winroth, 138.
[32] Winroth, 137.
[33] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 7, "Religion and Power – Kings and the Christian God."
[34] Winroth, 140.

relationships and reinforced authority, consolidating their social networks. Kings and chieftains became the "well-wishers"[35] of Christianity, building churches, and providing land, for the advantages they gained over their rivals.

The changing religious landscapes of Scandinavia went hand in hand with its politics. As an "elite religion"[36], chieftains had always played an outsized role within the practice of Norse paganism. Chieftains controlled communication with the gods and acted as the representatives of their friends and community. But while their religious position enabled chieftains to influence their local communities, their role was ambiguous, and pagan religion was inherently decentralized[37]. There was no pagan clergy and no need for religious control[38]. Chieftains did not hold any relative advantage over their rival Norse religious leaders. Christianity, on the other hand, provided the opportunity for a "monopoly cult"[39]. Through the introduction of clergy and a monotheistic system, Scandinavian rulers could lock out their rivals from the religious landscape and create a new hierarchy in the process. Christian kings reaped all the previously mentioned advantages of Christianity in cultivating friendships, while also introducing a religion whose practice and rituals necessitated "specially authorized people and buildings".[40] A mutually beneficial relationship developed between the ascendent kings and their emerging clergy. The early clergy relied heavily on their royal sponsors, acting faithfully on their behalf, making kings "virtual heads of their 'national' churches".[41] The church represented a new institution through which kings could exercise their authority in the domain of rival chieftains and develop a realm in which "they alone had power".[42] Following conversion, outlawing paganism cut off a king's rivals from religion as a path to build networks and spiritual relationships, while the creation of a clergy legitimized the king's power and aided in the administration of an expanded sphere of influence[43].

[35] Sigurðsson, chap. 7, "Religion and Power – Kings and the Christian God."
[36] Sigurðsson, chap. 7, "Religion and Power."
[37] Ibid.
[38] Winroth, 151.
[39] Winroth, 146.
[40] Winroth, 145.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Winroth, 146.

Christian kings were not uncontested. "Kings", after all, were but Scandinavian chieftains who had adopted a new network for authority in a region still competitive for influence.[44] However, this new system, unlike the old, recognized a single ruler as "the leader and protector of Christianity".[45] There is only one God and there is only one king. The reaction of the chieftains to the Christian system varied from region to region. Two options presented themselves: baptism and submission or a stance of independence and pagan resistance. Acceptance of Christianity was also accepting the status of being subject to the king, and, thus, the spirit of independence merged with paganism as a form of political resistance.[46] However, many chieftains decided to make a "strategic change of faith".[47] Like the old system of reciprocal friendship, both chieftains and their new kings got something out of conversion. For chieftains, joining the king meant gaining his friendship, avoiding his wrath, and reaping the political and economic support therein. For kings, baptizing chieftains helped to spread their influence by incorporating their social network into the Christian fold. Conversion remained, first and foremost, a social phenomenon, and the baptism of elites followed with mass baptism of their social groups.[48] Just as Chieftains converted to create a positive relationship with the king, common folk converted to maintain the social network of their community. According to the *Hávamál*, a collection of Norse poems and sayings, losing one's social network was the worst fate a person could suffer.[49] It wasn't that people stopped believing paganism privately, but, publicly, a person belonged to their friends and social community.[50] Pre-existing Scandinavian social networks played a decisive role in the spread of Christianity and the consolidation of these many networks into a single kingship. Every region in Scandinavia formed around kings and under Christ at different rates and in different ways which reflected local political contexts. However, the trends which formed Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, sprung from a familiar social and political culture, from which they all developed.

Denmark

Denmark was the trendsetter of Scandinavia and the dominant political force for most of the Viking Age. The power of Denmark came from its population, which consistently dwarfed its

[44] Winroth, 43.
[45] Sigurðsson, chap. 7, "Religion and Power – Kings and the Christian God."
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

Scandinavian neighbours. Denmark's densely populated coastal regions hugging the Kattegat straight encompassed half of the approximately 650,000 people living in Scandinavia around the ninth century.[51] Sometime in the eighth century, due to pressures from its continental border in the South, the Danes began consolidating under "war leaders".[52] Evidence for these early centralizing rulers can be seen in the massive engineering projects of the eighth century, the Kanhave Canal and the Dannevirke[53], projects that asserted geographic control and would have required substantial resources. However, this early kingship was unstable, with partitioned inheritance and new kings elected through assemblies (*þings*).[54] The integrity of the kingdom was weak, and power remained "fluid"[55] amongst rival chieftains. One of these early Danish war leaders turned to Christianity for an edge. In 826, at the hands of Louis the Pious, exiled king Harald Klak became the first Scandinavian ruler to be baptized, along with his network of 400 supporters[56]. He joined Christendom to gather support from the Frankish network and gain an advantage over his rival, King Horik.[57] He failed to retake the kingship, but he was not the last Danish king to turn to Christianity to secure his throne.

Denmark fundamentally changed under King Harald Bluetooth (911-984). Side by side, at the king's residence in Jelling, two monuments tell the story of Harald and Denmark's conversion. The first are the Jelling Grave mounds, which Harald dedicated to his father, Gorm, after his death in 958 or 959. These graves were consciously and flagrantly pagan.[58] Filled with grave goods and richly furnished with outdated pagan fashion, Harald was gesturing to times of old. As a pagan king and a war leader of Denmark, he was using a traditional identity in asserting their independence from Christian rulers seeking to extend their influence across his border in the South.[59] Already, Frankish and German missionaries, like Ansgar of Corvey, christened as the "Apostle of the North"[60], had been carrying out missions into Denmark from their seat at Hamburg-Bremen. Harald's ohmage to paganism was about securing his network by associating

[51] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 1, "The Powerful Danish Kings – Haral, Svein, and Cnut."
[52] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 1, "The Powerful Danish Kings – South Scandinavia: The Realm of the Danish Kings."
[53] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 1, "The Powerful Danish Kings – South Scandinavia: The Realm of the Danish Kings."
[54] Sigurðsson, chap. 1, "The Powerful Danish Kings – South Scandinavia: The Realm of the Danish Kings."
[55] Winroth, 157.
[56] Garipzanov, 12.
[57] Tracey Marie Legel, "The Introduction of Christianity to Scandinavia" (M.A. thesis., University of Louisville, 2006), 20.
[58] Winroth, 112-3.
[59] Winroth., 113.
[60] Legel, "The Introduction of Christianity to Scandinavia," 24.

his dynasty with tradition and enacting "a conscious attempt at building community"[61] to resist Christianity. Yet, in a few short years, Harald's strategy changed.

The second monument is the Jelling Stone. Deliberately laced at the exact midpoint between the two grave mounds, this runestone tells Harald's own story. Below a gloriously crafted depiction of Christ, it reads: "King Harald had this monument made in memory of his father Gorm and in memory of his mother Thyre; that Harald who won for himself all Denmark and Norway, and made the Danes Christian".[62] Harald changed his alignment to the Christian world and did so with just as much flair as when he defended paganism. His motivations, however, remained the same. This was about guarding his influence and independence from rival powers. Unlike Harald Klak, Bluetooth would not be under the sway or obligation of another ruler giving him the gift of Christianity. As the first ruling Christian in Scandinavia, it was not Germans that gave him Christianity or converted the Danes, it was Harald himself and Harold alone. In styling himself as the converter of the Danes, he signaled his authority over the kingdom and the Danish church to come.[63] He further established garrisons throughout Denmark[64] and outlawed paganism in the mid-960s CE[65], until there was no room left for rival chieftains or religions. As Dr. Winroth puts it, for the first time there was "a king *of* Denmark, rather than a king *in* Denmark or a king *of* the Danes".[66] In 965, the Jelling stone signaled the beginning of Christian kings of Northern Europe, and a consolidation process that built the first and most dominant Scandinavian state.

Sweden

In contrast to Denmark, Sweden was the slowest kingdom to consolidate and convert in the North. This was not for lack of interest or effort. Sweden developed kingship early on[67], but the region was chronically fractious. The area known as "Sweden" was divided amongst two peoples: the Swedes of Mälaren and the Geats in Götaland.[68] These regions and people were split by a vast forested area between them, dampening communication and cohesion. Despite the Swedes developing kingship early on, their authority was diluted by various chieftains that held

[61] Winroth, 13.
[62] Winroth, 114.
[63] Winroth, 151.
[64] Winroth, 145.
[65] Winroth, 151.
[66] Winroth, 145.
[67] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 2, "Kings and Chieftains – Geats and Swedes."
[68] Sigurðsson, chap. 2, "Kings and Chieftains – Geats and Swedes."

sway. As early as 827, a year after King Harold Klak's conversion, King Björn of Sweden invited Louis the Pious to send a mission to his realm[69], likely to gain his favour and support. This mission was led by Ansgar of Corvey, the most famous of the North's "missionary pioneers"[70]. In the first of his two evangelizing missions, Ansgar and his companion, Witmar, set sail for the town of Birka on a merchant ship in 829.[71] They were almost immediately attacked by pirates and had to swim to safety. Although Ansgar and Witmar eventually make it to Birka, founding a church and returning home safely[72], the dangers of conversion were present to see. The mission of Birka would be destroyed by an anti-Christian riot in 839.[73] The early kings of the Swedes could not protect missionaries or effectively promote Christianization without popular support, and anti-Christian sentiment flared up into violence. In 852, when Ansgar asked to return to Birka on a second mission, the new King Olaf communed a counsel of chieftains to determine if he should permit him. They cast lots to see if the Norse gods favoured it[74], and, after he had secured their support, the king then convened the *þing* of Birka, which also gave consent. These meetings and councils demonstrate how diluted the king of the Swedes' power was at this time. It also demonstrates a crucial trend amongst all Scandinavian kings, which was the need to rule with "the greatest possible consensus surrounding their choices".[75] So long as the king and his supporters were weak, the balance of power between chieftains was maintained and Christianization was out of the king's control.

Following Ansgar's missions to Birka, conversion in Sweden lapses into a long period of infighting and disorder. Sources are not always in agreement as to what occurred during this time, but they share a narrative of political violence, and "an epic struggle between Christianity and paganism".[76] The Swedish kingdom had not yet come together. It appears that missionary kings used violence when persuasion failed to turn chieftains to their side. This narrative of a religious war reflects the tendency amongst chroniclers and saga writers to paint Christianization as a war of black and white, the great battle between heathenism and Christendom. The imagination is fueled by the presence of Uppsala, a pagan site like no other, and an apparent stronghold of the

[69] Legel, 75.
[70] Winroth, 104.
[71] Winroth, 103.
[72] Legel, 76.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Sigurðsson, chap. 2 "Kings and Chieftains – Geats and Swedes."
[75] Ibid.
[76] Winroth, 117.

old faith. While pagan resistance continued to flourish in central Sweden among stubborn chieftains[77], Christian kings tried to bring them to heel.

King Olaf Skötkonung (990-1022) was the first Christian king of Sweden[78] and the most zealous of the missionary kings trying to pacify the realm. He aligned himself with the Christian authority of Hamburg-Bremen, rigorously sought to convert his subjects, and attempted to destroy the temple of Uppsala.[79] The pagans did not yield. Ultimately, Olaf and his disgruntled subjects gathered at a *þing*, in which the king's religious authorities were restrained, not the other way around. Olaf was permitted to build churches, enabling the worship of Christianity to continue, but the king was prohibited from enforcing conversion any further.[80] This settlement continued to slow Christianization and Swedish kings were not able to consolidate a religious monopoly. In 1080, King Inge the Elder would continue where Skötkonung left off, outlawing sacrifices at Uppsala and attempting to destroy it.[81] He was defeated and banished by an anti-Christian uprising, who crucially asserted that Inge had failed in his religious duties as king by not performing the necessary sacrifices to gods.[82] Kingship had obligations to pagans too.

Although Inge later returned and finally defeated pagan opposition, Swedish kingship struggled to gain an advantage over the various obstinate authorities of their realm. When dealing with Christianization, the violent conflict between kings and pagan holdouts reflected "raw realities of power".[83] Without the willing support of local chieftains joining kings in "friendship", the introduction of Christianity was a centuries-long conflict between irreconcilable positions. Christian Kings could not perform the rites heathens required or facilitate the autonomy chieftains demanded, and kings would accept nothing less than their conversion, and thus, subjugations. Friendship was impossible when chieftains decided not to convert willingly. While Sweden eventually consolidated and Christianized, it was the last of the three kingdoms to do so, with no glorious conversion moment, or mass baptism in religious fellowship. Instead of bringing the chiefdoms together, cultural networks drove the country apart.

[77] Legel, 85.
[78] Legel, 82.
[79] Legel, 84.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Legel, 86.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Winroth, 118.

Norway

Perhaps the most impressive and dynamic success story of Scandinavia is the development of Norway. The chiefdoms of this Northernmost region were the least centralized, the most sparsely spread, and lacked the early kingships of Denmark and Sweden. And yet, between the ninth and twelfth centuries, this nation would be built and defined by charismatic, well-travelled kings, both pagan and Christian. These kings shaped the political and religious developments of Norway and influenced the political order of the whole of Scandinavia.

The first king to consolidate Norway was the pagan Harald Fairhair. From his domain in Vestfold, Harald conquered chieftain by chieftain, and made a critical alliance with the earls of Lade, securing the key territories of Trøndelag.[84] At the battle of Hafrsfjord in 880, Harald defeated the chieftains of Vestlandet, carving out a burgeoning kingdom in the western counties and fjords of Norway. Harald was a pagan through and through, but made great gains through the old Norse ways, garnering him support and influential connections in an expanding network. His son, Erik Bloodaxe, married Harald Bluetooth's sister[85], while his other son, Håkon "Adalsteinfostre", was fostered in the court of King Æthelstan of England. When Harold sent Håkon to a Christian court, he certainly knew baptism would follow. In sending Håkon to Æthelstan, Harold built a personal friendship with the English king and a bridge between Christianity and Norway.[86] When Håkon returned to Norway and took the throne from his brother, Erik, he did so as a Christian.[87]

The first Norse Christian king had a simple goal: introduce the English model to Norway. Having been raised Christian and under English organization, Håkon sought to imitate their centralized institution, to turn his inheritance of "an overgrown chiefdom" that stretched across Vestlandet"[88], into a kingdom. It was essential to consolidate if Norway and his kingship were to survive. After developing his *hirð,* his retinue of warriors and managers, he reformed the kingdom in three ways. Firstly, he replaced the democratic and grand gathering of the *aþing* with regional *lawthings*[89], which effectively isolated chieftains. This strengthened the king's ability to

[84] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 2, "Kings and Chieftains – The Kingdoms of Vestlandet."
[85] Sigurðsson, chap 2. "Kings and Chieftains – The Kingdoms of Vestlandet."
[86] Jón Viðar Siguðsson, "Conversion and Identity in the Viking Age: Conversion and Identity in the Viking-Age North: Some Afterthoughts" *Parergon* 34, no.2 (2017): 229.
[87] Sigurðsson, chap. 2, "Kings and Chieftains – The Kingdoms of Vestlandet."
[88] Ibid.
[89] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 2, "Lawthings, the Naval Levy, and Christianity."

negotiate and establish new laws separately, laying the foundation for royal law. The second reform was a naval levy, the *leidangð*, modeled off the system of Alfred the Great.[90] While it remained largely organized by local chieftains, it strengthened Håkon's defenses against Danish incursion and continued to develop into a royally administered system.[91] Finally, in 934, he attempted to introduce Christianity.[92] Despite importing English bishops[93] and making headway in his core of Vestlandet[94], Håkon met fierce opposition from his chieftains. He became the first king to propagate and apostatize Christ. But his reign did not last. Seeing this new Norway as a threat, Harald Bluetooth deposed Håkon and supported the sons of Erik Bloodaxe to the throne.[95] Although Håkon failed to make Norway Christian, he converted its institutions to an English model, tilling the ground for further consolidation and Christianization under future kings.

Two kings fulfilled what Håkon could not. Both were named Olaf, and, like Håkon, both were converted abroad. Olaf Tryggvason gained his fame, his fortune, and his faith, as a viking raiding the Baltic and North Sea. Alongside Svein Forkbeard, the Christian king of the Danes, Olaf attacked England and pressured king Ethelred into making a settlement. In 994, they exacted a *danegeld*, a war-ransom, of sixteen thousand pounds. At the same time, King Ethelred baptised Olaf, bringing him prestige and a new network.[96] Olaf now had "two kinds of capital he could spend to gain followers: silver and Christianity".[97] With this new wealth, Olaf returned to Norway and confronted the pagan king Håkon Sigurdsson.

Like Harald Bluetooth before his conversion, King Håkon had attempted to consolidate power in the old ways, promoting paganism by building temples and expanding his social network through gift-giving giving until he became known as "the generous chieftain".[98] In 995, Olaf and Håkon confronted each other, rallying support using their wealth and religious networks. They used the same techniques, but Olaf's were more effective.[99] Håkon's supporters flocked to Olaf's side. This was thanks to his loot, but also his religious fellowship. His network extended

[90] Sigurðsson, chap. 2, "Lawthings, the Naval Levy, and Christianity."
[91] Ibid.
[92] Winroth, 115.
[93] Sigurðsson, chap. 2, Lawthings, the Naval Levy, and Christianity."
[94] Ibid.
[95] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 2, "The Earls of Lade."
[96] Winroth, 115.
[97] Winroth, 143.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

to the kings of England and beyond. Christianity was paying dividends for Olaf, which explains why the next five years of his rule would be dedicated to the destruction of paganism and the promotion of Christianity. He broke down temples and outlawed sacrifice, doing the work of a missionary king, but also an ambitious man.[100] In annihilating paganism, he persevered his advantage and uprooted the religious networks of his enemies. In the year 1000, Svein Forkbeard turned on his former viking-ally and invaded Norway with the help of the king of Sweden, Olof Skötkonung, and the pagan Earl Erik, defeating King Olaf at the battle of Svolder.[101] Olaf's rise and fall proved that Christianization had never been about piety. Christian kings fought Christian kings and allied with pagans when they felt their power was under threat. The Christian network had grown across Scandinavia, but its threads were overlapping into each other's domains.

The king to secure Norway's kingship and Christian identity would do so at the cost of his life. Olaf II Haraldsson was baptised in Rouen, Normandy, in the winter of 1013-1014.[102] A distant member of the Fairhair dynasty, he returned to Norway to play for the throne and met with Earl Svein Håkonsson in the sea battle of Nesjar in 1016.[103] According to an eyewitness, Sigvat Throdarson, Olaf conquered through his generous reputation which preceded him. Men flocked to Olaf's banner as the "generous leader", while the forces of "friendless" Svein, who "saved his wealth", dwindled and died away.[104] Despite being Christian, Olaf II could still play the dynamics of Viking Age gift-giving politics, and his rule reflects a much gentler integration of Christianity into Norse norms. He was organized, introducing Christianity by laws rather than arms. In 1024, at the *þing* in Moster, he helped to establish the church of Norway, and he further established a law code that promoted Christian rituals and prohibited pagan practices.[105] To make the transition easier, he is supposed to have preserved the traditions of beer feasts, integrating the practice by blessing the beer and making toasts "in honour of Christ and the Blessed Virgin for good years and peace".[106] Despite playing his cards well, entrenched pagans joined Cnut of Denmark in deposing Olaf II, who fled to Russia in 1028.[107] When he returned to regain his throne, he died in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030.[108] While being popular in life, Olaf

[100] Ibid.
[101] Sigurðsson, chap 2. "The Earls of Lade."
[102] Winroth, 116.
[103] Winroth., 41.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Legel, 46.
[106] Ibid., 46-7.
[107] Winroth, 116.
[108] Ibid.

II became folklore in death. His attempt to retake the throne from Danish interference was seen as a story of Norwegian independence; he became a national hero. His passion for Christianity became part of that spirit of independence[109], entwining Christian and national identity. In 1041, Olaf became the patron saint of Norway, and "only the Virgin Mary was more popular".[110] Christianity was now part and parcel to the Norwegian identity. According to Karen Larsen, by 1030, "any return to the old faith was out of the question".[111] The cult of Saint Olaf unified Norway under the banner of divine kingship, creating a kingdom to rival that of the Danes and the Swedes.

Conclusion

At the Göta River, two meetings took place which marked the end of the Viking Age social arms race. The first was in 1041, when the son of Olaf II, Magnus the Good, made an agreement with Harthcanut of Denmark. The rivals agreed to inherit each other's kingdoms in the event of each other's death, drawing up the borders of their kingdoms, and apparently leaving as friends.[112] The second was in 1101, when the three kings of Scandinavia finalized the first official borders of their kingdoms.[113] Not only did these face-to-face meetings formalize the formation of the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, they also recognized them as peers. The new reality of Scandinavia was not one of many chieftains competing over social networks, but one of stable monarchies with recognized domains of influence and under the same religious fellowship. Although the fluidity of paganism and gift-friendship was over, it was from this competitive environment that local warlords became feudal kings, striving to formalize their networks into nations. Christianization and consolidation went hand in hand: "Just as there could be only one God and one church, there could be only one king."[114]

[109] Legel, 48.
[110] Sigurðsson, *Scandinavia in the Age of Vikings*, chap. 7, "Religion and Power – St. Olaf."
[111] Legel, 48.
[112] Sigurðsson, chap. 2, "The Earls of Lade."
[113] Ibid.
[114] Winroth, 160.

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Greek Fire: Medieval Superweapon or Psychology?

Matthew M. Bouthillier

The incendiary weapon system known as "Greek fire" is perhaps one of the most mysterious lost technologies which modern science cannot replicate. Consisting of a highly volatile liquid (the exact composition of which is unknown), ignited and projected by an apparatus referred to as a "siphon" onto enemy ships. According to medieval sources, this weapon produced a rather dramatic display of clouds of thick black smoke, and a thundering roar accompanied by intense flames. While Greek fire has been traditionally regarded by some historians as a medieval "superweapon", its apparently devastating effect on enemy fleets may have been more psychological than physical. If one examines accounts of Greek fire being used against the fleet of Thomas "the Slav" in 823, the Kievan Rus in 941, the Scythians in 1043 and Pisans in 1099, a pattern emerges in which after the Byzantine fleet manages to set some of the enemy ships ablaze, the rest of the enemy fleet flees. Since the siphon may have had a short range and Greek fire could only be used under ideal conditions, it may have been used more to frighten the enemy rather than inflict serious damage.

In modern times Greek fire has acquired a reputation as a kind of medieval "superweapon" (i.e. - something devastating and effective that outclasses other available technology of the time). Whenever it is discussed or mentioned on television network shows, Greek fire is often described as being a very "powerful" and "effective" weapon. For example, in season six, episode seven of the series *The Unexplained*, "Strange Technology", there is a segment of the show which discusses Greek fire. At one point it is stated that Greek fire was an "effective weapons system."[1] However, these shows often do not provide specific examples of battles in which Greek fire was used. They also fail to discuss any technical challenges that it may have posed for the Byzantine crews. Author of the *A Song of Ice and Fire* series George R.R. Martin once stated in an interview that Greek fire was the inspiration behind the powerful incendiary

[1] "The Unexplained: Greek Fire Is Every Sailor's Deadly Nightmare," posted December 29, 2023, by History (Channel), YouTube, 3 min., 15 sec., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0CvNL4k140.

weapon referred to in the series as "wildfire".[2] This raises the question if Greek fire was really the "effective" and "powerful" weapon it has been made out to be.

The use of incendiaries in warfare is nothing new and is possibly as old as warfare itself. Assyrian bas-reliefs show incendiaries being used in sieges of towns in the ninth-century BCE, torches, lighted with tow, burning pitch, and fire-pots being thrown down on the attacking troops.[3] According to Herodotus, the Persians used arrows tipped with burning tow in their capture of Athens by Xerxes in 480 BCE.[4] However, what made Greek fire unique compared to these earlier incendiaries was its extreme volatility and means of being projected via a flamethrower-like apparatus, known as a "siphon". Many Byzantine sources state it was able to burn on water and some even claim that it ignited when it came into contact with water.[5] Apparently, the only effective methods of extinguishing it were either strong vinegar, old urine, sand or felt repeatedly soaked in vinegar and dried.[6]

Since the recipe for the liquid component of Greek fire has been lost, there has been much speculation and conjecture over its possible chemical composition and method of preparation. Most historians agree that it is likely Greek fire was either derived from, or contained petroleum. Crude oil was known to the ancient and medieval Mediterranean world, seeping to the surface in naturally occurring wells around the Black and Caspian Seas in a form referred to as "naphtha".[7] According to the *De Administrado Imperio*, locals dug shallow wells to lift it out more conveniently, and even lists localities where there are "wells yielding naphtha".[8] However, naphtha on its own does not ignite when it comes into contact with water (a distinct feature of Greek fire). Therefore, it must have been distilled or refined somehow, possibly with other ingredients added to give Greek fire its desired characteristics.[9] Such a liquid would have had properties unlike anything found in nature, and may have resembled something like a

[2] Josh Roberts, "Game of Thrones' Exclusive! George R.R. Martin Talks Season two, 'The Winds of Winter,' and Real-World Influences for 'A Song of Ice and Fire'," Smartertravel, April 1, 2012, https://www.smartertravel.com/game-of-thrones-exclusive-george-r-r-martin-talks-season-two-the-winds-of-winter-and-real-world-influences-for-a-song-of-ice-and-fire/.
[3] J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1.
[4] Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*, 1.
[5] Alex Roland, "Secrecy, Technology, and War: Greek Fire and the Defense of Byzantium, 678-120" *Technology and culture* 33, no. 4 (1992): 657.
[6] John Pryor, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ: The Byzantine Navy Ca 500-1204* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 619.
[7] Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 325.
[8] Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, 325.
[9] Partington, xxii.

kerosene or gasoline.[10] Other ingredients such as sulphur, tree resins, pitch, saltpetre and quicklime have also been proposed.[11]

Another element of the mystery of Greek fire is the exact workings and operation of the apparatus used to project (and possibly ignite) the volatile liquid, referred to as a "siphon". What has made it difficult for scholars to understand how the siphon may have been constructed or operated is that sources are quite vague in describing the device. In the military treatise by emperor Leo VI, *Taktika*, gives a rather brief description of the siphon, noting that in a navy each ship, "By all means, it should have a siphon, bound in bronze, and place up front on the prow, as is customary, so that it can project the prepared fire against the enemy."[12] In the *De Administrado Imperio*, by Constantine VII, a passage recounting a myth regarding the origins Greek fire briefly alludes to the siphon using pipes or tubes.[13] Since Greek fire was a closely guarded state secret, it is understandable why descriptions of the siphon provide so little information. It is likely that the siphon had some sort of manually operated pump, as pumps and pistons were well known to the ancient and medieval Greeks.[14] Some accounts claim that the liquid had to be heated prior to firing.[15] Meaning the machine may have had pots or containers of Greek fire kept heated by fires below the ship's deck.[16] By the reign of emperor Leo VI, the Byzantines had developed a handheld version called *cheriosphones* for siege warfare. In his military treatise on defence against sieges, *De obsidione toleranda*, emperor Leo VI wrote that if the enemy has built siege engines the defending commander should, "prepare pine touches, tow and pitch and *cheriosphones* to burn them."[17]

There is even uncertainty surrounding who exactly invented Greek fire or how the Byzantines came up with it. According to the Byzantine monk and chronicler, Theophanes the

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Jonathan Harris, *The lost world of Byzantium* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2015) 88; Bruce Heydt, "The Lost Secret of Greek Fire" *Military History* Vol. 23. no. 2 (2006): 48, https://ezproxy.library.dal.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/lost-secret-greek-fire/docview/212672048/se-2?accountid=10406.
[12] Leo IV, *Constitution* 19.6 in *The Taktika of Leo VI*, ed. George T. Dennis (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 505.
[13] Constantine VII, *De Administrando Imperio* 48 in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Romilly James Heald Jenkins (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemi, 1949), 227.
[14] John Pryor, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ: The Byzantine Navy Ca 500-1204*, 622.
[15] Luttwak, 325.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Pryor, *The Age of the* ΔΡΟΜΩΝ, 619.

Confessor, a man named Kallinkos of Heliopolis who had recently escaped from Arab conquerors in Syria, brought his new weapon to the emperor:[18]

> At that time Kallinkos, an architect from Heliopolis in Syria, took refuge with the Romans and manufactured a naval fire with which he kindled the ships of the Arabs and turned them with their crews. In this way the Romans came back in victory and acquired the naval fire.[19]

The Byzantines also had a number of myths and stories regarding the origins of Greek fire. Including one legend which claimed the secret of Greek fire was given to Constantine the Great by an angel of God.[20] Greek fire was a closely guarded state secret and the Church even threatened anathemas against anyone who revealed its secrets.[21]

The historian Alex Roland speculates that the production of Greek fire might have even been highly compartmentalized.[22] The idea being that no one person would know enough to reveal the secrets of the entire system, especially if captured by the enemy. Supposedly no one but the emperor and one other family member knew the whole system.[23] However, it should be noted that the Byzantines themselves never called it "Greek fire". The term was coined by Crusaders during the First Crusade who basically applied it to any incendiary weapon they encountered.[24] Arab, Bulgarian and Russian sources often refer to it as "Roman Fire".[25] The Byzantines had a variety of names for it including "marine fire", "liquid fire", "prepared fire", and "artificial fire".[26]

While numerous Byzantine authors discuss Greek fire, such as Theophanes the Confessor, emperor Leo VI and Constantine VII, John Scylitzes, John Kinnamos, and Anna Komnene.

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[18] Roland, "Secrecy, Technology, and War," 655.
[19] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6165 in *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, eds. Cyril A. Mango, Roger Scott, and Geoffrey Greatrex (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 494
[20] Heydt, "The Lost Secret of Greek Fire," 48.
[21] Robert Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement: A Historical Perspective A.D. 330-1453* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 279.
[22] Alex Roland, *The Technological Fix: Weapons and the Cost of War* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1995), xii.
[23] Roland, *The Technological Fix: Weapons and the Cost of War*, xii.
[24] John Haldon, Warfare, State And Society In The Byzantine World 560-1204 (London: Routledge, 1999), 138.
[25] Roland, "Secrecy, Technology, and War," 657.
[26] Roland, 657.

However, the problem with these accounts is that only a few provide detailed descriptions of Greek fire being used at sea. Our main source on the early uses of Greek fire, such as the sieges of Constantinople in 674 and 717 by the Arab fleets comes from the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor. Unfortunately, Theophanes does not provide much detail, often describing an entire battle in only a few sentences. The military treaties *Taktika* by Leo VI and the *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII briefly discuss Greek fire at certain points, but neither provide specific examples of it being used in battle. While the twelfth-century Byzantine historian, John Kinnamos, gives an extensive account of the reigns of emperors John and Manuel Komnenos, he offers only a single account of an unsuccessful attempt by the Byzantines to use Greek fire against the Venetians in 1170.[27]

Probably the most detailed account of Greek fire's use in sea battles comes from the eleventh-century Byzantine historian, John Scylitzes. In his work known as the *Madrid Skylitzes*, he describes it being used against the Kievan Rus in 941, the Scythians in 1043, and the fleet of Thomas "The Slav" in 823. The Byzantine princess and scholar, Anna Komnene in book eleven of *The Alexiad*, provides a detailed account of Greek fire being used against Pisan raiders towards the end of the First Crusade.[28]

Scylitzes gives an account of Greek fire being used against the Kievan Rus during the siege of Constantinople in 941. The siege was led by prince Igor of Kiev and Oleg "the wise".[29] A Patrician named Theophanes was given control of the Byzantine fleet, sailing to meet the Rus' fleet at Hieron.[30] Scylitzes describes the disorder Greek fire caused the Rus fleet:

> Waiting for the right moment [Theophanes] attacked in full force and threw them into disorder. Many of their vessels were reduced to cinders with Greek fire while the rest were utterly routed. The surviving Russians passed over to the eastern shore and turned towards the spot called Sgora.[31]

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[27] Ioannes Kinnamos, Book 6.10. in *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus: By John Kinnamos*. trans. Charles M. Brand. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 212.
[28] Anna Komnene, 11.10.4. in *The Alexaid*, ed. Elizabeth A.S. Dawes (Cambridge, ON: Parentheses Publications, 2000), 207/208.
[29] Pryor, 384.
[30] John Scylitzes, Chapter 10.31 in *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 221.
[31] Scylitzes, Chapter 10.31 in *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, 221.

Igor ordered his own ship to sail to the north, its shallow draught allowed it to keep close inshore where there was no likelihood of pursuit.[32] Most of the Rus found themselves cut off before they could follow and took refuge on the Asian shore, where some months later they were mopped up by the returning Byzantine army.[33] After this Igor returned to Kiev, abandoning the greater part of his forces.[34] Later a treaty was signed between Constantinople and the Rus in 944.[35] The Russians agreed to the revised terms of the treaty, losing their exemption from customs duties.[36]

The Kievan Rus tried to besiege Constantinople again in July of 1043. According to Scylitzes, up until that point the Byzantines and Rus had been at peace and, "without fear sent merchants to each other".[37] However, a dispute arose between the Byzantines and Scythian merchants, with the Grand Prince of Kiev, Vladimir (Iaroslav), declaring war after a prominent Scythian was murdered.[38] The commander Basil Theodorokanos was sent out by the emperor (Constantine IX) to confront the Scythians.[39] Scylitzes describes Basil's use of Greek fire against the Scythians and their reaction:

> He took the ships and approached the Scyth[ian]s; he did not, however, taunt them with skirmishing but himself sailed right into the midst of them, burned seven vessels with Greek fire and sunk three more of them, together with their crews … They [the Skythians] asked themselves … if they had suffered such losses resisting only three hostile ships, what would they suffer if they were obliged to join battle with the entire fleet? They decided to beat a retreat… [40]

According to Scylitzes, after remainder of the fleet retreated, sailing into waters with reefs and submerged rocks, "on which most of their vessels foundered."[41] Afterwards, the Byzantines hastened to seal the place with an imperial marriage alliance, and even paid reparations.[42]

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[32] Jonathan Harris, *The lost world of Byzantium*, 110.
[33] Harris, 110.
[34] Scylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, 221.
[35] Timothy E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Pub, 2005), 232.
[36] Harris, 110.
[37] Scylitzes, Chapter 21.6., 404.
[38] Scylitzes, Chapter 21.6., 405.
[39] Scylitzes, 405.
[40] Scylitzes, 406.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines*. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 43.

Scylitzes also gives an account of Greek fire being used against the fleet of Thomas "the Slav", who led an unsuccessful coup against emperor Michael II in 821-823.[43] The last of the great thematic rebellions, the reasons for Thomas' revolt have been attributed to his position against the Iconoclasm as well as his personal ambitions.[44] Scylitzes describes that panic of Thomas' fleet the sudden attack of Greek fire:

> So sudden was the attack that they were able to capture several panic-stricken vessels, crews and all, and to burn other ships with Greek fire. A few escaped from the disaster altogether and hastened to gain the gulf at Blachernae where they could join the land army, which they succeeded in doing.[45]

After Thomas' fleet was defeated by the Imperial Navy, he sought refuge in the town of Bizyes (Arkadiopolis).[46] In mid-October of 823, he was handed over to the emperor and executed.[47]

Another detailed account of Greek fire being used at sea comes from the *Alexiad*, written by the Byzantine princess and scholar Anna Komnene. In book eleven, she describes a major encounter between the Byzantine fleet and the Pisans on their way East for the First Crusade in 1099.[48] Upon receiving reports of the Pisans pillaging the Ionian Islands, emperor Alexios I, constructed a new fleet armed with "Liquid" fire.[49] The new fleet was entrusted to the general Tatikios and a Latin mercenary named Landulf.[50] In the account, Anna describes the Pisan's alarm due to their unfamiliarity with Greek fire:

> The barbarians [Pisans] now became thoroughly alarmed, firstly because of the fire directed upon them (for they were not accustomed to that kind of machine, nor to a fire, which naturally flames upwards, but in this case was directed in whatever direction the

[43] Elizabeth Jeffreys, John F. Haldon, and Robin. Cormack. *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 265.
[44] Paul A. Hollingsworth and Anthony Cutler, "Thomas the Slav." in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5480.
[45] Scylitzes, 3.10., 40.
[46] Scylitzes, 3.13., 42.
[47] Hollingsworth and Cutler, "Thomas the Slav."
[48] Pryor, 110.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

> sender desired, often downwards or laterally) and secondly they were much upset by the storm, and consequently they fled.[51]

Although Anna does not specify how much of the Pisan fleet was destroyed, she does note they became alarmed before fleeing. A problem with these sources is that they very rarely provide numerical data (i.e. - the size of the two opposing fleets, the number ships lost by either side, or the number of enemy ships which escaped, etc.). Often stating that "many" or "some" of the enemy fleet was burned, and "a few" or "the rest" escaped. Occasionally they give an extremely exaggerated size of the enemy fleet. For example, Scylitzes claims that in 941 the Rus began their assault on the city with a fleet of "10,000" ships.[52]

If some of these accounts of Greek fire are to be believed, it would appear that it was a very effective weapon indeed. Some medieval sources like Theophanes and others even seem to suggest that Greek fire was the sole reason for the Byzantine's victory.[53] However, if one examines accounts which provide detailed descriptions of battles, such as from John Scylitzes or Anna Komnene. A pattern emerges in which after the Byzantines manage to set "some" (or "many") of the enemy ships on fire, the rest of the enemy fleet soon retreats. This means that it is possible that an element of Greek fire's effectiveness was largely psychological.

To the Arab fleets and other enemies of the Byzantines who had never encountered Greek fire before, it would have been terrifying. Many first-hand accounts of its use describe the appearance of black smoke, and a loud boom or roaring sound when the flaming liquid left the tube of the siphon.[54] One crusader wrote in 1248: "Every man touched by it believed himself lost; every ship attacked with it was devoured by flames".[55] According to the historian Jonathan Harris, for the Arab fleets Greek fire might have had a demoralizing effect and may have influenced their decision to withdraw.[56] Even if an enemy had encountered Greek fire before, there was no effective way to counter it or protect themselves against it. The flames were almost impossible to put out, burning on the water and putting any ships what they attached themselves

[51] Anna Komnene, 11.10.4., *The Alexaid*, 207/208.
[52] Scylitzes, 10.31., 221.
[53] Pryor, 384.
[54] Roland, 658.
[55] Adrienne Mayor, *Greek Fire, Poison Arrows and Scorpion Bombs:Unconventional Warfare in the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), 268.
[56] Harris, 88.

to in danger of being swiftly engulfed.[57] John Kinnamos reports that when the Venetians tried to attack Constantinople in 1170, they covered the sides of their ships with cloths soaked in vinegar as a means to protect their ships against the "liquid" fire.[58]

Even in the Middle Ages, Greek fire's reputation as a "super weapon" seems to have grown to a point where everyone wanted to know its secrets. The tenth-century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII wrote to this son Romanos II, stating that "foreigners" often ask Constantinople for three things: "Greek fire, imperial regalia and imperial brides (born of the purple). On no occasion were these to be granted, except in the case of marrying an imperial princess to a Frank."[59] Being the only ones to possess the technology seems to have afforded the Byzantines a degree of prestige. John Kinnamos gives us an account of the Seljuk sultan, Arslan II, being treated to a customary demonstration of "liquid" fire, upon his visit to Constantinople in 1162.

While Greek fire's effectiveness may have laid largely in its psychological effect on the enemy, it may have also posed serious technical challenges for the Byzantine crews. For example, it also appears that Greek fire could only be used under ideal weather conditions. John Scylitzes, gives an account of a sea battle between the Byzantines and Esman, the emir of Tarsus, in which the Byzantines had to wait for weather conditions to improve before they were able to use Greek fire against the enemy fleet.[60] Historians like Alex Roland have noted that Greek fire could have been just as dangerous to the crew as the enemy. Despite the fact that the siphon would have lacked modern pressure gauges or safety valves, there is no account of a ship ever exploding.[61] Some scholars have even questioned the precise range of the siphon. Edward N. Luttwak has argued that the siphon may have had a relatively short range, meaning the Byzantines had to be in close proximity to the enemy ships.[62] Historians John Haldon and Maurice Byrne, who have attempted reconstructions of the siphon, have noted that even with heating the liquid prior to fighting, the range was only about fifteen meters.[63] Anna Komnene's account of Greek fire being used against the Pisans during the First Crusade states that the Byzantine ships had to draw close

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ioannes Kinnamos, Book 6.10., *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus,* 212.
[59] Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 142.
[60] Scylitzes, 6.29., 147.
[61] Roland, 663.
[62] Luttwak, 326.
[63] John Burke, ed., *Byzantine narrative: papers in honour of Roger Scott* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 311.

to the Pisan ships before throwing fire at them.[64] Having such a short range would have meant that Greek fire would have been ineffective to an enemy ship that was out or range.[65] This appears to have been the case in John Kinnamos' account of Greek fire being used against the Venetians in 1170. He notes that the "median" fire was ineffective because the Venetian ships were out of range.[66] Which raises the question, in cases where the Byzantine fleet was able to set fire to "some" (or "many") of the enemy ships. Why then did the rest of the fleet, which was well out of range (and therefore out of danger) flee? As we have seen in the primary source material, although Greek fire had its technical limitations, it nonetheless produced shock and awe in the enemy. It is likely that not just the sight of the smoke and flames, and sound of the thunderous roar, but also the sight of their own ships and fellow sailors getting burned frightened them and prompted them to sail away. In that case, it would appear that Greek fire's real effectiveness in battle laid not so much in the physical destruction it could inflict, but rather the emotional response it caused in the enemy. It is also important to keep in mind that in conflicts were Greek fire was used, it was likely not the sole reason for Byzantine victory as some sources and even some historians have suggested. For example, in the various sieges of Constantinople, the city's walls and defences, as well as the quality of the Byzantine ships, and skill of the commanders and crews likely played a much larger role in securing victory.[67]

In conclusion, despite its reputation, Greek fire may have not been the medieval "superweapon" it has been made out to be. If one examines the accounts of John Scylitzes and Anna Komnene, it becomes apparent that Greek fire's effectiveness may have been its psychological effect on the enemy. Whether it be the Kievan Rus in 941, Scythians in 1043, the fleet of Thomas "the Slav", or the Pisans in 1099. A reoccurring pattern emerges in which after the Byzantines manage to set "some" of the enemy ships on fire, the remainder of the fleet flees. While many accounts provide rather dramatic descriptions of thick clouds of black smoke, a thunderous roar and flames. In reality Greek fire may have been rather impractical and posed technical challenges for the Byzantine crews. The siphon itself may have had a very short range and had to be used in favorable weather. This raises the question of why the rest of the enemy fleet (out of range, and not in immediate danger) would sail away. The answer is that likely the spectacle of witnessing the smoke, roar and flames, combined with seeing their fellow ships and

[64] Komnene, 11.10.4., 207.
[65] Pryor, 384.
[66] Kinnamos, 6.10., 212.
[67] Luttwak, 337.

sailors being burned, terrified the rest of the fleet, prompting them to flee. If this was indeed the case, it would suggest that Greek fire was more of a theatrical, "terror" weapon intended to frighten the enemy, rather than a practical "superweapon" capable of wiping out an entire enemy fleet. While Greek fire was frightening to the enemy it was likely not the single cause of Byzantine victory. In the many sieges of Constantinople, its fortifications and defenses, combined with the skill of the naval commanders and sailors, likely did far more in securing victory. Being a lost technology which we cannot replicate, Greek fire has become romanticized. The mystery surrounding its composition, manufacture and precise means of being projected have only added to Greek fire's mystique.

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Byzantine Anxiety and the Crusades

Oscar Fellows

From the First Crusade to the end of the twelfth century, Byzantium was the only major Chrristian power in close proximity to the Near East. Armies fighting for the first three Crusades all passed through Byzantine territory, and Byzantium frequently involved itself in the affairs of the Crusader states. As a result, the relationship between Byzantium and the Crusaders (Or the Latins, as the Byzantines called them[1]), played a significant role in the overall development of both the Crusader states of Outremer and of the Byzantine Empire itself. This essay will examine the question as to exactly how consistent the Byzantine attitude towards the Crusaders was, and how the attitudes of the Byzantine Empire explains their interactions with the Crusaders and the Crusader states. The twelfth century was one of great upheaval for the Byzantine Empire, seeing both the height and collapse of the Komnenoi rulers of the Empire, as well as a fundamental shift in the nature of Crusading itself. By investigating the reigns of Alexios Komnenos, John Komnenos, Manuel Komnenos, and Isaac Angelos, and how they interacted with the first three Crusades and the Crusader states, one can determine that despite the very visible changes in circumstances, and the strong personalities which dominate the period, for both the Latins and the Byzantines, the actions of the Byzantine Empire reveal that there was one overarching and continuous constant in the attitudes of the Byzantines towards the Crusaders — apprehension and anxiety about the security risks that the Crusaders posed to the Empire.

A lot of ink has been spilled discussing the reasons for western European, and Crusader mistrust of the Byzantines, but in order to understand the Byzantine attitudes toward the Crusaders in the twelfth century one must first understand that this mistrust went both ways. Much of this mistrust predated the twelfth century, and permeated the Byzantine relationship with the Crusaders throughout. Past historians have placed a great deal of emphasis on the religious and cultural differences between the Greek Byzantines and the Latin Crusades, such as the inclusion of the Filioque in the Nicene Creed, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the

[1] For consistency and clarity, the term “Latin” will be used in the sense that it was meant by the Byzantines, that is, as an umbrella term which encompasses the people of Western Europe and the Western European settlers in the Crusader states — members of the Latin church of Rome. “Crusader” will be used only to refer to those actually on Crusade.

eucharist, and the cultural differences associated between the imperial structure of the Byzantine state (and aristocracy) and the feudal military aristocracy of the Latins.[2] These differences form the basis of what Jonathan Harris refers to as the "clash of civilizations" hypothesis, which argues that the Crusades brought two fundamentally irreconcilable cultures together, leading to growing hostility between the two societies over the course of the twelfth century. However, most modern historians reject this hypothesis for a variety of reasons, one of the most significant being that the Crusaders and Byzantines were able to work closely together for extended periods of time throughout the century, namely by intermarrying and serving as mercenaries.[3] More compellingly, Chris Wright argues that the reason as to why the Byzantines could never get fully behind the Crusading movement was that the very concept of Crusading diminished Byzantium's role as the "sole worldly authority and protector of the church".[4] This explains why from the very outset of the Crusades, Byzantium engaged with the concept of the Crusade on a more pragmatic level as opposed to the more ideological approaches of the Latins in Western Europe. Rather than a building crescendo of antagonism, this essay will argue against the "clash of civilizations" theory, instead suggesting that Byzantine attitude towards the Crusaders in the twelfth remained largely constant.

Even though the First Crusaders entered Byzantine territory at the invitation of the Emperor Alexios, the Emperor's past interactions with the Latins ensured that Alexios would treat the Crusaders with caution and even suspicion. The past interaction in question was the Norman invasion of the 1080s, which saw Norman armies led by Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond, the latter of whom would play a leading role in the First Crusade, attempt to conquer Byzantine territory. Guiscard first launched an invasion which conquered the last remaining Italian territories of the Byzantine Empire,[5] and then set his sights on the Balkan, wherein he and his son established a foothold in the key port city of Dyrrachium, defeating an army led by Alexios in the process.[6] Although Alexios was eventually able to dislodge the Norman conquerors from their foothold in Dyrrachium, the severe defeat that the Normans inflicted upon

[2] Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 2-4.
[3] Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 2-4.
[4] Chris Wright, "On the Margins of Christendom: The Impact of the Crusades on Byzantium" in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. Conor Kostick (London: Routledge, 2011), 61.
[5] Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of University of Harvard Press, 2006), 14.
[6] William B. McQueen, "Relations Between the Normans and Byzantium 1071-1112", *Byzantion 56*, (1986): 442.

Alexios in 1081 pointedly illustrated the dangers Latin armies posed to Byzantium and historians such as Michael Angold, have argued that in the decade prior to the First Crusade the Normans were at least as much of a threat to the Byzantine Empire as the Turks were.[7] The experiences of the 1080s undoubtedly coloured the Byzantine perception of the Crusaders in the decades that followed. In her history of her father's reign, Anna Komnene refers to the crusaders as "barbarians",[8] and while this pejorative term could be attributed to cultural prejudice (which certainly existed) it nevertheless reflects the dim view that the Byzantines took towards the Latins. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that from the outset of the First Crusade, Alexios was aware of the potential threat the Crusaders posed, namely the risk of the Latins turning on Byzantium by carving themselves kingdoms from imperial territory. When discussing Peter the Hermit, Anna makes reference to Latins who "had long coveted the Roman Empire and wished to acquire it for themselves".[9] Alexios' awareness of this risk is further supported by the actions he took to prevent it from occurring. The first step he took was extracting oaths from the Crusading leaders, wherein the leaders promised to return any territory that had once been part of the Empire to Alexios.[10] The very fact that Alexios' extracted this oath suggests that he was aware of the threat the Crusaders posed. Alexios also used the fragmented nature of the Crusaders' arrival to separate them by ferrying the earlier arrivals across to Asia minor before the later leaders arrived,[11] preventing the Crusaders from building up an army outside the walls of Constantinople. These cautious measures strongly suggest that Alexios was anxious about the threat that the Crusaders posed to the security of the Empire.

John Komnenos, the son and successor of Emperor Alexios I is often overlooked in accounts of Byzantine and Crusading history. This is somewhat understandable, as the reigns of his predecessor and successor were both longer and more eventful, as they coincided with the First and Second Crusades. However, in order to understand the Byzantine attitude towards the Crusaders, John's reign is significant as it highlights the continuity of Byzantine policy towards the West, specifically Byzantium's continual awareness of the threat posed by Crusades. Historian Johnathan Harris posits that "if there was a precise moment when it began to dawn on

[7] Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: A Political History* (New York: Longman Press, 1984), 107–109.
[8] Anna Kommene, *The Alexiad*. trans. E.R.A Sewter (London: Penguin, 2009), 276.
[9] Anna Komenene, *The Alexiad*, 279.
[10] Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London: Harper Collins, 2010), 50-52.
[11] Asbridge, *The Crusades*, 50-52.

some members of the Byzantine ruling classes that their ideology, policies and tactics were slowly alienating them from the Christians of the West, it was probably the winter of 1189-1190".[12] That is, according to Harris, it was not until the third Crusade and the arrival of the hostile Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa, that it became clear to the Byzantines that they were alienating themselves from the Latin world, and that this alienation posed a potential threat. The reign of John Komnenos undercuts this claim, as he very clearly factored in the threat they could pose to the Empire in his dealings with the Crusader states. Of particular interest is the agreement that John reached with Raymond of Antioch in the year 1137, wherein Raymond would cede Antioch to John, but only once the condition that John conquer Aleppo and give it to Raymond as compensation had been met. [13] This agreement completely undercuts the notion that the Byzantines of the early twelfth century were unaware of the potential consequences of alienating western Europe. Unlike the Crusading forces proper, as a rule the Crusader states did not pose a direct military threat to the Byzantine Empire. The distance between the Byzantine heartlands in the Balkans, combined with the obvious threat posed by the Islamicate empires immediately bordering the Crusader states, meant that even if the armies of Outremer were superior to those of Byzantium, there was no possibility of them ever being offensively deployed against the Empire. At this moment in time, it was also true that the forces of Antioch were unable to even defend themselves against John, who had just conquered the lands of Cilicia from Antioch. Therefore, it is clear that John's hesitancy about conquering the city outright was not due to any misgivings about his chances in battle, but about the political repercussions of eliminating one of the Crusader states entirely.[14] This demonstrates that the Byzantines were very much concerned about provoking a Western response, even as early as 1137/38 when it was unclear if there even could be such a thing as a Second Crusade. It is also worth considering John's exact relationship with Raymond — namely that John assumed a loose form of fealty over him, not unlike the oaths which Alexios had the Crusaders take.[15]

John's diplomatic interactions with the Latins went beyond simply avoiding outright provocations. In 1138, when Pope Innocent II publicly condemned Emperor John II for his

[12] Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 147.
[13] Anthony Kaldelis, *The New Roman Empire: A History of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024), 669.
[14] Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 120–121.
[15] Ioannes Kinnamos. *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus: By John Kinnamos*. trans. Charles M. Brand. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 24.

attempts to reincorporate Antioch into the Byzantine Empire, John responded by floating the potential for the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches.[16] This shows that the Byzantines were aware of the possibility of Latin aggression, and were actively taking steps in order to ensure that they would not be the target of a Crusade well before the end of the century. Furthermore, although Manuel I is often credited with being a unique and visionary Emperor who saw the benefits of befriending the Latins, the exchange between John and Innocent II proves that his predecessors were also capable of assessing the Latins as a threat and engaging them in diplomacy. All this goes to show that throughout John's reign, the Byzantines were acutely aware of the potential threat posed by a Crusade, and were anxious enough about it to take measures to avoid provoking one against them.

Although the reign of Manuel Komnenos is often perceived as signalling a shift in Byzantine attitudes towards the Latins there is remarkable continuity between the attitudes of Manuel and his predecessors towards Crusades. Specifically, Manuel maintained his predecessors' goal of extending Byzantine control over Outremer, most especially towards Antioch, as well as an extremely cautious approach when it came towards the Crusades themselves. That is to say, even though Manuel I has a reputation for being a Latinophile, when one takes a look at his interactions with the Crusaders and the Crusader states, it becomes clear that just as Manuel's predecessor John II was more diplomatic in his dealings with the Latins than he is often given credit for, Manuel was not as much of a Latinophile as his reputation would suggest. The most apparent way in which the Emperor Manuel interacted with the Crusaders came in 1147, during the second Crusade, when King Louis VII and Frederick Barbarossa followed in the footsteps of the first Crusade by marching their armies through the Byzantine Empire and Asia minor. It is noteworthy that one of the primary Byzantine sources for the second Crusade, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* by John Kinnamos mirrors *The Alexiad* in referring to the Latins as barbarians.[17] Although this point is relatively minor, it suggests that the view of Latins as barbarous was widespread in Byzantium (at least among the educated class), as opposed to being the result of Anna Komnena's personal biases.

The second Crusade provides an excellent piece of evidence demonstrating the

[16] Kaldelis, *The New Roman Empire*, 669.
[17] Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Commenus*, 65.

limitations of Manuel's Latinophilia. Manuel clashed with the first wave of German Crusaders under Emperor Conrad, when Manuel attempted to divert the Crusaders away from Constantinople, suggesting that they march towards Gallipoli to make the crossing over to Asia at the Dardanelles instead. Conrad resisted this suggestion and continued to march towards Constantinople, which Manuel responded to by attacking the German army, inflicting a defeat on the German Emperor.[18] This shows remarkable continuity with the policies of his grandfather in that his primary goal was to impose his authority over the Crusaders, and to ensure that they would not pose a threat to Constantinople. Just as Alexios used the wealth of the Empire and transport over to Asia as leverage over the Crusaders, Manuel used military force to extract concessions. While these are ostensibly different approaches, in both cases it is abundantly clear that the primary motivation was to preserve the territorial integrity of the Empire, and mitigate the danger that the Crusaders posed.

Another one of Manuel's most telling interactions with the Latins came when he assisted King Amalric of Jerusalem in his attempted conquest of Egypt. Manuel married a Byzantine princess to King Amalric, forming a marriage alliance, which was honoured when Manuel provided approximately two hundred ships as well as supplies in order to support King Amalric's amphibious invasion of Egypt. The invasion of Egypt was a complete failure that ended in a humiliating retreat.[19] While it is unclear whether or not the joint campaign in Egypt ever had achance of success, Kinnamos attributes the defeat to the treachery of King Amalric, who shirked his military obligations.[20] However, Manuel's eagerness to commit considerable resources in support of alliances with the Crusader states is worth investigation. While it is clear that the Kingdom of Jerusalem benefited from the alliance with Byzantium due to considerable Byzantine support in the form of money and seapower, it is less obvious what exactly Manuel gained from the alliance. Certainly, Amalric was not in a position to be providing the same kind of material support for the Byzantines, even if he was so inclined. Historian Anthony Kaldelis argues that Manuel was attempting to create a network of Latin client states in Outremer, acting as their principal benefactor.[21] By doing this Manuel temporarily supplanted the role of Western Europe as the patron of the Crusader states, rendering Crusades from Europe unnecessary, which

[18] Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 104-105.
[19] Angold, *Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, 187–188.
[20] Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Commenus*, 209.
[21] Kaldelis, 685.

in turn had the benefit of preventing additional Crusading armies from marching through Byzantine territory. Therefore, although Manuel has an excellent reputation in Latin chronicles and is perceived as a Latinophile,[22] it is very clear that he regarded the Crusaders as a threat and went to great lengths in order to mitigate the potential dangers posed by the Crusading movement, explaining his role as a patron and suzerain (at least in name) of the states of Outremer as well as his lukewarm response to the Second Crusade.

The last Emperor of major significance to the discussion of Byzantine attitudes towards the Crusades is Isaac Angelos. Although there were other Byzantine rulers in the late twelfth century, it was Isaac Angelos who was given the unenviable task of managing the passage of the third Crusade, and as such is the most relevant when answering the question of continuity in Byzantine attitudes towards the Crusaders. While the Empire had been in a relatively strong position during the passage of the first two Crusades, the passage of the third Crusade (in 1189) could hardly have come at a worse time for the Byzantines. For one thing, their diplomatic reputation with the West was at an all time low, as Isaac's predecessor Andronikos Komnenos had allowed a massacre of Italians in 1182.[23] On top of that, Isaac's status as a usurper meant that he was in a much weaker position than his Komnenoi predecessors. While the third Crusade is often correctly perceived as different to the first two in that many of the Crusading armies arrived via ship, a shift from armies which marched overland in 1097 and 1147, this apparent shift did not mean much for the Byzantine Empire. This was the case for several reasons. For starters, Richard the Lionheart demonstrated that naval passage of Crusaders could also be damaging for the Empire, as his conquest of Cyprus permanently detached the island from the Empire.[24] Of far greater significance however, was the army of Frederick Barbarossa which travelled to Palestine via the Balkans, meaning that the Byzantine Empire once again was in the unenviable position of playing host to a Crusading army. Isaac imprisoned the German ambassadors, and attempted to extract promises of loyalty and half of all captured territory from Frederick Barbarossa, much as his predecessors had done. He also deployed his army in close proximity to the German one, in order to pressure them into compliance.[25] While most of these actions (excepting the imprisonment of ambassadors) were not especially dissimilar to the

[22] Kaldelis, 684.
[23] Harris, 121-122.
[24] Asbridge, *The Crusades*, 429–430.
[25] Harris, 143-145.

approach taken by Isaac's predecessors, the outcome most assuredly was. The Germans attacked Isaac's army, defeated it, and forced him to release the German ambassadors, grant the Germans passage to Asia, and pay an indemnity.[26] The key takeaway from the story of Isaac Angelos and the third Crusade is that the Byzantine attitudes towards remained largely constant, it was the reactions of the Crusaders that changed. His attempt to impose his will on the Crusaders who passed through Byzantine territory, although unwise, reflects the same anxieties that the Kommenoi Emperors had about the Crusaders with the key change being that Isaac lacked the ability to meaningfully control the Crusaders as Alexios and Manuel did.

The fundamental undercurrent of Byzantine attitudes towards the Crusaders in the twelfth century was one of anxiety; the Crusaders were a threat to be managed as opposed to an inherent friend or foe. The differences in circumstances over time and personal character of the various Emperors sometimes resulted in different strategies being employed in order to maintain the security of the Empire: Alexios extracted oaths from the Crusaders, his son John utilised the tempting possibility of Church union, Manuel built a network of client states in Outremer, and the usurper Isaac attempted to cow the Crusaders with military force. Although these strategies had varied results, it is clear overall that the attitude towards the Crusaders themselves was remarkably consistent over the course of the twelfth century, and demonstrated anxieties about the potential for Crusades to become weaponized against the Byzantines themselves, a fear that, in spite of all the efforts taken to prevent it in the twelfth century, would become the Byzantine reality in the thirteenth.

[26] Ibid.

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Female Religious Communities in Counter-Reformation Tuscany

Fiona Wride

Female religious communities in counter-reformation Tuscany were one of the defining features of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Populations of nuns were reaching their peak and the Council of Trent meant new reforms for religious communities. The reforms meant that convents were closed off to the outside world to place more emphasis on religious acts and devotion, which was not especially successful. Convents were centres of not only spiritual activity but also intellectual and artistic endeavours in addition to serving as enclosed feminine societies. A few outliers reveal some differences between monastic and secular life, however, they also showed how some of the dynamics remained the same, even in extenuating circumstances. The monastic houses essentially mirrored the societal dynamics of the time, meaning that family ties remained important and there was a clear hierarchy between the rich and the poor. The difference, however, was that a convent was the only acceptable alternative to married life for women. Despite being physically separate from the rest of the world, monastic life for women in counter-reformation Tuscany was quite intertwined with the lives and social dynamics of the secular world.

The Council of Trent was a series of three sessions that met between 1545 and 1563 to reaffirm Catholic theology as a response to the Protestant Reformation.[1] Martin Luther's 95 Theses were published in 1517 and started the Protestant Reformation. Despite Luther's excommunication in 1521, his ideas had spread.[2] The difference in Luther's teachings compared to the Catholic Church was his interpretation that faith alone was enough to be saved, unlike the Catholic emphasis on religious works to earn God's grace.[3] The centrality of the Church in people's lives was prioritized and major reforms were launched on monastic life to affirm this.[4] Silvia Evangelisti, a prominent scholar of early modern gender issues, culture, and religious history argues that the Council of Trent renewed spiritual commitment in society and placed

[1] Joshua Mark, "Council of Trent" *World History Encyclopedia*, June 16th, 2022.
[2] Mark, "Council of Trent"
[3] Ibid.
[4] Silvia Evangelisti, "To Find God in Work? Female Social Stratification in Early Modern Italian Convents," *European History Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2008), 398.

greater emphasis on religious values like piety, charity, humility, and disconnecting from worldly endeavours.[5] Enclosure became much more strictly enforced to ensure religious devotion; before the Council of Trent, most convents observed open reclusion, while after 1545 many convents became like fortresses.[6] Walls were raised, double metal grates were installed in the parlours so that no one could come into direct contact with the nuns, and many convents closed themselves off to laywomen who were formerly allowed to reside in them without taking vows.[7]

Convents became increasingly aristocratic as they were cut off from the market world. To continue their operation they had to rely more on dowries and monetary donations from wealthy family members of the nuns.[8] Networks of kinship, patronage, and association all contributed to where a young girl may have been placed.[9] The market for a bride of Christ reflected the market for an ordinary marriage. Since many men were marrying later or not at all due to a change from partible inheritance to primogeniture, meaning that property was no longer divided equally but instead the eldest son would inherit the entire estate, it became increasingly difficult for families to find a man of equal status for their daughters to marry.[10] Marriage became a buyer's market and dowries for both options grew, however, dowries for monastic houses generally cost less than a third of a marriage dowry, sometimes even as little as a tenth.[11] This made them a very appealing option for families who either did not want to or could not afford to marry all of their daughters off.[12] Monastic houses were the only other acceptable option for women other than marriage at the time.[13] Because of this, nearly half of the women born into patrician families became nuns, though many were not especially religious, their families just could not afford to

[5] Evangelisti, "To Find God in Work?", 399.
[6] Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press 2009), 189.
[7] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 189.
[8] Strocchia, 193.
[9] Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32.
[10] Judith C. Brown, "Everyday Life, Longevity and Nuns in Early Modern Florence," in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. eds. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 116.
[11] Evangelisti, 399.
[12] Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life 1450-1700* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press 2007), 4-5.
[13] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 3-4.

marry all their daughters off.[14] Due to the growing number of women within convents, it was unsurprising that dynamics mirrored those on the outside.

Within the convents, there were two classes of nuns, servant nuns and choir nuns, which reflected the classes in secular society.[15] Choir nuns generally came from wealthier backgrounds and they followed monastic careers and ruled in the community.[16] Servant nuns on the other hand came from poorer backgrounds and were admitted with a reduced dowry, they were not allowed to follow a monastic career, instead they performed domestic duties and served the choir nuns.[17] For the servant nuns, the monastic house was a work opportunity that guaranteed social and economic security.[18] A number of convents served as refuges for women in need, ex-prostitutes, widows, and abandoned women.[19] Servant nuns did the cleaning, sewing and repairing garments, prepared food, and tended the garden and poultry.[20] They were both an asset and a burden, as they brought little money into the convent with their small dowries and little allowance from their families.[21] They did however serve the choir nuns and do the manual labour choir nuns could not or would not do.[22] Especially after the Council of Trent, servant nuns became crucial to running the convents because the new standards of enclosure prevented outside workers from entering the convents, and therefore these formerly secular jobs were placed on the servant nuns.[23] Many formerly aristocratic nuns like the daughters of the Medici family had personal servants or slaves gifted to them from their families.[24] They wanted to maintain the standard of living they had been used to previously, though they were ctiticized for this by religious authorities who believed they were not taking their vow of poverty seriously.[25] The two classes were differentiated by their habits, servants wore a white veil rather than a black one, and often wore other distinguishing markers as well, for example, the choir nuns at the convent of the Military Order of Malta wore a full cross of Malta, while servant nuns could only

[14] Brown, *Everyday Life, Longevity, and Nuns in Early Modern Florence*, 116.
[15] Silvia Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share: Convent Cells and Social Relations in Early Modern Italy." *Past & present* 1, no. 1 (2006): 66.
[16] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 67.
[17] Evangelisti, 67.
[18] Evangelisti, "To Find God in Work?" 398.
[19] Evangelisti, 400.
[20] Evangelisti, 406.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Evangelisti, 406-407.
[23] Evangelisti, 404.
[24] Evangelisti, 401.
[25] Evangelisti, 402-403.

wear a half cross.[26] Servant nuns were not allowed to move to the position of choir nun, even if their families had gained status in regular society.[27] Servant nuns who served a specific choir nun often got to live with them in their cell and enjoy the wealth and goods the choir nuns had collected.[28] Additionally, the servant nuns generally developed close relationships with the nuns they worked with, and this therefore influenced their position within the convent, to a degree.[29] After the choir nun died, sometimes the servant nun who had worked for them was given the cell; servant nuns were usually restricted to the worst cells, this gifting of cells blurred lines slightly between the classes.[30]

Not all female religious communities were regular enclosed convents. With rising numbers of young women becoming nuns, there became a need for more monastic houses, however becoming a regular convent entailed a relatively long process. The Theatine community of Pescia was one of these new institutions.[31] It was founded in 1590 by Piera Pagni, a widow of a prominent Pesciatine whose family were high church and state officials.[32] The dowry required for the Theatine community was significantly less than those of the established convents in the area, only 160 scudi compared to 400.[33] This reduced dowry made the community a good alternative for those who could not quite afford the dowries for a regular choir nun, and did not want their daughters to be servant nuns either.[34] The Theatine community and those like it played an intermediary role between the religious and secular world, although their goal was always to become a regular convent.[35] In the beginning, they lived in a private house where they led a communal life, engaging in prayer and spiritual exercises.[36] They also observed a hierarchical authority as though they were fully-fledged nuns.[37] Their daily lives already highly resembled those of regular nuns, however, they were approved to build a real monastery in 1613, and they were granted complete enclosure by Pope Paul V in 1620.[38] After thirty years, they finally

[26] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 67.
[27] Evangelisti, "To Find God in Work?" 409.
[28] Evangelisti, 411.
[29] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 68.
[30] Evangelisti, 67.
[31] Brown, *Immodest Acts*, 34.
[32] Brown, 34.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Brown, 35.
[35] Brown, 35, 39.
[36] Brown, 34.
[37] Brown, 40.
[38] Brown, 40-41.

became a regular enclosed convent. They no longer had to leave their convent to observe Mass, and the simple and easily dissolved vows of chastity they had taken previously, became the "solemn vows" of obedience, poverty, and chastity that fully-fledged nuns took, that could not be renounced.[39]

The daily lives of nuns across Tuscany included both prayer and spiritual activities, as well as manual labour.[40] Nuns did not spend their entire lives in ecclesiastical practice, convents were also centres of female creativity and intellectual production.[41] Nuns spent their time painting, sculpting, and engraving, as well as writing mystical and devotional works, poetry, musical compositions, and plays.[42] Theatre in particular was quite popular because even though nuns were more educated than most women of the time, many were still illiterate; theatre allowed them to portray messages of chastity, obedience, and female perfection.[43] The women's monastic duties included modest dress, obedience lessons, fasting and mortification of the flesh, and prayer.[44] Craig Monson, a scholar of early modern Italian monastic communities, argued that convents acted as a "women's sphere," a place where female agency was recognized to a degree, despite limits imposed by superiors.[45]

The community was a religious "family" for the nuns; the "sisters" were the spiritual daughters of the "mother" abbess, and they were governed by the "father" superior.[46] In the Christian tradition, spiritual ties were placed over blood ties, Evangelisti argued that blood ties were divisible while spiritual ties were eternal.[47] Despite this emphasis, kinship ties often competed with spiritual ties on an equal level.[48] The position of abbess was coveted by patrician families as it gave the family some authority within the community.[49] The abbess also had control over the distribution of cells and other similar administrative responsibilities; the abbess'

[39] Brown, 35, 40-41.
[40] Brown, 39.
[41] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 8.
[42] Silvia Evangelisti, "Wives, Widows and Brides of Christ: Marriage and the Convent in the Historiography of Early Modern Italy," *The Historical Journal*, 43, (2000): 240.
[43] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 8.
[44] Brown, *Immodest Acts*,
[45] Evangelisti, "Wives, Widows and Brides of Christ," 240.
[46] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 9.
[47] Silvia Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 64.
[48] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 66.
[49] Brown, *Everyday Life*, 122.

received the best cells.[50] Power was desired both inside and outside of the convent for these families. After the Council of Trent, rules were put in place in an attempt to prevent any abuse of power.[51] These rules stated that there should be a secret vote by the nuns to elect an abbess, and after 1583, this election was to happen every three years.[52] Nuns were not to have consecutive terms, nor could they be immediately succeeded by a nun from the same family.[53] The abbess was also supposed to be over forty years old.[54] In reality, most of these rules were broken.[55] As a specialist on the Italian Renaissance, Judith Brown, stated, "When nuns entered a convent they brought with them well-developed notions of family solidarity, political factionalism, and economic standing, which were at odds with the institutional rules of obedience and humility."[56] This sometimes led to conflicts between the women, sometimes even leading to violence.[57] At a convent in Fucecchio, a nine-year-old girl was stabbed to death with scissors, and another nun ran away out of fear of being killed.[58] These occurrences were rare, but they displayed a dangerous kind of righteous arrogance that had often been carried over from their family values.[59]

The process of becoming a nun was a multi-stage process. Most girls were brought to the convents in the Autumn, this lined up with the harvest season since the money from the harvest could be put toward her dowry.[60] After entering the convent, she would then take the veil, and finally, she would profess and take the solemn vows.[61] These phases were often blurred. In the convent of San Jacopo Ripoli in Florence, records were available for approximately eighty nuns from 1532-1699, of these eighty women, more than half were veiled within days of entering the convent.[62] Since the girls planned to remain in the convent for the rest of their lives, there was little point in waiting.[63] About two years usually passed between veiling and profession, girls

[50] Evangelisti, 59, 67.
[51] Brown, 122.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Brown, *Immodest Acts*, 89.
[57] Brown, 89.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Brown, 90.
[60] Brown, *Everyday Life*, 116.
[61] Brown, 118.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

were generally in their early to mid-teens in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[64] In April 1575, seven young novices professed their vows to the convent of San Giovannio of the military order of the Knights of Malta.[65] It was one of the richest and most aristocratic convents in the city, hosting a number of Medici daughters.[66] They received the black veil and habit at the altar of the church before the Father Superior.[67]

The cells themselves revealed the interpersonal dynamics within convents.[68] Previously, nuns lived in shared dormitories, but in the sixteenth century, families donating money to build cells became increasingly popular.[69] In theory, everything in the convent was supposed to be communally owned, however wealthy families purchased cells or paid for them to be built, for their female relatives in the convents.[70] Convents were reorganized around the cells, and they reinforced and intensified social hierarchies.[71] Prices were set by the amenities, comforts, and location of the cell.[72] A cell located close to the garden was most desirable.[73] Because nuns were to spend their entire lives enclosed within the convent, their cells became their only private space away from the rest of the monastery; cells were their refuge and their place for meditating on spiritual teachings.[74] Furthermore, because women were excluded from owning property the economics of cell ownership almost served as a makeshift alternative to property rights.[75] Cells were regularly gifted to relatives and friends, some nuns ended up with multiple cells, if they had been gifted cells after already having one.[76] One way to try and keep a cell within the family was to buy it, however, this did not guarantee ownership since kinship ties regularly took priority over blood ties and cells were often gifted to friends.[77] Sometimes this caused fights between the nuns over inheritance, "to the point of hitting each other."[78] One example of kinship ties prevailing over blood ties was the case of Fulgenzia Ottonella, she inherited a cell from a friend

[64] Brown, 118-119.
[65] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 13.
[66] Evangelisti, "To Find God in Work?" 407.
[67] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 13.
[68] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 58.
[69] Brown, *Everyday Life*, 121.
[70] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 58-60.
[71] Brown, 122.
[72] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 61.
[73] Evangelisti, 61.
[74] Evangelisti, 69-70.
[75] Evangelisti, 71.
[76] Evangelisti, 6.
[77] Evangelisti, 62, 64.
[78] Evangelisti, 69.

who passed away, and when the dead nun's niece claimed the cell a few years later, the abbot ruled that the cell would go to Fulgenzia.[79] Sometimes even male family members wrote to the convent to support their relatives' last wishes to leave a cell to a friend.[80]

While kinship ties often prevailed within the convents, familial ties were still very important. Often sisters and other relatives were brought to the same convents, sometimes even on the same day.[81] The convent of San Giovannio in particular was known for recruiting women from the patrician families of Florence.[82] Putting women of the same family into the same convents for generations allowed the family to gain some authority within the convent.[83] Additionally, older women were able to act as mentors to their younger relatives.[84] These familial networks affected where girls could be placed, especially when convents became too full in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[85] One of these was the convent of Santa Maria Nuova in Pescia, which only admitted Pesciatine girls whose fathers were eligible to hold public office, restricting applicants to girls whose families had lived in Pescia for several generations.[86] Convents essentially became extensions of families, and family ties did matter.[87] Nuns were supposed to be "dead" to the world, but this was hardly the case.[88] Money especially was an important aspect of choir nuns' lives, and with the restrictions on enclosure, they relied almost entirely on their families.[89] Donations essentially transformed nuns' lives from that of poverty, as they were supposed to live, to a life of relative ease.[90] Families also tried to exert their power over a convent by giving large donations and paying for new buildings.[91]

One of the larger distinctions between monastic and secular life was the existence of notable nuns who saw visions of God. While many aspects of the nuns' lives reflected secular ideas, the convents were still religious institutions, and therefore some nuns were especially

[79] Evangelisti, 64.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Brown, 121.
[82] Evangelisti, "To Find God in Work?" 407.
[83] Strocchia, 42-43.
[84] Strocchia, 55.
[85] Brown, *Immodest Acts*, 32.
[86] Brown, 32.
[87] Brown, *Everyday Life*,121-122.
[88] Brown, 121.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Evangelisti, "Rooms to Share," 63.

religious, some even became saints. However, even these outliers managed to reflect some details of secular life, or alternatively, were important to the lay people themselves.

One famous nun, Maria Maddelena de' Pazzi, came from the noble Pazzi family in Florence.[92] She was born in 1566 and raised according to Jesuit teachings.[93] She joined the rigorous convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli when she was sixteen.[94] The convent was crowded, with more than eighty nuns, and they took communion more often than other convents.[95] While not all nuns were especially devoted to God, and instead ended up in a convent as an alternative to their families marrying them off, Maria Maddalena was not one of them, she wanted to devote her life to God.[96] She had considered monastic life already by age eight, and she chose Santa Maria degli Angeli because it was known to be rigorous.[97] The abbess Vangelista del Giocondo wanted to have a blessed soul in their midst, and it would appear as though she got her wish since Maria Maddalena began to have visions shortly after entering the convent.[98] Her visions manifested orally, she believed that her visions were God's voice speaking through her, and she called them the "Word."[99] As Armando Maggi, professor of early modern culture and Renaissance love philosophy, stated, "through her voice the mystic endeavoured to give a body to the Word; she attempted to embody him in the physicality of her voice."[100] Her oral discourses were never actually directed at her listeners, they simply humbly overheard her monologues of the Word.[101] Her humility was shown especially through her desire to care for the ill, and she was recorded to have conducted two miracles of healing.[102] The first was in 1589, when a nun named Barbara Bassi fell ill, Maria Maddalena visited her and licked her wounds and a few days later Bassi was healed.[103] The second miracle occurred in 1591, a nun named Maria Benigna Orlandini became sick with leprosy, and Maria Maddalena again licked the sick woman's

[92] Maria Maddalena De' Pazzi and Armando Maggi, *Maria Maddalena De' Pazzi* (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), 6.
[93] De' Pazzi and Maggi, *Maria Maddalena De' Pazzi*, 6.
[94] De' Pazzi and Maggi, 6.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] De' Pazzi and Maggi, 7.
[99] De' Pazzi and Maggi, 9.
[100] Ibid.
[101] De' Pazzi and Maggi, 13-14.
[102] Molly G. Morrison, "Strange Miracles: A Study of the Peculiar Healings of St. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi," *Logos (Saint Paul, Minn.)* 8, no. 1 (2005): 130.
[103] Morrison, "Strange Miracles," 130.

wounds and a few days later she was healed.[104] The practice of consuming filth was done by other saints who Maria Maddalena looked up to, including Catherine of Siena, however with many of these other known occurrences, the emphasis was placed on the consumption itself, and not the miracle of healing.[105] She was known as a selfless miracle worker, and she was canonized as a saint herself in 1669.[106] Her miracles and visions within the convent distinguished monastic life from secular life, however, aside from the nun herself, the rest of the convent exhibited fairly normal dynamics. She was also seen as an important figure by the laypeople, not just the nuns, thereby intertwining the laypeople's religious lives with those of the nuns.

Another noteworthy nun during the counter-reformation period who was not as well known but no less important was Benedetta Carlini of Vellano. She joined the previously discussed Theatine community in Pescia nine years after it opened while it was still in the process of becoming a regular convent.[107] She remained there until her death at seventy-one.[108] Benedetta also made extraordinary mystical claims, however, hers were eventually proven to be false.[109] In 1613, when Benedetta was twenty-three years old, she began to have visions.[110] As Brown stated, "The content of mystical experiences, whether we view them as psychological or divine revelations, or as physiological responses to fasting, discloses the mystic's deepest spiritual concerns."[111] She was doubtful about the visions, not about whether or not they were real, but whether or not they were diabolical or heavenly, and she was assigned a young companion, Bartolomea Crivelli, to help her deal with them.[112] During the next few years, Benedetta gave sermons to the other nuns, however, she was always in a trance and spoke not as herself but as an angel, since women were barred from preaching or even speaking in the house of God.[113] In one of her visions, she received the stigmata, which was witnessed by the other nuns and church officials.[114] Another one of her visions involved Jesus revealing that he wanted to marry her; in 1621, she appeared to pass away but came back to life when Father Ricoradi

[104] Morrison, 130-131.
[105] Morrison, 132, 137.
[106] De' Pazzi and Maggi, *Maria Maddalena De' Pazzi*, 7.
[107] Brown, *Immodest Acts*, 27.
[108] Brown, 27.
[109] Brown, 5, 114.
[110] Brown, 44.
[111] Brown, 44-45.
[112] Brown, 48, 55.
[113] Brown, 59.
[114] Brown, 57-58.

commanded her to.[115] She was investigated twice, the first investigation revealed essentially nothing, however, the second investigation which was done by the Papal Nunzio concluded that her visions were not in fact from God, but demonic illusions.[116] As the investigation proceeded, nuns from the convent began to discredit her claims.[117] They found evidence that the stigmata was self-inflicted, the ring from the wedding was false, and even her "death" was faked.[118] Brown argued that the nuns probably believed her at first, and if they had suspected, they may have kept quiet to not slow down the process of obtaining full enclosure.[119] They also may have feared Benedetta herself, as she was seen as daunting to cross since she had proved herself to be cunning, and was known to hold a grudge.[120] Furthermore, the first investigation revealing nothing meant that the nuns were forced to wait for another opportunity to come forward.[121] The most incriminating evidence came from her companion, Bartolomea. She claimed that Benedetta had convinced her to "engage in the most immodest acts."[122] She claimed that Benedetta had said that it was not actually her, but her guardian angel Splenditello who was engaging in the acts, and therefore neither of them were sinning.[123] Throughout her testimony, Bartolomea made sure to reiterate that all of these acts were forced upon her, however, Brown argued that the consequences of having been a willing participant could have easily been enough to encourage her to lie.[124] Judgement was considered lenient, but Benedetta did end up spending the last thirty-five years of her life in the convent prison.[125] While Benedetta herself was atypical, the dynamics of interpersonal conflicts discussed earlier can be seen in her story. The nuns had become fed up with her antics, and they discredited her once they were eventually given the opportunity to. She was described as righteously arrogant, and this caused the nuns to turn against her.[126] While it seemed that even apparent divine selection was not enough to make her well-liked by her monastic community, the lay people remained faithful to her teachings and miracles.[127] After her death, the lay people wanted to see and touch her body, as it appeared as though they had either

[115] Brown, 67, 103.
[116] Brown, 105, 110.
[117] Brown, 111.
[118] Brown, 114.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Brown, 115.
[121] Brown, 116.
[122] Brown, 117.
[123] Brown, 119.
[124] Brown, 122.
[125] Brown, 131-132.
[126] Brown, 90.
[127] Brown, 137.

never believed those who tried to discredit her, or believed that her warnings had, in fact, come to pass with the plague that hit in 1631.[128] This revealed how while the secular world was important to the dynamics of the monastery, the importance went both ways as the nuns deeply affected the religious lives of the lay people around them.

The monastic lives of nuns in counter-reformation Tuscany mimicked the dynamics of life outside the convents in many ways. These similarities included the family dynamics, class distinctions, and the distribution of cells. With the notable exceptions of nuns like Maria Maddalena and Benedetta Carlini, the women in monastic houses led fairly regular lives with fairly regular interpersonal dynamics. While levels of religiosity varied between convents, and some had deeper connections with God and saints than others, convents were very much still intertwined with the dynamics of the secular world.

[128] Ibid.

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Opera and Spectacle in Florence Under Ferdinando I and Cosimo II de' Medici

Reanna Druxerman

The Medici dynasty left an unforgettable mark on the evolution of opera in Florence during the 17th century, controlling an art form that transcended mere entertainment to become a potent tool of political propaganda and eventually a complex business venture. Spectacle, understood as a visually striking public display, was a defining characteristic of opera and played a pivotal role in the Medici manipulation of the art form. They orchestrated opera as a grandiose display of power and prestige, emphasizing boldness, movement, rich costumes, and scenography. These elaborate productions not only entertained but also served as a means of displaying Medici wealth and influence on both local and foreign audiences. As avid patrons of the arts and skilled political figures, the Medici family played a crucial role in shaping the narrative of opera. Under the leadership of Ferdinando I de' Medici (1587-1609) and Cosimo II de' Medici (1609-1621), Grand Dukes of Tuscany, they used their power to align the art form with their agenda. Their goal was to establish Florence as the artistic hub of Europe during the 17th century. The Medici controlled the historical record of opera; while they initially utilized the art form as a propagandistic tool, opera ultimately became a business venture for noble patrons of Florence.

Medici Influence on Changing the Historical Record of Opera

To understand the origin of opera, one must consider the role of the Medici played in supporting and funding it. To do this, it is necessary to examine both the true composer of the first opera, Emilio de' Cavalieri, and the historical misunderstanding that has led to Florentine composer Jacopo Peri being unfairly credited with this achievement. Roman-born Emilio de' Cavalieri is responsible for the first recorded opera and is considered the most original composer of his epoch between the Renaissance and Baroque periods.[1] His first operas were in 1590: *Satiro* and *Disperazione di Fileno,* two *pastorales* of which neither the music nor text has been preserved.[2] A *pastorale* refers specifically to an opera that is based on a rural theme or set in the

[1] Warren Kirkendale, "The Myth of the 'Birth of Opera' in the Florentine Camerata Debunked by Emilio De'Cavalieri: A Commemorative Lecture," *The Opera Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (2003): 632.
[2] Warren Kirkendale, "The Myth of the 'Birth of Opera,'" 634.

countryside.[3] These theatrical productions were the first of their kind, being entirely set to music, and are the earliest documentation of humour in an opera.[4] His third opera and best-known work, *Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*, is the first fully preserved opera.[5] It was composed and printed on the occasion of the Holy Year 1600 and performed for the Sacred College of Cardinals in Rome.[6] Cavalieri dedicated the production to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, the nephew of Pope Clement VIII, and alluded to him by name in the text of the opera's fifteenth libretto by saying: "Il ceil clemente ogn'hor gratia e favore."[7] *Anima di Corpo* was the first religious opera to be performed.[8] According to historical documentation of the production, it was mistaken for an *oratorio* rather than an opera.[9] This mistake is significant, as *oratorios* are strictly concert pieces, and *Anima di Corpo* included costumes, scenery, and gestures– components characteristic of opera.[10] Rome became the centre for religious opera in Tuscany due to Cavalieri's activity there in the 17th century.[11] Cavalieri's works may not have been acknowledged in Florence due to a governmental bias in favour of Florentine achievement.[12]

Cavalieri's works were left uncredited in historical documentation, as the widely considered first opera is Florentine composer and patron Jacopo Peri's *Dafne*.[13] This opera was performed at Florence's 1598 Carnival, eight years after Cavalieri's *pastorals* of 1590.[14] Two years later, as a part of the Holy Year 1600 festivities, Peri's *Euridice* was performed on the 6th of October.[15] *Euridice* was offered as a wedding gift for Maria de' Medici and Henry IV of France.[16] *Dafne* came before *Euridice*, but many refer to *Euridice* when referencing the "first" opera, as it is reported to be the earliest surviving opera.[17] Both *Dafne* and *Euridice* were referred

[3] Paul Alpers, "What Is Pastoral?" *Critical Inquiry 8*, no. 3 (1982): 22.
[4] Kirkendale, 638-639.
[5] Kirkendale, 639.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Kirkendale, 638.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Kirkendale, 637.
[13] Tim Carter, "Non Occorre Nominare Tanti Musici: Private Patronage and Public Ceremony in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence," *I Tatti Studies*, no. 4 (1991): 93.
[14] Kirkendale, 636.
[15] Carter, "Non Occorre Nominare Tanti Musici," 99.
[16] Giuseppe Gerbino and Iain Fenlon, "Early Opera: The Initial Phase," in in *European Music, 1520-1640*, James Harr (ed.) (Martlesham, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 476.
[17] Carter, 93.

to as *pastorali* by those who attended.[18] Peri's operas were both performed after those of Cavalieri in Rome, with *Euridice* being performed 8 months after *Anima de Corpo.*[19] Publicly, Peri is credited as the creator of the first ever operas, despite Cavalieri's activity in Rome in the years before the creation of *Dafne* and *Euridice*.

Florence's reigning family were influential patrons of the period of emerging opera. As both the ruling government and passionate patrons of the arts, the Medici family, led by Grand Duke Ferdinando I, exhibited biases that resulted in favouritism towards Florentine musicians. The omission of Cavalieri from the historical record can be attributed to favourable promotion of Florentine achievement and the Medici goal to establish Florence as a regional hub of arts and culture.[20] Nearly all contemporary accounts of the first operas are influenced by Florentine civic pride, which underlies the heated debates over who had the greatest role in pioneering a new style of dramatic music that prevailed during the 1590s and early 1600s.[21] Jacobo Corsi, a Florentine composer and leading patron of the arts alongside the Medici family, was a significant collaborator on Peri's operas.[22] Corsi was an influential patron who came from a noble family.[23] It benefitted Corsi and his family, along with other patrons, to bring attention to their achievements, elevating their social position and furthering their connection to Florence's high society.[24] The propaganda surrounding *Euridice* can be explained by the benefits Florentine patrons could gain from an achievement such as the creation of a new art genre.[25] *Euridice* proved to be a family project for Corsi, with nearly all the artists involved in its production being linked to him.[26] He was also featured in the performance playing the harpsichord.[27] While it was in the interest of Florentine patrons concerned with elevating their status to miscredit opera's origins, the musicians themselves gave credit to Cavalieri for his influence on their work. Peri wrote in his popular 1601 preface: "[S]ig. Emilio de' Cavalieri, as far as I know before anyone else, made our music heard on the stage with marvellous intention…"[28] Furthermore, Giulio

[18] Gerbino and Fenlon, "Early Opera," 473.
[19] Kirkendale, 636.
[20] Carter, 93.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Carter, 95.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Carter, 96.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Kirkendale, 637.

Caccini, one of the composers of *Euridice*, said in a letter that was published in 1993: "Sig. Emilio de' Cavalieri, a Roman gentleman of honoured memory, was the first who here let these Serene Highnesses hear those tales on the stage."[29] Significantly, while the influence of patrons and the Medici family's interests led to Cavalieri's works being left out of the historical record of this art form, his works stand as the first creation of what is now considered popular opera.

Medici Control of Opera and Its Use as Propaganda

The Medici family played a pivotal role in altering the historical and public perception of opera and shaping its evolution in Tuscany. Their patronage and influence not only controlled the production of operas but channelled the spectacle into a tool for political propaganda that affirmed the legitimacy of their rule and celebrated their achievements. The Medici influenced opera through the control of spectacle at weddings, the commemorative account of the *descrizione*, and the operatic content that affirmed and supported the Medici rule.

Opera in Florence began as lavish entertainment at Medici weddings. Such weddings were grand and important for securing foreign relationships and funding to Florence, requiring their entertainments to reflect that. Common entertainment was the performance of *intermedio*, short theatrical performances featuring song and dance.[30] Considered to be the precursor to opera, these productions were typically performed between the acts of a play or in sequence at weddings.[31] Entertainments were meant to reflect the spectacular occasion of a Medici wedding as a major political event.[32]

These spectacles were recorded in a commemorative account of the event, the wedding *descrizione*.[33] The publication underwent several drafts which were edited and revised by Grand Duke Ferdinando I, aiming to maintain accuracy whilst glossing over any cracks in the perfection of the event.[34] The expert crafting of these publications worked to maintain and elevate the status of these events, whilst highlighting the elaborate achievements of the Grand

[29] Ibid.
[30] Sara Mamone and Caterina Pagnini, "Florentine Festivals for the Entry of Archduke Leopold V of Austria in 1618," *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe*, (2013): 144.
[31] James Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi.* New Haven: Yale University Press, (1996): 1.
[32] Carter, 92.
[33] Carter, 89.
[34] Carter, 90.

Duke.[35] Florence's reputation at home and overseas was maintained by *descrizione*, as the recollection of the wedding was equally as important in dictating foreign policy as the wedding itself.

Medici weddings functioned as spectacle, but one that was carefully controlled. The wedding in 1589 of Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici and the French princess Christine de Lorraine called for a spectacle which lasted for the entire month of their ceremony.[36] The entertainments of their wedding in 1589 defined their union as the biggest and most lavish wedding in Medici history.[37] The marriage solidified the political alliance of the two nations and brought Florence a generous dowry from France.[38] Performances of a series of *intermedi* composed by Cavalieri took place in the Medici theatre in the Uffizi Palace.[39] The *intermedi* functioned as allegorical tableaux inserted between theatrical acts of comedy.[40] This form of hybrid art fused instrumental music, song, dance, costumes, and stage designs, effectively laying a foundation for the combination of elements as seen in opera.[41] The wedding of 1600 between Maria de' Medici and King Henry IV of France was also a spectacular event that was recorded by Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane.*[42] The publication of the *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze… della Christianissima Maesta di Madama Maria Medici, Regina di Francia e di Navarra* has several surviving drafts in Florence's Bibliotecha Medicea-Laurenziana, Archivo Buonarroti.[43] Buonarroti's manuscripts feature annotations with detailed revision instructions given by Grand Duke Ferdinando I.[44] The task of writing a *descrizione* was complex, as one needed to write with accuracy yet paint the event positively enough for both local and international readers.[45] The entertainment for the 1600 wedding featured the opera *Euridice*.[46] Low-level dilemmas occurred leading up to the event, like Giulio Caccini wanting his music in the opera instead of Peri's, an event resulting in a dramatic scene which was erased from the

[35] Ibid.
[36] Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 1.
[37] Saslow, 1.
[38] Saslow, 7.
[39] Saslow, 1.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Carter, 89.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Carter, 92.
[46] Ibid

event's *descrizione*.[47] Through erasures like this, careful articulation and strategic editing of the wedding *descrizione* elevated Florence's global status.

Along with the propagandistic nature of wedding *descrizione*, the content within the operatic performances also took measures to affirm and support the Medici family as rulers of the Republic of Florence. This entertainment was brought to the people by the Grand Duke to deliver an unsubtle political and ideological message.[48] The *intermedio* and operas seen in court productions were specifically shaped to depict "conspicuous consumption," as they featured direct musical effects and a candid message using specific dialogue.[49] This is seen in the final *ballo* of the 1589 wedding *intermedi*.[50] In the story, monarchs and royal patrons representing the Medici family were depicted as God-like creatures with the power to restore order to the world and alleviate the pain of their subjects.[51] The expression of pleading to the gods was often exhibited, affirming the ideology that the monarchs are the natural rulers of society and should remain as such.[52] Popular works such as *Euridice, Orfeo*, and *Arianna* all hold a similar message that supports this ideology.[53] Like the *ballo*, all three works depict a story of an ideal world and a paradise lost, with the world ultimately returning to its former state through a character's recourse to the gods.[54]

The Medici family's influence in altering the perception of opera was profound. Grand Duke Ferdinando's patronage and control over operatic productions turned these spectacles into tools for political propaganda, shaping the evolution of opera in Florence. Through the control of entertainment spectacles at weddings, the meticulous management of the wedding *descrizione*, and the monarch affirming propagandistic messages within the court produced opera, the Medici family ensured that opera became not just entertainment but also a means of promoting their political agenda and cementing their power in Florentine society.

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Gerbino and Fenlon, 481.
[49] Gerbino and Fenlon 484.
[50] Gerbino and Fenlon 482.
[51] Suzanne Cusick, "Of Women, Music, and Power: A Model from Seicento Florence," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Musical Scholarship*, Ruth A. Solie (ed.) (Berkely: University of California Press, 1993), 282.
[52] Cusick, "Of Women, Music, and Power," 282.
[53] Cusick, 282.
[54] Cusick, 281.

The Transformation of Opera – Court Spectacle to a Private Enterprise

The evolution of opera from its origins in Medici court weddings to the privatization of commissioned performances marked a shift in cultural patronage in Florence. Patrons had contributed to Medici weddings and court entertainments in private until the *descrizione* of 1600.[55] As part of the celebrations for the wedding between Maria de' Medici and King Henry IV of France, there was a production of two operas, Peri's *Euridice* and Giulio Caccini's *Il rapimento di Cefalo*.[56] *Il rapimento* was sponsored and financed by the court, with the performance alone costing Grand Duke Ferdinando I 60,000 scudi.[57] *Euridice,* on the other hand, was a private commission by the noble patron Jacobo Corsi.[58] In the years leading up to this production, private financial support was also given by Corsi and his colleagues to fund the entertainment of other Medici weddings, including the marriage of Eleanor de' Medici and Vincenzo Gonzaga in 1584, as well as the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine in 1589.[59] In the 1600 event's *descrizione* written by Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Il rapimento* was discussed on a single page.[60] However, in a gesture that marked the first step in the policy shift towards privatized opera commissioning, *Euridice* was given sixteen pages.[61] The *descrizione* showed a clear bias toward the production of *Euridice*, even mentioning that it was a private commission.[62] The public acknowledgement that it was someone other than the Grand Duke who was responsible for the spectacle that was a Medici wedding entertainment marked a significant change in opera production, moving away from court-sponsored opera towards a more commercially driven model.[63]

The culture of entertainment in Florence shifted toward privatization and away from government mandated court spectacles after the death of Grand Duke Ferdinando I in 1609.[64] Under the leadership of his son, Grand Duke Cosimo II, direct control over festival events was released, characterizing spectacle with a detached sense of economy in Florence.[65] Spectacle became removed from the hands of official government culture, finding itself under the control

[55] Carter, 97.
[56] Carter, 94.
[57] Carter, 98.
[58] Carter, 95.
[59] Carter, 97.
[60] Carter, 94.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Carter, 99.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Mamone and Pagnini, "Florentine Festivals for the Entry of Archduke Leopold V of Austria in 1618," 138.
[65] Mamone and Pagnini, 139.

of private establishments.[66] The management of large-scale productions changed, with events hosted more often in private theatres in noble homes rather than the official Medici Uffizi theatre.[67] The privatization of opera transformed stage design, changing the outcomes of the productions as they became funded by diverse patrons. For example, the production of *Solimano* used 30-year-old recycled stage scenery by Orazio Scarabelli, moving toward a sense of *teatralita diffusa*.[68] Celebratory festivities for the entry of Archduke Leopold V of Austria in 1618 followed this trend toward private leadership.[69] The entertainments included a staging of *Andromeda* by Jacobo Cicognini, and six *intermedi* inserted into a *pastoral*, likely being Giovan Battista Guarini's *Bonarella*.[70] These productions took place in the great hall of Gherardesca Palace, Ugo Rinaldi's house, Dietro SS. Annunziata – which was considered to be more privileged than the official Medici residences at the time.[71]

Although the sons of Grand Duke Cosimo II, Mattias, Giovan Carlo, and Leopoldo, were Medici princes, their theatrical management style effectively turned Florentine opera into a lucrative business. Beyond simply patronage, each brother contributed to a fluid system by opening theatres and running academies where they could discover and train musicians.[72] Along with this was the emergence of a new figure, the *impresario*, who invested money in theatre as a business.[73] Together, the Medici brothers facilitated divisions of court theatre, academic theatre, and commercial theatre, with each functioning as a system with a team of proteges and employees.[74] These included administrative teams who emphasized their efforts on the reliability of theatre as a business.[75] The correspondence between Prince Mattias and the Venetian musician Francesco Sacrati describes a continuous, affectionate, daily collaboration and exchange of influence among the princes that shows their commitment to Florentine theatre.[76] Their correspondence is kept in the Florence State Archive in the catalogue Mediceo del Principato and

[66] Ibid.
[67] Mamone and Pagnini, 138.
[68] Mamone and Pagnini, 139.
[69] Mamone and Pagnini, 137.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Sara Mamone, "Most Serene Brothers-Princes-Impresarios: Theater in Florence under the Management and Protection of Mattias, Giovan Carlo, and Leopoldo de' Medici," *Seventeenth-Century Music* 9, no.1 (2003): 1.
[73] Mamone, "Most Serene Brothers-Princes-Impresarios," 7.
[74] Mamone, 5.
[75] Mamone, 16.
[76] Mamone, 4.

shows a clear definition of each of the princes' influences.[77] There was a large emphasis on finances at the time, with the three main Florentine theatres, Pergola, Dogana, and Cocomero, being powerful sources of income for the sons of Cosimo II.[78] Their network extended even beyond Florence, encompassing other cities in Tuscany, including Pisa, Siena, and Livorno.[79] Finally, the Medici brothers' support extended to musicians, providing them with protection and the freedom to collaborate with other *impresarios* and participate in local productions.[80]

The Roman-Florentine circle of Virginio Orsini, the nephew of Grand Duke Ferdinando, also played a significant role in fostering artistic talent, with members contributing to the humanist movement of the 17th century.[81] Orsini, being a patron of the arts, created a leading center for composers and poets in his court.[82] Members of the Florentine Camerata, including prominent figures such as Marenzio and Caccini were part of his circle.[83] The humanist search for modern tragedy within opera was a driving force behind its commercial evolution. This stemmed from the desire to recreate a form of theatre in Italian to recreate experiences of ancient Greek and Roman civilizations.[84] Florentine historian Girolamo Mei, the author of 1602's *Discorso sopra la musica antica e moderna*, was among the leading scholars who questioned why modern music failed to produce the extraordinary effects described by the ancients.[85] He pointed out a key difference: while ancient music was exclusively monophonic and aimed to arouse the passions of the soul, modern polyphonic music focused more on pleasing the ear.[86] Mei's monodic hypothesis for Greek music speculated that *tonoi*, or scales, were used to transpose two systems, the hard and the soft, up, and down from their neutral positions in the Dorian mode.[87] Mei's ideas were in line with the broader humanistic movement of the time, which simultaneously sought to revive classical art forms through operatic spectacle whilst encouraging research and experimentation.[88] His line of thought influenced the humanism of the

[77] Ibid.
[78] Mamone, 9.
[79] Mamone, 8.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Valerio Morucci, "Poets and Musicians in the Roman-Florentine Circle of Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (1572–1615)," *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (2015): 53.
[82] Ibid., 58.
[83] Gerbino and Fenlon, 476.
[84] Claude V. Palisca, "Girolamo Mei: Mentor to the Florentine Camerata," *The Musical Quarterly*, no. 1 (1954): 1.
[85] Gerbino and Fenlon, 474.
[86] Gerbino and Fenlon, 475.
[87] Palisca, "Girolamo Mei," 11.
[88] Palisca, 2.

Florentine Camerata, a group of intellectuals and musicians in Florence.[89] The group was led by Count Giovanni de Bardi and featured elite members such as Giulio Caccini, Jacobo Peri and Jacobo Corsi.[90] This ideology considered opera to be the solution to bridging the gap acknowledged by *pianto*, allowing modern theatre to channel the emotion evoked by productions of antiquity.[91]

The transformation of opera from a court spectacle to a private enterprise in Florence was driven by a combination of factors, including modern financial opportunities, the new socio-political landscape of Florence with the beginning of Cosimo II's reign, and the humanist pursuit of modern tragedy. This shift not only changed the way opera was produced and financed but also had a profound impact on the cultural landscape of Florence.

The influence of the Medici family on the perception, control, and economics of opera in Florence in the 17th century shaped its evolution from a court spectacle to a commercially managed enterprise. The role of the court in altering the historical recollection of the first opera, having removed Cavalieri's works from the popular narrative underscores the prevalent Medici influence in shaping opera's history. Through Grand Duke Ferdinando's meticulous control of the wedding *descrizione* and the sovereign-affirming messages within court entertainment, opera functioned as a tool for supporting the dynasty's political agenda. Led by the sons of Cosimo II, the emergence of private commissions and the role of *impresarios* signalled the departure from traditional court sponsorship, ushering in a new era of commercialized opera in Florence. This shift not only changed the way opera was produced and financed but also had a profound impact on the cultural landscape of Florence, opening doors for the innovation and experimentation of the 18th century.

[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Gerbino and Fenlon, 477.

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An Economic History of The Yukon: Capitalism and Class in the North, 1800-2000

David Cowx

In discussing capitalism's arrival to Canadian lands during the late-1800s to early-1900s, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba are prominent because their developments affect a greater percentage of the country's population in 2023. The Yukon has not seen as much attention as the prairie provinces due to its sheer remoteness and small population. Yet capitalist imposition there is fascinating because compared to the prairies, it was late, sporadic, and commenced largely by individuals. The aforementioned isolation made travel and supply to the Territory difficult as well as expensive, dis-incentivizing large corporations from seizing initiative. Instead, the groundwork for market expansion required great efforts by smaller, frequently non-corporate actors to create infrastructure and probe opportunities, though later expansions shifted to government initiation. Early companies generally erred cautious until the Second World War ended, after which they finally played a significant role creating new frontiers. Additionally, the Yukon First Nations were not as thoroughly dis-empowered or subsumed by the Territory's settler populace, facilitating re-empowerment closer to present day. Nevertheless, the region witnessed class formation that largely mirrored the rest of Canada, while reflecting local material realities.

In *The Origin Of Capitalism, A Longer View*, Ellen Meiksins Wood defines capitalism as "a system in which goods and services, down to the most basic necessities of life, are produced for profitable exchange." She notes that "even human labour-power is a commodity for sale in the market, and where all economic actors are dependent on the market."[1] Building on this opening, capitalism is distinct from alternative economic systems because producers rely on the market for access to the means of revenues. Capitalist systems encourage optimizing production-processes so that maximum revenues are garnered.[2] Critically, the market holds primacy over the means of living under capitalism, but can exist in other economic systems as well. Societies may

[1] Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2002), 2.
[2] Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*, 2-3.

contain functioning markets without being "market societies" by involving familial, religious, or authoritarian influences into exchange-methodology.[3]

The transition from feudalism to capitalism is well documented, but the subarctic majority of today's Yukon followed a different practice of semi-nomadic, communal economy pre-Gold Rush. Importantly, much of this régime has survived among the First Nations to present day alongside newer influences. Land was viewed not as owned, but used, and all hunting or fishing upon it was conducted in the least exploitative manners possible, solely for eating, making clothes, or creating tools.[4] People met up at resourceful sites over the warmer times of year, but broke up into smaller groups during the winter months and dispersed across the land in order to conserve resources.[5] Handicrafts and passage of knowledge as well as stories were often especially intensive as these less active periods passed. Alongside practical resource-scarcity stood spiritual commitment to perceived spirits in all living organisms; killing when necessary and accepting all catches was thought respectful.[6] However, the First Nations, as the plural term implies, were numerous; 14 exist in present day from the multiple present before. Aspects such as clan moieties, languages, etiquette, international relationships, and clothing varied among these nations, but the most economically important variances were the separate, yet often overlapping, areas they resided on. Class-wise, chiefs were men who lead small groups and held leadership positions usually by virtue of proven hunting skills and ability to lead. Alongside them, elders held immense respect and status among their communities to the extent of serving as secondary, consultative leaders.[7] First Nations society structured itself as a matriarchy; individuals identified with their mother's moiety and were raised with their families on that side. Historically, marrying within one's own moiety was taboo, signifying the matriarchal bent the nations followed.[8] Critically, the major passages into and around the modern-day Territory were already known by the Indigenous living in those areas before settlers utilized them during the Gold Rush. Through mountain passes controlled by coastal Tlingit, European goods such as

[3] Wood, 21.

[4] Paul Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 63-5.
[5] Julie Cruikshank, "Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives: Skookum Jim and the Discovery of Gold," *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 1 (1992): 20–41, https://doi.org/10.2307/482563,22.
[6] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations*, 79-83.
[7] Government of the Kwänlin Dün First Nation, *Listen to the Stories, A History of the Kwänlin Dün: Our Land and People* (Whitehorse, YT: Kwänlin Dün First Nation, 2013), 63.
[8] Cruikshank, "Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush," 22-3.

beads or metalwork were introduced on a limited scale from the coast to the Yukon around the 1700s and early-1800s.[9]

The earliest seeds of capitalism, brought by European fur-traders in 1842, failed to take root under the remote environment's isolation from the Canada-wide market. The individuals raised and residing in North America descended from European colonists will be termed "Settlers" moving forward to differentiate them from continental Europeans coming to Canada temporarily or recently. 1842 brought Robert Campbell's trading post at Frances Lake, followed by Fort Selkirk at the Pelly and Yukon River confluence in 1848. On behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, these posts meant to attain and profit off furs through goods and tools exchanges with local First Nations; they failed. Volatile prices for furs were a constant, overarching concern for the business that threatened profits with red ink on a yearly basis. Supplying their establishments over the vast prairies or Mackenzie River Delta cost the Hudson's Bay Company dearly, when the seasons permitted portage whatsoever. However tenuous the lines of transportation were, nearby First Nations, most notably the Tlingit, resented the Company's attempted undermining on their trade monopolies. Under these circumstances, Frances Lake was abandoned in 1851, as was Fort Selkirk after a Tlingit raid burned it down the next year.[10] Capitalist enterprise failed during this brief effort; Tlingit nations monopolised the profitable routes into the market whereas the remaining venues were untenable financially. Aside from some back-and-forth between the HBC and US-traders beyond the poorly-defined Alaskan border,[11] large corporations forsake the area until the Gold Rush opened new doors for them. A small collection of settlers trickled into the region around the 1880s to pan streams and creeks for valuable minerals, but their presence was extremely small. Population statistics from before 1901 are non-existent, but the roster of Settlers is estimated to have sat at only around 1700 by 1895 compared to thousands of Indigenous.[12] Furthermore, these Settlers resided primarily around Fortymile, a short distance north of the Yukon and Klondike River confluence. Their metal exports travelled out of the area for money spent too little to impact the Yukon on a wide or critical scale. Settlers avoided hiring indigenous people aside from occasional porters yet begrudgingly respected the coastal-Tlingit monopoly, paying the tolls rather than upending the system. For the most part, the Indigenous

[9] Kenneth Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973* (Montréal & Kingston, QB & ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 21.
[10] Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 23-4.
[11] Coates, 29-31.
[12] Douglas W. Allen, "Information Sharing during the Klondike Gold Rush," *The Journal of Economic History* 67, no. 4 (2007): 944–67, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022050707000459, 949.

population held little interest in extracting precious metals, despite the famous exceptions who later prompted the Gold Rush. Nearby individuals did shift from selling to the sluggish fur-trade to the miners instead, but the cash earned off the newcomers was supplementary, going primarily to what they viewed as luxury goods like metal tools and alcohol.[13] In the immaterial realm of behaviours, Settlers fostered a social norm of free information-sharing; hiding the source of one's metal-deposits was considered extremely poor form. In the remote Yukon, the Settlers acted in their whole community's interest rather than their own; the remote, clustered productive-zones both encouraged cooperation and discouraged claim-violations.[14] The decades preceding the Gold Rush carried flickers of capitalism from Settler migrants, but their effects were minimal and restrained. Social strata did not crystallise due to the enterprises' simple brevity and minuscule reach. The communal, non-exploitative, semi-nomadic, and strictly guarded Indigenous economy stood firm, as it had in ages prior.

Official government presence to the Yukon was gradual and reactive, with the intent to solidify Canada's claim on the land according to maps moreso than a serious attempt at integration. Historically owned by Russia, the United States purchased Alaska in 1867, the same year Canada was made an autonomous Dominion of the British Crown. Four years later, the Northwest Territories was transferred from Britain to Canadian administration, encompassing the present-day prairie provinces, northern territories, and sections of Québec as well as Ontario. The frontiers between the two new gains erred porous, given the lack of nearby Settler residents and extreme distances from Washington D.C. or Ottawa, which was highlighted in US Army General Frederick Schwatka's voyage. Sent in 1883 to chart the Yukon River, he did not stop past Alaska, but crossed well into Canadian-claimed land up to modern-day Whitehorse. Ottawa, leading a new country undertaking a massive, patriotic expansion, was dismayed to learn of this and sent George Mercer Dawson alongside William Ogilvie to map Yukon geography in 1887. Over their multi-year expedition, Dawson and Ogilvie documented flora, fauna, minerals, rock formations, and terrain from the southern Yukon to Fortymile. Notably, Ogilvie's route over the coastal mountains and northward from the Yukon watershed became the stampeders' primary highway a few years later.[15] Concurrently to these bureaucrats and officers' expeditions, fears over the

[13] Coates, 34-9.
[14] Allen, "Information Sharing during the Klondike Gold Rush," 946-7.
[15] Kenneth Coates and W.R. Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon* (Montreal & Kingston, QB & ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) 271-87.

miners' passive presence arose and provoked Ottawa's response. Like their higher-ranking contemporaries, the early prospectors mainly originated from the United States, a fact worrying Ottawa after previous experiences in Oregon and British Columbia when Canada remained a series of British colonies. As communities arose in those places over commercial ventures or gold-panning, Canadian-British authority was upset by illegal whiskey-trading and identity-supplantation by US patriotism. Both phenomena unfolded again across the Yukon between the 1880s and 1890s, warranting the Anglican Bishop's appeal for police and local disbelief that the region would remain Canadian. Importantly, the significant US-presence resulted in the British Empire losing control over Oregon until it sacrificed the claims in 1846 and contented itself with what became British Columbia. Desiring to prevent a repeat of the past, Ottawa sent the NWMP to the area in 1894 to formally police the previously officially-lawless region. The 20-man force dedicated itself to domestic regulation, supplanting the vigilante "miner's justice" conducting itself through floggings or other corporal punishments beforehand.[16]

The Klondike Gold Rush was the event that established a permanent, capitalist economy within the Yukon, as well as the territory itself in 1901. The Rush began on August 16th, 1896 when a collection of creek-panners discovered gold flakes near the Klondike River; their claim became known as Eldorado Creek. The following months witnessed Settler prospectors from nearby watersheds move in and pan for themselves, resulting in a multi-million ore load arriving at Pacific ports by the next spring. News of the discovery emanated quickly from the docks, until a mass-migration to the Yukon was in effect over the fall of 1897 up to 1900.[17] No census was conducted during this time-frame, leaving 1901 numbers the closest mark, yet roughly 40 000 people reached the Yukon Territory, not including the multitude that set out but turned away.[18] Many in this wave were Settlers facing minimal prospects, partially or entirely due to the economic depression in North America after 1893 until the early-1900s.[19] Dawson City grew at the Yukon and Klondike Rivers' confluence to service the stampeders who worked registered claims around the area. As such, the city hosted numerous hotels, theatres, saloons, brothels, and goods or tools stores alongside a bank, newspaper, and dockyards for transporting people as well

[16] W.R. Morrison, "The North-West Mounted Police and the Klondike Gold Rush," *Journal of Contemporary History* 9, no. 2 (April 1974): 93–105, https://doi.org/10.1177/002200947400900204, 94-6.
[17] Morrison, "The North-West Mounted Police and the Klondike Gold Rush," 332-49.
[18] Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon*, 349-51.
[19] Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 39.

as supplies. Although precise numbers were never taken, an estimated 30 000 individuals lived in Dawson at its height, predominantly men. Is is worth noting that Dawson proper sat closer to around 17 000, whereas the other 13 000 or so resided across the outlying watershed within a 30-mile, or 48 kilometre radius.[20] Isolation from Dawson, desperation for returns, and ensuing antisocial tendencies were widespread enough to garner the phrase "mad for the muck called gold," as seen in Robert Service's *The Shooting of Dan McGrew*.[21]

The route to Dawson and the surrounding gold-claims additionally saw new developments, namely concentrated around the mountains situated on coastal Alaska and the rapids near modern-day Miles Canyon. Crossing the former was intensely arduous, resulting in a series of basic accommodation and storage facilities appearing to capitalise on the hard-pressed market. Towns arose at each end of the journey as well; Skagway and Dyea formed as ports to disembark for the White Pass and Chilkoot Trails respectively,[22] while Carcross's docks greeted travellers at the other side. Like Dawson, entertainment appeared at these townships concurrently to the more practical infrastructure.[23] Upon setting off from Carcross by boat down the Yukon River's network, the Miles Canyon and its White Horse Rapids challenged the newcomers' frequently-amateur piloting skills. This section too was quickly serviced by a set of horse-drawn tramways carrying water-craft, supplies, and people about 7 km past the rapids. True to form, lodging and supplies stores sprung up at both sides of the line. The casualty rate among sailors of 1898's "Stampeder's Armada" grew so quickly that the NWMP, a predecessor to today's RCMP, soon prohibited future waves from passing unless deemed safe by an inspection.[24] By the later part of 1898, once the initial stampeders arrived, businessmen had begun assembling steamships to run between the rapids at Whitehorse and Dawson. From these ships' need for fuel came multiple logging camps situated along the Yukon River.[25] Finally, the route between Dawson and the Alaskan coast was completed in 1900 with the White Pass and Yukon Railway (WP&YR) route between Skagway and Whitehorse, leaving those with some means a quick,

[20] M. J. Kirchhoff, "Dawson's Boom Is Over," The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 110, no. 2 (Spring 2019): 55–65, https://doi.org/ https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26905775, 62.
[21] Robert W. Service, "The Shooting of Dan McGrew by Robert W. Service," Poetry Foundation, accessed November 23, 2023, https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/45082/the-shooting-of-dan-mcgrew.
[22] Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon*, 363.
[23] Coates and Morrison, 378-9.
[24] Coates and Morrison., 384.
[25] Coates and Morrison, 444.

non-laborious method of making the journey.[26] This feat was achieved in time to transport throngs of stampeders out of the territory, having discovered that their claims possessed either no gold, too little gold, or gold they could not attain with unskilled labour. Recounted by Kirchhoff, thousands-strong throngs of people throughout 1900 sought passage away; hard-brought goods were "now stacked in piles along the Dawson waterfront, offered to any buyer at fire sale prices."[27] In 1901, the Gold Rush came to a close when the majority of stampeders left for their homes or other opportunities, rapidly reversing the population explosion a few years earlier. The Klondike Gold Rush, having lasted roughly 5 years and benefited primarily those already nearby when Eldorado Creek first provided, was over.[28]

Policing the townships and Dawson represented a considerable strain for the small NWMP force present in 1896, although legal presence was rapidly expanded via more officers as well as introducing legal courts. The 20 men stationed in the Yukon or adjacent sections of British Columbia in 1896 received reinforcements as the stream of stampeders escalated, climbing to 254 in 1899. Although this marked a 1270% growth, the jurisdiction still demanded strategy to uphold Canadian laws and order.[29] Geography helped much of the program; the Chilkoot and White Pass trails funnelled stampeders through two easily-monitored spots where the NWMP could screen them and their supplies. The force quickly compiled a list of minimum tools, goods, currency, and clothing each newcomer must have to be admitted into the Yukon; failing the criteria meant refused entry and a long trek back to the coast. The list mandated a heavy and expensive load that could feed and house someone for up to six months, as well as cost up to $500 in cash. In ensuring everyone possessed enough means to support themselves for the near future, desperation-motivated acts of theft or violence were minimised later. Similarly, natural choke-points along the Yukon River, most critically the White Horse Rapids, hosted stations with sufficient officers to carry out regulations.[30] Around the final destination, Dawson, a sizeable, vigilant force held order and security over personal and property-rights.[31] The executive NWMP no longer acted alone after 1898, as roughly 80 lawyers are recorded coming

[26] Coates and Morrison, 349-51.

[27] M. J. Kirchhoff, "Dawson's Boom Is Over," The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 110, no. 2 (Spring 2019): 55–65, https://doi.org/ https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26905775, 59.
[28] Coates and Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon*, 563-4.
[29] Morrison, "The North-West Mounted Police and the Klondike Gold Rush," 96-7.
[30] Morrison, 99-100.
[31] Morrison, 102.

to the Yukon before 1900 to find employment registering gold-claims and arguing cases.[32] Ottawa likewise dispatched a Crown Justice and prosecutor to the Territory, ending the NWMP's previous role as judge, jury, and executioner.[33] At the Rush's height in July, 1898, The Yukon was broken from the Northwest Territories to become its own jurisdiction under a unique Commissioner in the capital of Dawson. Through these changes, The Yukon Territory's capitalist system, involving free exchange and right to property, was enshrined as well as enforced in law, solidifying the new system.

The Klondike Gold Rush evidently brought capitalism to the Territory; lands were parcelled as property en masse around Dawson while the Settler newcomers divided their labour and bought on the market. This process was unlike the settlement and imposition across the western prairies for the notable initiative of individual or small-business ventures instead of large corporations or the government. The lands between the Pacific coast and southern Ontario were settled through a top-down approach led by and the Federal government in Ottawa's Immigration Branch and supported by the railways, most prominently the Canadian Pacific (CPR). Ottawa sent recruiters to Europe during the late-1800s and early-1900s to persuade people to immigrate.[34] Meanwhile, railway, lumber, and mining companies lobbied extensively for an "open-door" migration policy in favour of their interests.[35] In turn, Settler homesteads and towns first appeared along extractive-sites and rail-routes, reflecting the corporations' roles in bring them to western Canada.[36] This program was founded in 1881 with a land-grant of 25 million acres, cash subsidies totalling over 50 million Canadian dollars, and a 20-year monopoly on US-bound transportation. When that was not sufficient, Ottawa passed another 22.5 million dollars in 1884's Railway Relief Act. The original justifications propagated by Prime Minister John A. McDonald's Conservative establishment revolved around nation-building.[37] Building a capitalist Canadian state in the prairies began with Ottawa propping up the railways, which in turn facilitated individual settlement.

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[32] Burt Harris, "*Fighting Spirits: The Yukon Legal Profession, 1898-1912*," essay, in Essays in the History of Canadian Law, vol. VI (Toronto, ON: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1995), 457–508, 458.
[33] Harris, "*Fighting Spirits: The Yukon Legal Profession, 1898-1912*," 460.
[34] Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 18-25.
[35] Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners,"* 29.
[36] Avery, 8.
[37] Omar Lavallé, Tabitha de Bruin, and Jessica Poulin, "Canadian Pacific Railway," The Canadian Encyclopedia, March 6, 2008, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-pacific-railway.

In sharp contrast to the prairie provinces, The Yukon's settlement commenced from the bottom-up with thousands of eager individuals or small groups seeking fortune. The early stampeders interacted with no large companies along their way to the Klondike watershed or once there; service providers were themselves small-scale entrepreneurs. Only during the middle of the Rush did the White Pass and Yukon Railway (WP&YR) form, and its meaningful impact on the Territory was felt by aiding its intended demographic's flight. As the stampeders left though, a series of businessmen purchased the unwanted plots for low prices, consolidated them, and shipped in new equipment to extract returns scattered gold-panners could never.[38] From the bases and infrastructure laid during the Rush, alternative mining opportunities were exploited outside Dawson's surroundings by professional operators, such as the copper deposits around Whitehorse. The WP&YR swiftly monopolised most transportation from its vantage as the largest entity in that field by buying the various steamships on the Yukon River from many previous owners. Over the winter of 1900-1901, the British Yukon Navigation Company (BYNC) was split off as a subsidiary corporation to manage the newly-acquired riverine portfolio.[39] As the First World War approached, The Yukon had developed, and even become dominated by, a collection of mining and logistics companies. Unlike their southern counterparts though, they had not brought the market to their region, only followed it. The WP&YR, despite ruling the routes in its domain like a miniature version of the CPR in the prairie provinces, could never boast that it created the Territory.

The opposite sequence of interest in the Yukon Territory on part of the average citizens, business community, and Federal government compared to the prairies appears to stem from the region's remoteness. There is no explicit, contemporary statement concerning why Ottawa nor sizeable corporations did not attempt to extend railways, townships, or farming-plots northward, but bureaucratic efforts heavily hint at the absence. The fur-trade in the Yukon failed to reap a profit against the distance, weather, geography, and market-volatility, demonstrating the risks of Yukon-based business in a broad sense. The mining sector turned out to be viable, but the surveying costs would be incredibly high with few strong indications of rewards to justify the gamble. Ultimately, a capitalist economy was brought by individuals who, matching their needs

[38] Coates and Morrison, 456-9.
[39] Coates and Morrison, 632-9.

as well as optimism, attempted to make their living in the Territory. It was on the routes and deposits these people noted leading up to and during the Klondike Gold Rush that companies formed during the frenzy and succeeding decades. The WP&YR was the sole transportation company, but Dawson's vicinity hosted a wide variety of mining entities between 1900 and 1914. The Canadian government held interest in the region prior to the Rush, but with no feasible agents to send, it was generally limited to solidifying borders and sovereignty rather than a serious drive for settlement. Ottawa paid for the upkeep of as minimal a police force as could remain visible, beginning with less than two dozen law-enforcement employees for the entire jurisdiction. From there, Ottawa's further deployments were reactionary, responding to incomers over encouraging them.

Events in The Yukon in the decades after the Gold Rush primarily concerned the mining companies or businessmen, with individual or government actions occasionally cropping up. The companies optimised production and extractive methods, but they rarely pushed the economic-system they operated under to new frontiers, preferring to stay at the edges stampeders scouted for them. The first dredging machine, capable of scouring creek beds on a large scale, appeared in The Yukon in 1900, and within a short time "the symbol of the gold-fields was not the pan but the dredge."[40] Pressurised steam and water pumps were also imported to clear solid ground as well as permafrost, aiding mining beyond the waterways. These machines took professional, skilled workers to operate and maintain as well as considerable sums of money to ship or assemble; they were the companies' luxuries. In the vacuum individual stampeders left, the Yukon Gold, Canadian Klondyke, and Granville Mining companies were established throughout 1906-1909 to dredge the namesake metal from creek-beds. On paper, this meant three gold-mining companies stood in the Dawson area, but in practice, only Canadian Klondyke under Joe Boyle maintained significant relevance for long. Over the next 12 years, $31 million worth of gold was found by Yukon Gold, yet the company downsized, having re-invested little into their facilities in place of short-term profit. Granville Mining's backers lost faith in Treadgold and pulled their investments for other ventures, collapsing the company into receivership by 1916. For a brief period, Boyle was the Territory's wealthiest, most influential property-owner, but his reach attracted legal concerns that coalesced into frequent, multi-year litigation. Eventually, Boyle left the Territory in 1916 to pursue a career with greater opportunities in outfitting troops

[40] Coates and Morrison, 589.

and saving the Romanian Crown Jewels. The Klondike's "King" left his son in charge of the dubious and struggling Yukon affairs, who passed his father's empire to receivership in 1918.[41] Despite the competition between the earliest three companies, two more arose in the 1910s: the New Northwest as well as Burrall and Baird Mining companies.[42] Whitehorse during this period gives a simpler story; nearby copper deposits were acquired by several groups and individuals, though the Atlas Mining Company acquired the lion's share. In addition, it dominated the infrastructure between the mines and the Yukon River's waterfront. Like Dawson, Whitehorse's copper-miners oversaw fluctuations in their fortunes with the volatile raw-ore market. The 1900-1914 period was marked with competition and consolidation, followed by a First World War-induced boom, then a collapse in 1920. Aside from a momentary re-opening a few years later, the 1920s-1960s copper-mining industry was dead and buried in the seeped tunnels it created.[43]

The three aforementioned insolvencies at Dawson between 1918 and 1920 were no coincidence; global gold-prices surged during the war but dropped in peacetime. Highlighting their own lack of vision, legal-standing, or credibility, the trio of companies failed to diversify and struggled to weather the decline. The wider assortment of gold-mining corporations, including the additional two founded after the pre-1910 ensemble, struggled to generate revenues post-war. To disperse the operating-costs and alleviate competition, the five merged under the Yukon Consolidated Gold Corporation (YCGC) alongside various individual and small-group outfits. Experienced miner Arthur Treadgold tried running another venture on Dawson's minerals in 1925, but his secretive business practices alienated investors, who unseated him four years after; his was the last expansive effort of the era. The seasonal-window was too narrow, resources too scarce, and the market at which to sell them too distant for the Territory to host numerous gold-mining corporations in competition.[44] As Coates explains, "only large, well-capitalized companies could continue in this increasingly marginal industry and region. To exploit the resource efficiently and quickly, a multifaceted organization was essential, one that included expensive and complex dredges and hydraulic facilities, power plants, work camps, and miles of roads."[45] The Yukon's share of national gold production shrank from 1900's 80% to

[41] Coates and Morrison, 599-617.
[42] Coates and Morrison, 721.
[43] Coates and Morrison, 623-5.
[44] Coates and Morrison, 721-7.
[45] Coates and Morrison, 727.

1926's 1.5%,[46] while a record 1 million fine ounce flood thinned to a 26 thousand-strong trickle between those same points.[47] Wages were a source of discord at times, given the high costs of employing people to mine in a region so remote,[48] culminating vocally through a set of strikes in 1929. Late pay-cheques instigated a worker-abstention - from May 17th-19th at the Burrell and Baird Mining Company's machine-shop, terminated when the strikers were paid.[49] A similar incident occurred on June 18th that same year, which was briefer but involved the dredgers and drillers too - this later strike also wrapped up when Burrell and Baird Mining paid its employees' missing wages.[50] However, the situation remained generally static after 1929, when worldwide financial uncertainty caused by the Great Depression bolstered gold-prices. Under competent if unpopular leaders presiding over adequate profits, the companies were able to pay their employees and maintain equipment enough to stay in business.[51]

Although mining around Dawson and early Whitehorse remained the Yukon's primary economic activity, they were not the sole sectors. The greatest launch was Keno's silver mines, which appeared to exploit silver-lead deposits in the nearby hills. Despite the hardships of business in Dawson, this case represents the only major corporate departure from the lands stampeders had plotted out and surveyed prior to 1945. Fur-trapping, transportation, and commercial sales likewise fanned out to attain profits, though corporate entities played little role in opening new revenue-streams akin to during the Rush. Keno's hillsides were first scouted in 1919 and developed into a bustling silver-lead ore-mining site by Yukon Gold and the outsider Alaska Treadwell. Conditions in these mines appear to have been harsher and less preferable for employees, facilitating longer strikes than in Dawson. An April 1921, 33-day strike at the entire Yukon Gold Company's Keno mine took place over low pay. The first eventually leased its areas and facilities to Treadwell in 1924, but the second continued work in the region for a decade before moving onto silver-deposits at Galena Creek in 1935. Treadwell, reflecting its distinct origins from the remaining Anglo-Canadian companies, assisted or covered payments on roads,

[46] Coates and Morrison, 719.
[47] Coates and Morrison, 705.
[48] Coates and Morrison, 728-9.
[49] "*Department of Labour, Economics and Research Branch: Strikes and lockout files - 2755*," 1929, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2755, *Strikes and lockout files*, p. 63, Record from Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t2755.
[50] "*Department of Labour, Economics and Research Branch : Strikes and lockout files - 2755*," 289.
[51] Coates and Morrison, 727-8.

housing, and transport-vessels throughout the area to an extent unseen in Dawson or Whitehorse.[52] In doing so, Treadwell's operations reflect a gradual shift towards top-down rather than bottom-up development in the Yukon. The Gold Rush's individualist, opportunistic spirit endured through the Settler fur-trappers who moved across the Territory for pelts to sell. The Territorial Government in Dawson held little interest in this field, and subjected it to minimal regulations compared to laws in provincial Canada. In turn, this made the Yukon attractive for aspiring fur-trappers;[53] some even began raising their pelts with fox-farms.[54] Following the fur-trading market, numerous general stores sprang up within the Yukon to accept pelts and pass them along; businessmen Isaac Taylor and Bill Drury's local company specifically ran roughly a dozen locations.[55] 11 Taylor and Drury stores existed in the Territory in 1930,[56] and the final location bearing their name outlived them until the 1970s.

Naturally, The Yukon's new economy and community organised into distinct social classes reflecting their members' occupations as well as racial or cultural backgrounds. The Gold Rush shook the region's demographics and the next 45 years saw all groups settle, then shift piecemeal. Like contemporary Canadian urban centers of Toronto, Edmonton, or Vancouver, an upper-class of people with primarily British, specifically Anglo-Saxon racial heritage adhering to such roots culturally and based in white-collar, middle class work formed in Dawson. This involved traditionally British, upper-class traditions of hosting tea-socials or holiday assemblies. Behavioural restrictions were stricter than their working-class counterparts, with a particular distaste for prostitution or gambling on pretences of respectability. Had they resided in cities, their own standing would be diminished in contrast to businessmen managing multi-generational fortunes, but they were the analogous wealthy, respectable society in their section of the north. This sector of Dawson's social scene had its origins in the Gold Rush but only became sizeable or influential after it concluded. Actors from this class were partially responsible for undermining Dawson's brothels, culminating in 1905's crackdown forcing them to operate and advertise discreetly. The other half of this step was the flight of prospecting young men; male-to-female ratios were near even in 1914, unlike the Gold Rush's disparity in favour of the former.

[52] Coates and Morrison, 708-18.
[53] Coates and Morrison, 734-7.
[54] Kwänlin Dün First Nation, *Listen to the Stories*, 22.
[55] Coates and Morrison,, 734-7.
[56] Coates and Morrison, 737.

Lower on the social rankings were the working classes, composed of European Settlers employed in blue-collar, more manual or technical labour with mining, logistics, service, or hospitality.[57] Unlike the upper-class, these individuals were scattered across the Yukon beyond just Dawson in transportation hubs like Whitehorse, which the former tended to ignore.[58] Broadly speaking, regulations were looser among this class, fostering a significant prostitution industry and gambling practice during the Gold Rush. Traditions requiring greater leisure time, such as tea socials or fancy-dress balls, were a distinct mark of The Yukon's wealthy upper-class.[59] Like their higher-placed counterparts though, The Yukon's lower-class Settlers identified with Anglo-Saxon heritage, though this manifested in loud, nationalistic displays and publications. The Klondike Nugget newspaper, run during the Gold Rush, publicised positive articles about international Anglo-Saxon identity, as did other papers like the Dawson Daily News in restrained manner.[60] This class's early formation involved a distinctly pan-national element due to the strong presence of US-citizens, but grew more staunchly British as the population dropped and borders solidified.[61]

The last class-categorisation were the Indigenous, who were mostly kept separated from the Settler communities on racial causes, though their interactions were subject to location and fluctuations between 1896 and the Second World War. During the Rush, Indigenous men were frequently hired as porters and guides by stampeders, but the wider First Nations were generally left alone unless the newcomers had designs on the areas they lived. That considered, incoming Settlers typically held little regard for the First Nations' land claims, and a 1902 petition for such recognition by Champagne-Aisihak Chief Jim Boss was ignored in Ottawa.[62] Indigenous people were displaced from their traditional lands when newcomers established towns or facilities on them. Dawson and the gold-claims sat on Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in territory, whose Chief Isaac

[57] Coates and Morrison, 571-82.
[58] Coates and Morrison, 769.
[59] Coates and Morrison, 579-80.
[60] Adam Arenson, "Anglo-Saxonism in the Yukon: The Klondike Nugget and American-British Relations in the 'Two Wests,' 1898–1901," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (August 2007): 373–404, https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2007.76.3.373, 381.
[61] Arenson, "Anglo-Saxonism in the Yukon," 399-403.
[62] Kirk Cameron, "Resolving Conflict between Canada's Indigenous Peoples and Crown through Modern Treaties: Yukon Case History," *New England Journal of Public Policy* 31, no. 1 (2019): 1–11, https://doi.org/https://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp/vol31/iss1/4, 4.

relocated them away from the city to the nearby Moosehide reservation in 1900.[63] Whitehorse lay on fishing grounds used between multiple nearby nations, later termed the Kwänlin Dün, who were forced onto a reservation named Lot 226 by the local Settler authorities 15 years after the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's move.[64] Elsewhere along the Yukon River network, the post-Rush service-town Mayo displaced the local Na-Cho Nyäk Dun.[65] Settler occupation and construction upon these various sites made living off the landscape harder for Indigenous residents, turning them to increasingly rely on fish, meat, and hide sales. According the Kwänlin Dün members, "we were more a part of the wage economy"[66] compared to before. "Harvesting wild meat, fish and plants was still an important part of our lives but (they) had become accustomed to store bought goods."[67] Whitehorse, Dawson, and a town near Keno named Mayo were "white enclaves"[68] as Coates describes, and their reach was reserved past them. Generally, they employed the Indigenous temporarily while reserving skilled, non-manual labour for Settlers. The so-called white enclaves avoided Indigenous admittance except for basic services[69] and widely shunned members who became too friendly crossing racial lines.[70] Employees from the First Nations would not find lasting jobs in the Settler townships until the 1940s, when the Second World War depleted manpower among the white population. A 700-strong total YCGC crew in 1941 dwindled to less than 200 by 1944, causing the YCGC to hire Indigenous men, the first company to do so.[71] Discrimination extended past recruitment though, as services like the Mayo Hospital treated Indigenous in a separate tent;[72] Whitehorse hospital did likewise following settler complaints.

Nevertheless, the First Nations in The Yukon away from the Dawson-Whitehorse-Carcross corridor lived according to their traditional lifestyles, engaging with the expanded Settler presence in a like manner to the fur trading posts of the 1800s. This included their own

[63] CBC News, "Yukon First Nation Rebuilds Heritage Through Biennial Moosehide Gatherings | CBC News," CBCnews, July 31, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/moosehide-gathering-trondek-hwechin-han-1.4767676.
[64] Kwänlin Dün First Nation, 36-7.
[65] Coates and Morrison, 776-7.
[66] Kwänlin Dün First Nation, 20.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Coates and Morrison, 776.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Coates and Morrison, 773-5.
[71] Coates and Morrison., 827.
[72] Coates and Morrison, 777.

social-organisation of communal living, seasonal migration, clan moities, and elder-seniority; they remained nations regardless of the new, overarching Territory's politics. With numerical superiority outside the towns, relations between Settlers and Indigenous were generally more equitable and amiable. Settlers who chose to live and work throughout these lands maintained healthier working relationships with members of the First Nations,[73] though friction still showed at times over fur trapping methods.[74] Alongside partnerships, Settlers employed Indigenous people as guides for hunting or tourism expeditions, as did law enforcement. The advent of the 1920s introduced ground-shaking alterations to the social-program immediately post-Gold Rush, forcibly assimilating Indigenous youth. The Canadian Parliament legislated mandatory Indigenous attendance at boarding schools where they would be taught the English or French languages and cultures alongside other curriculum, known as Residential Schools. Already established in parts of the country, these institutions were expanded and made obligatory Canada-wide in order to remove Indigenous children from their heritage and assimilate them into Settler culture. One such place was constructed in Dawson that same year to accompany those pre-existing at Whitehorse and Carcross. Fitting with the typical pattern elsewhere, these schools were run by churches, though the Yukon's all fell under the Anglican denomination. The cultural genocide was brutal unto itself and left swathes of the Indigenous population isolated from any stable means of social-support or income.[75] Additionally, the attendees' vulnerability on account of their ages, races, and isolation exposed them to abuses exacerbating traumas across generations until today. Over the course of the 1910s until the Second World War's end, the Indigenous were classified within the Territory as an inferior out-group whose wishes, customs, and claims the Settlers ignored. Within themselves and away from Settler centers, each of the nations' identities endured but faced Ottawa and Dawson's campaigns for erasure via cultural genocide.

The Klondike Gold Rush made the Yukon, but yet another major expansion came between 1942 and 1943: the Alaska Highway. Termed the Alcan at conception, the roadway from Dawson Creek, British Columbia through the southern Yukon to Fairbanks, Alaska at last granted the Territory an overland connection to the rest of Canada. Trails to British Columbian

[73] Coates and Morrison, 773-5.
[74] Coates and Morrison, 738.
[75] Coates and Morrison, 135-6.

and Albertan cities had existed since the Gold Rush, but were neither well-maintained nor able to run large vehicles. Alaska shared this landward disconnect; the two stood alone. Ideas for a wide, solid road to the Yukon had been floated over the years prior to Japan's 1941 attack on the United States and European empires in the Pacific, but the war rendered the absence no longer tolerable. Japanese fleets could potentially isolate The Yukon as well as Alaska by harassing shipping lanes to the latter's ports, so an unpaved highway was commenced within three months of the conflict's start. For the war-effort's sake, the United States Army was permitted to build on Canadian soil in addition to commandeering the WP&YR and BYNC. The military promptly added branching roads to other Alaskan and Yukon townships near the main highway, including the Haines Road and eventual South Klondike Highway. The former reached Haines, Alaska while the latter gave Carcross road-access. Locomotives from several railways in the continental US augmented the ageing WP&YR's roster, which had retained 70-year-old locomotives as spares up to then. Over merely nine months after February, 1942, the US Army laid down a rough, yet complete road for military use, alongside reinvigorating the railway's antiquated fleet with new locomotives. Airfields peppered the Territory as well; though little more than a field and wind-sock in places, they reduced travel times to small, predominantly Indigenous communities.[76] The US military, ordered to action due to the Second World War, radically changed logistics in the Yukon Territory over a brief, four-year period. Automobiles and aircraft could operate throughout the land on a much greater scale than possible prior, while pre-existing railway infrastructure enjoyed renewed capacity since the Great Depression. Above all else though, Yukoners now beheld a direct, landward connection to British Columbia, and by extension, the remainder of North America as a whole. The Skagway and Whitehorse disembarkations and goods-portages necessary along the previous journey were obsolete, as one needed only to get in their vehicle and drive.

Like Keno's mines, the highway project better resembled the prairie-settlement process; a government poured immense resources into infrastructure across a remote area. However, the similarities end there, as the effort held no profit incentive at all; even the stampeders and Keno-ventures had financial motive. This fact was underscored by the tempo of progress and scale of construction, which far exceeded earlier, private-enterprises' achievements. The pacing was additionally breakneck; the Hudson's Bay Company and WP&YR showed that establishing

[76] Coates and Morrison, 841-87.

networks in the Yukon would be time-consuming and restrained under corporate resources and fiscal caution, if not abandoned. Clearing thousands of kilometres in such sparsely populated lands was a daunting task for ambitious entrepreneurs. In contrast, the world's largest economy with few fiscal obligations finished in less than a year and branched off to build side-roads as well as airfields. The US troops constructed the roadway because Washington D.C. ordered they do so, holding no ambitions or permission to own the route once finished. According to the Government of Canada's releases, the road cost around 185 million Canadian dollars in present money to build so quickly.[77] National security was the expected return, not revenues, and the builders were soldiers, not employees. The US military retained control over the Yukon's logistics until 1946, and the Canadian armed forces that took over the highway waited another two years to open it for civilian usage.[78]

Once the Alaska Highway and airfields had been constructed, both the Canadian government and corporations finally invested in the growing Yukon Territory's economy by propping mines and infrastructure throughout the landscape. The ensuing atmosphere for road-building lead to post-war improvements on other routes; Whitehorse and the nascent mines at Mayo were linked by road in 1950, while Dawson connected to the Alaska Highway the year after. Nevertheless, the Highway spelled the death knell for Dawson's pre-eminence in the Yukon. The rails, roads, and airways all favoured Whitehorse. The steamships also lost relevance because of the US military's work; vehicles on the highway could beat their travel-times. The steamships struggled to match the roads' appeal, so they declined until the last was laid-up in 1955.[79] Meanwhile, the long-standing gold-mining around Dawson had finally lost their lustre, literally and metaphorically, to the extent that few retained interest in new ventures there. To the immense displeasure of Dawson's residents and the upper-class who lived there, Whitehorse became the territory's new capital city in 1953.[80] Seemingly never lacking for mineral opportunities, Dawson as well as Whitehorse hosted asbestos and copper mines between the 1960s and 1980s, after which they concluded over health risks and depletion. Zinc-rich lands around modern-day Faro were discovered and mined in 1969-onwards with the zeal classic to the

[77] Government of Canada, "Alaska Highway," Canada.ca, November 20, 2023, https://www.canada.ca/en/public-services-procurement/services/infrastructure-buildings/bridges-docks-dams/alaska-highway.html.
[78] Coates and Morrison, 960-3.
[79] Coates and Morrison, 870-1.
[80] Coates and Morrison, 968-9.

territory by then. The Cold War stoked concerns that sparsely-populated northern lands could be used as a route to invade Canada or attack urban centers, so Ottawa expanded its involvement there. To support a populous and source of strategic wartime-resources, the Federal government funded the mines' activities. In turn, the WP&YR constructed another branch operating trucks to Faro, the first significant growth in decades. Furthermore, the railway dieselised its locomotive fleet, pioneered container shipping, and reduced its already limited passenger services to a near-vestigial state. From an engineering marvel to the region's chief transporter, then an ore-shipping shell born again under military seizure, the railway kept evolving, yet this proved the last stage of its storied lifespan.[81] The fur industry suffered post-Second World War, initially over lack of demand but then hampered by regulations about and around regulating trap-lines. 1947 brought a fresh ban against selling wild meat while 1949 ushered in a $10 trap-line registration processing fee, affecting the entire industry but especially Indigenous communities. Fur-trapping and meat-vending had been a vibrant and culturally-aligned source of supplies and income for many Indigenous, who naturally resented this blow to their traditional lifestyles. Moving forward though, the industries lost; trap-line usage plummeted among settlers alongside First Nations and returned gradually, though Settler-presence in the sector disappeared. The Taylor and Drury chain diminished, relying on fur-trading to run several stores outside the Settler-founded towns. Meanwhile, 2000's trap-line roster of 400 marked a near-return to 1954's 430, most assisted or working under Indigenous individuals. Signaling further recovery, the First Nations' fur-industry generated roughly $300 000 in the 1998-2001 period, highlighting the regrowth since 1949.[82]

However, Ottawa subtly backed away from running The Yukon as well as the associated costs once the Cold War's international tensions started cooling during the late-1970s and 1980s. While global hostilities were dissipating during the 1970s, Ottawa cancelled its funding to the Faro Zinc Mine. Nobody else required zinc from the world's largest such mine in the still-remote Yukon, so the enterprise shut down alongside this decision. Mine-closures were by now quite familiar to the Yukon, but end of Faro's venture exhausted the WP&YR's last revenue-stream. Lingering one more year to assist with site tear-downs, the railway closed its doors in 1982.[83] Ottawa's support dried elsewhere too; 1978's Yukon Elections Act awarded the Territory an

[81] Coates and Morrison, 999-1011.
[82] Coates and Morrison, 984-8.
[83] Coates and Morrison, 1012-6.

elected, non-advisory legislature while discussions advanced regarding First Nations autonomy.[84] Political events like the White Paper proposal in 1969 indicated that racist attitudes were softening nationwide and this was reaching the halls of Ottawa. Arguments for the current political organization became increasingly reliant on legal rather than moral points, and in this area the Yukon's First Nations had a benefit compared to their southern counterparts: they never signed any treaties. The Federal government, which legally based its policies concerning the Indigenous on historic legislation and treaties, had no such justification to apply in the Yukon. The Together Today For Our Children Tomorrow (TTFOCT) advocacy group, started in 1973, discussed and extolled recognition of their traditional lands and their rights there. Talks between Ottawa, Whitehorse, and TTFOCT culminated in 1993's Umbrella Final Agreement. In it, claims to land traditionally populated by 14 different First Nations were formally recognized and respected by the Territorial as well as Federal governments. On said land, the First Nations' own Councils exercised their rights over resources, citizenship, hunting, fishing, and economic development. Only 4 nations agreed with the terms initially, staying instead under the Indian Act, but discussions and revelations have brought 11 of the 14 to sign by 2023.[85] Concurrently, responsibilities on matters like combating wild-fires and managing land were devolved to Whitehorse, who received indirect support via funding from Ottawa to handle their governance.[86] It took time, but 2003's Bill C-39 transferred all land, resources, water, forests, and environmental oversight to the Yukon's government, "arguably the most important rights of regional governance."[87] Shortly after the new millennia, the Yukon Territory's economy had completed a circle concerning outside interest; large companies moved into already-established markets rather than expand them. Meanwhile, a distant Ottawa was satisfied sending cheques so that the public servants on the ground could carry on their work and stake the area as Canadian.

The social strata among The Yukon's Settler population significantly lessened following the Second World War; aspirations to display oneself on a cultured pedestal fell out of vogue. Wealth continued subtly influencing who occupied which place, but Yukon society abandoned its Victorian-esq class-focus going forward. Additionally, the roadways facilitated inward and

[84] Coates and Morrison, 1077.
[85] Cameron, "Resolving Conflict," 4-6.
[86] Gurston Dacks, Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 1990), 7.
[87] Coates and Morrison, 1099.

outward migration on a scale previously unknown there, disrupting established cliques in the region. The Indigenous standing in The Yukon remained disadvantaged and typically set against Settler ideals, yet favourable changes gradually occurred due to their advocacy and a more tolerant Ottawa. Overt racial discrimination such as denying medical services slowly became less prevalent as public sentiment viewed such attitudes unfavourably, but undertones lingered institutionally. The fur-trapping regulations demonstrate this early, but hiring practices at the mines likewise looked over Indigenous applicants, if they applied, for white people instead. The Federal government's expanded welfare-régime reached the Indigenous population post-1945, but came with strings attached. Ottawa now possessed greater means to force Residential School attendance than it had before, and parents wishing to be closer to their children had to move near towns. The 1960s oversaw the peak of Residential School enrolment in The Yukon, headed off with another hall built in 1964 to manage local students who could night elsewhere. Otherwise, the money-based economy imposed through regulations and welfare-cheques impacted the First Nations' ability to practice their traditional lifestyles. However, First Nations leaders under TTFOCT's campaigning for restoration of their rights started reversing this trend by reclaiming their nations' agencies. In a loud, public example, they sat no longer "outside the power elite of the national and subnational governance structure protesting the actions of an uncaring or hostile public government."[88] Conflicts over Indigenous versus Settler outlooks did not cease, but the former had rekindled input and impact. In having a voice over their regions' economic development and decisions, the First Nations' citizens could again practice their traditional lifestyles under a government amenable to their interests.[89] Akin to legalistic prose found in Ottawa, members of the Settler population expressed reservations about Indigenous interference to profits under their capitalist model.[90] The reticence was not insurmountable, and the Umbrella Final Agreement's realisation marked an advancement in improving the reduced Indigenous standing. Meanwhile, opposition to the Residential School system inside and outside The Yukon spelled their closures nationwide between the late-1960s to early-1990s. Whitehorse and Carcross's locations shut down over 1967-1968;[91] Dawson's had ceased operations in 1943. By

[88] Kirk Cameron, "Resolving Conflict between Canada's Indigenous Peoples and the Crown through Modern Treaties: Yukon Case History," New England Journal of Public Policy 31, no. 1 (2019): 1–11 https://doi.org/https://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp/vol31/iss1/4, 1.
[89] Coates and Morrison, 1062-3.
[90] Coates and Morrison, 1058.
[91] Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 205.

2000, the Indigenous were no longer explicitly outcasts, yet their nations remained distinct and had become officially influential in a manner many southern contemporaries had not.

Analyzing The Yukon's history over the recent two centuries, capitalist establishment there appears unique when held against the prairie-expansion narrative. The harsh winters, mountainous terrain, and vast distances dis-incentivized settler corporations from opening there and Ottawa from propping them up. The First Nations' environmentally-concerned lifestyle and monopolized-product market stood viable for centuries, whereas the earliest Hudson's Bay Company presence floundered. Intensive, energetic snapshots in history carried capitalism to the Territory: the Gold Rush and the Alaska Highway's construction. Individual Settlers who perceived little to lose and much to gain brought townships north and expanded the market for companies like the WP&YR or gold-processors to follow. Later capitalist mass-development initiatives only slowly shifted from small-scale entities governments at the absolute top of the resource-hierarchy and eventually companies. Throughout the decades, an upper and lower-class hierarchy developed among the Settler population, modelled persistently off British customs and attitudes found in urban centers like Toronto, Edmonton, or Vancouver. Due to racism, the Settler groups were kept closed to white, ideally British-descended residents while Indigenous were excluded. Their townships, already imposing themselves on First Nation's lands, were overtly discriminatory, denying services as well as employment. Citizens in these places begrudgingly lessened their practices, both formal and informal, as years passed under economic strain or changing attitudes. Unlike the provinces, the Yukon First Nations were not as thoroughly disenfranchised or absorbed by the Territory's Settler population; treaties were never signed and reservations cropped up only sometimes. Settler-First Nations relationships immediately after the Rush were generally equitable and cordial outside townships, yet intrusion always loomed and later caused social harm, such as the cultural genocide via Residential Schools. Despite their treatment, the absence of treaties and demographic presence throughout the territory facilitated Indigenous re-empowerment through autonomy not seen in the more-populous provinces. These multiple factors have bred a distinct district in modern-day, as Indigenous-Settler organization is unique and popular attitudes about large corporations have remained skeptical, glimpsed in Wal-Mart's 2000 Whitehorse début.[92] On one hand, Yukon-raised individuals such as myself can hold the territory as a paradigm for addressing Indigenous

[92] Coates and Morrison, 1015-20.

affairs and capitalist development in Canada's future. Yet on the other, the region's uniqueness arose in turn from unique factors; researching them helps understand what lessons The Yukon can impart as an example for theorists.

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Nationalism and Lithography in 19th-Century France

Julie Sheppard

Nationalism can be defined as "loyalty and devotion to a national consciousness, especially a sense of exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations."[1] During the 19th century, nationalist movements occurred across Europe in Italy, Britain, Germany and France. Feelings of national pride manifested in the popular imaginations of people as art and culture were flooded with nationalistic imagery and themes. Alongside the increased arts and culture, came a new method of printmaking called lithography. Lithography was invented in Germany by Bavarian playwright Alois Senefelder.[2] Lithography uses large, flat pieces of limestone that have been ground down to a flat surface. A greasy medium, such as oil crayon is used to create an image on the stone. The stone is etched using Gum Arabic and acid. The etching defines the areas of the stone to which an oil-based ink adheres.[33] Then, the stone is placed onto a press and, after printing, a reverse image appears on the paper. Although lithography was created in Germany toward the end of the 18th century, it greatly influenced French nationalism throughout the mid to late 19th century.

Lithography influenced nationalism through the production of three types of media. First, lithography introduced the first mass-produced, multi-coloured posters with complicated imagery. Because they were mass-produced, posters were more inclusive than previous forms of visual media, and allowed visual imagery to be seen by parts of the population who were not established enough to attend *salons* in visual culture. Lithographic posters also played a role in determining national political and social opinions. Second, lithography influenced French culture by increasing the production of sheet music during the 18th century. Historically, music was relatively confined to the church. With the production of sheet music, music was no longer exclusive to religious contexts and it entered the culture of the bourgeoisie. Finally, lithography

[1] "Nationalism Definition & Meaning," Merriam-Webster, accessed June 9, 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism.
[2] "The Discovery of Lithography." *Scientific American* 69, no. 3 (1893): 42, http://www.jstor.org/stable/26109575.
[3] "Lithography.—What It Is." *Scientific American* 14, no. 16 (1858): 121, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24955014.

brought greater access to maps, broadening the population's understanding of France's national geography and enhancing an understanding of France's place in the world at that time.

Lithographic posters bridged the gaps among the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the lower classes. Before the production of lithographic posters, fine art during the 17th and 18th century in France was viewed mainly at *salons*.[4] France's *salons* offered a place for the upper-middle class and the aristocracy to view and discuss fine art, but the exclusivity of these gatherings deprived a large part of the country's population access to this form of French culture. In contrast, posters allowed the entire population to experience similar forms of complex visual culture. However, feelings toward lithographic bill advertisements differed across classes. Jules Chéret, a popular poster designer and lithographer during the late 18th century, advocated for lithographic bill advertisements, describing "[t]he poster [had] reached perfection and the walls of [Paris] have become the salons of the people."[5] Regardless of designers' excitement for the new medium, lithographic posters being the "salons on the street" became an overused cliché, repeated mostly by French critics who often referred to poster culture as the "salon of the poor."[6] The criticism surrounding posters from fine art critics is understandable because posters were often not intended to be considered fine art; they were considered primarily as a form of advertising and as a means of commerce:

> Posters turned the street into a commodified space where advertisers paid the municipality or building owners for the right to post posters and appeal to the passers by providing a free spectacle that was not merely art nor even entertainment, but commerce.[7]

Posters also played a role during the capital crisis during the late 19th century, when the financial markets collapsed, forcing the industry to seek out new markets. This creates a higher demand

[4] William Ray, "Talking about Art: The French Royal Academy Salons and the Formation of the Discursive Citizen," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 4 (2004): 530.
[5] Ruth Iskin, *The Poster : Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s-1900s*, 1st ed. (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2014), 175.
[6] Iskin, *The Poster*, 195.
[7] Iskin, 176.

for advertising.[8] Regardless of the controversy of whether posters should be considered fine art and held to the same caliber as the work in *salons*, the entire population of France continuously experienced a common visual culture through lithography, influencing the nation's taste and sense of what was considered good art. When everyone saw the same mass-produced art through lithographic posters, the themes and the imagery portrayed on them started to shape a unified visual culture among the population that was specific to France.

Posters not only impacted nationalism through their visuals, but also promoted nationalism because they contained "various cultural, social, political, institutional, and technological contexts".[9] Posters were all over public spaces and were impossible to miss. By seeing the posters, French people, regardless of their class, were influenced by the content. The posters created an opportunity to introduce new ideas and to influence all the classes in France equally, creating more unity and nationalism. The 1894 poster advertisement by Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, for example, depicts two military figures, one standing straight holding a rifle and the other riding a white horse through the street while two young women watch (Fig. 1). The scene is created using multiple colour lithographic layers and a black key layer, making the work appear more illustrative. Bold, black type reading, "Babylone d'Allemagne" is placed across the poster over the figures.[10] The poster celebrates Victor Joze's *Babylone d'Allemagne*, a series of satirical accounts of corruption and debauchery in Germany. Its title is "an insulting reference to Berlin (the German Babylon)"[11]. The poster's insulting nature affected French society's perception of Germany, a country which France had gone to war with during the Franco-Prussian war, and whose unification in 1871 placed it as a direct competitor of France.[12] Politically driven imagery and messages represented in widespread posters, contributed to shaping coherent views across the French population.

[8] Stewart B Lawrence, "Lecture 21: Introduction to Imperialism and the "Scramble for Africa" (lecture presentation, Memorial University course HISTORY 2310-001, St John's, NL, June 3, 2024), slide 4.
[9] Iskin, 174.
[10] Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Babylone d'Allemagne*, c.1894, 124 X 88 cm.
[11] Toulouse-Lautrec.
[12] Britannica Encyclopædia, "Franco-German War," Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed June 9, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/event/Franco-German-War.

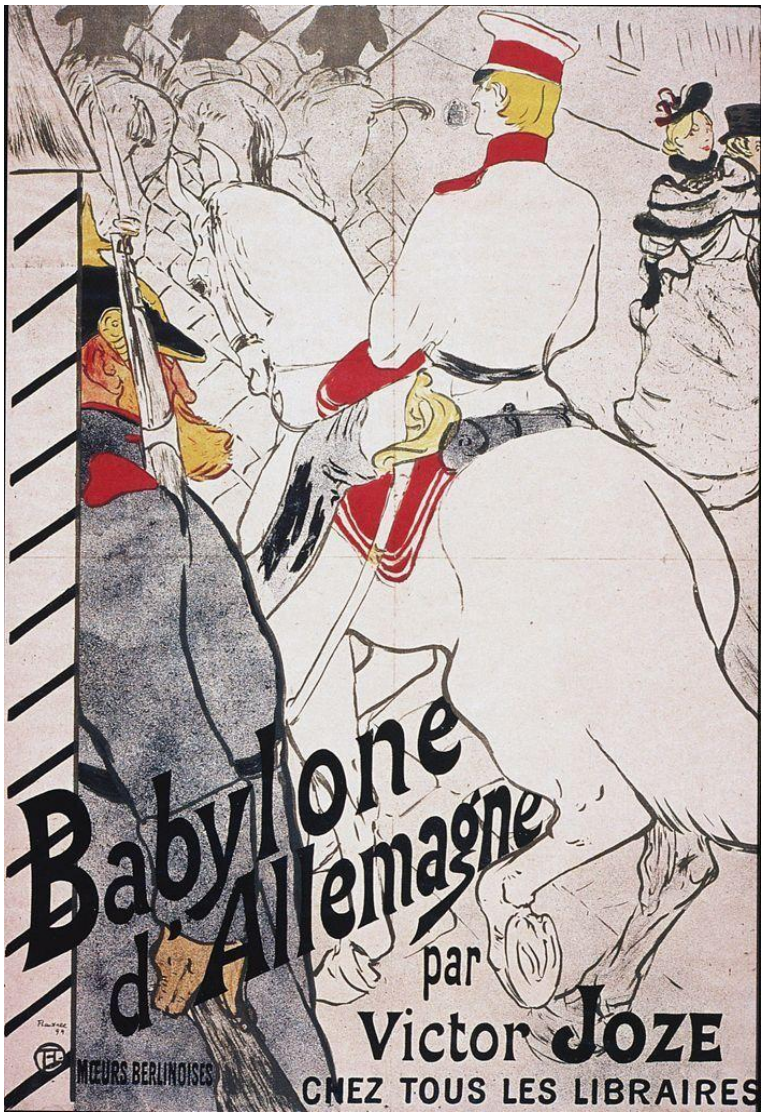

Fig. 1. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Babylone d'Allemagne*. c.1894. 124 X 88 cm.

However, lithography was not limited to creating visual imagery, it also influenced the development of music production. The accessibility of sheet music through lithography led to a common music culture that enhanced nationalism in 19th-century France. An increase in literacy spread throughout Europe in the 19th century, especially in France as "[a] significant improvement in male literacy occurred during the Revolution".[13] This increase in literacy meant that more French people were able to read and learn music. New lithographic mark making made sheet music more readable and accessible.

[13] James R. Lehning, "Literacy and Demographic Behavior: Evidence from Family Reconstitution in Nineteenth Century France," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1984): 543, https://doi.org/10.2307/367736.

> Publishers seized upon lithography immediately after its invention at the turn of the century to print sheet music for home use with flashy, colorful illustrations which proved easily saleable. New methods of movable type served a different market, the mass choral movement, because they were able to produce cheap, easy-to-read vocal parts for singers still struggling to scan their lines. [14]

With lithography sheet music could be printed in vast quantities and it was portable and inexpensive. This resulted in the easy and effective distribution of sheet music throughout the country, including the most rural areas. The result was that more French citizens in the country's different regions, which all varied culturally, could have a common experience through nationalistic music.

The increased production of sheet music also led to more civic groups practicing music together, thus helping to bridge class gaps across France. The availability of sheet music gave the bourgeoisie the opportunity to share culture and their music, and "[t]he number and the level of involvement of civic organizations and societies in the practice of music and the spreading of musical culture were unprecedented".[15] With lithography, musical practices could exist outside of the aristocracy, paving the way for the development of national culture outside of the church and the homes of the upper class and the opera.[16]

Another form of content printed lithographically includes maps. The increase in lithographic map production helped increase their availability to the French population, ultimately expanding nationalism in 19th century France. Figure 2 indicates a positive correlation between lithography and the production of maps.[17]

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[14] Wiliam Weber, "Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 25, no. 1/2 (1994): 94, https://doi.org/10.2307/836942.
[15] Kritsztina Lajosi, "Shaping the Voice of the People in Nineteenth-Century Operas," In *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Tomothy Baycroft and David Hopkin, (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2012), 15.
[16] Lajosi, 5.
[17] Karen S Pearson, "The Nineteenth-Century Colour Revolution: Maps in Geographical Journals," *Imago Mundi* 32 (1980):10, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1150671.

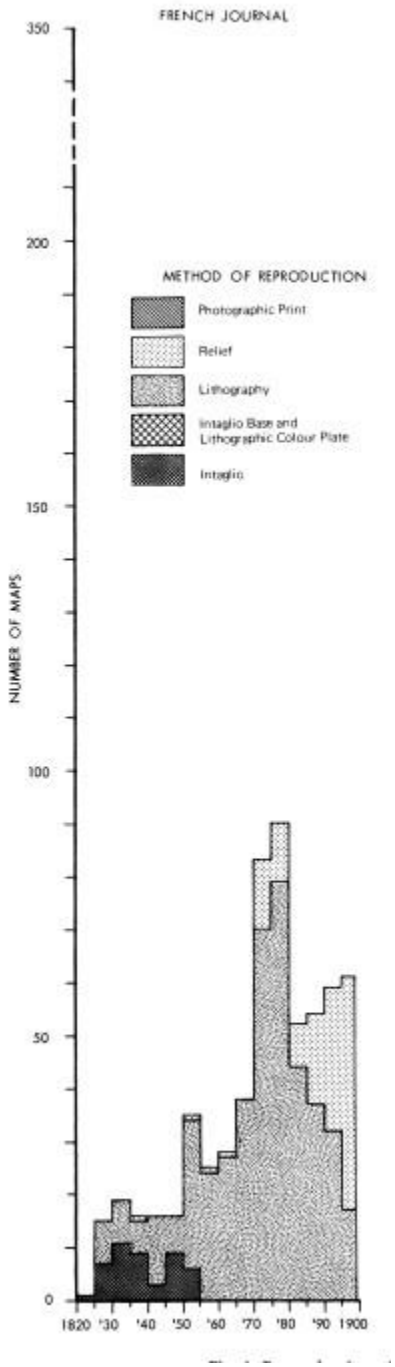

Fig. 2. Reproduction of Maps in the Geographical Journals.

Before the advent of lithography, maps were available only to members of the French upper class. When maps became more widely available with lithography, they allowed people to better understand the borders of France and their geographical context relative to the rest of the world. People were able to see how France was one coherent body, thus contributing to feelings of national pride and national unity.

The ability to print maps in colour using lithography also led to nationalism in France because colour made maps more informative. Colour maps appeared in France in the 1860s. In the latter half of the 19th century printmakers introduced "applications of the transfer concept offer[ing] the most probable explanation for the rise of printed area colour on the geographical journal maps after 1875."[18] French lithographer Jules Desportes introduced how "a [t]ransparent' tonal image could be created by crayon shading or lithographic mezzotint."[19] Colour maps helped people to better understand different terrain such as bodies of water and forests. With the advancement of colour lithography, the French could know what different places in France looked like without having to visit those locations, helping the population to have a national understanding of its country's geography and environment.

Beyond maps of France's own country, the French used lithography to create maps of other parts of the world that were important to the nation, including its colonies and countries it traded with. For example, Figure 3 depicts the map of Bayreuth (Beirut), the capital of Lebanon and a point of trade with Marseillies, France. Incorporating colour into the map makes understanding the land's relationship to the water easy, allowing French people to understand the shape and terrain of Beirut.[20] The map depicts a dock and the depth of the water around the harbour. The blue flat layer of lithography printed ink depicts the water separating it from the land. The map would look significantly different to viewers if the extra layer of colour was missing. Though Beirut was not a part of France, it was a major port for French trade. Beirut developed along with the expansion of British and French commerce and French maps of neighboring trade exports may have empowered French pride for being a part of a global market.[21] Though Beirut was not a part of France, it was a major port for French trade. Beirut developed along with the expansion of British and French commerce and French maps of neighboring trade exports may have empowered French pride for being a part of a global

[18] Pearson, 14.
[19] Pearson, 13.
[20] France, Ministère des travaux publics, Administration des routes, France, Direction des cartes, plans et archives et de la statistique graphique, and École nationale des ponts et chaussées (France), *Atlas Des Ports Étrangers / Beyrouth*, (1888), https://jstor.org/stable/community.33070167.

[21] Charles Issawi, "British Trade and the Rise of Beirut, 1830-1860," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 8, no. 1 (1977): 92.

market.[22]

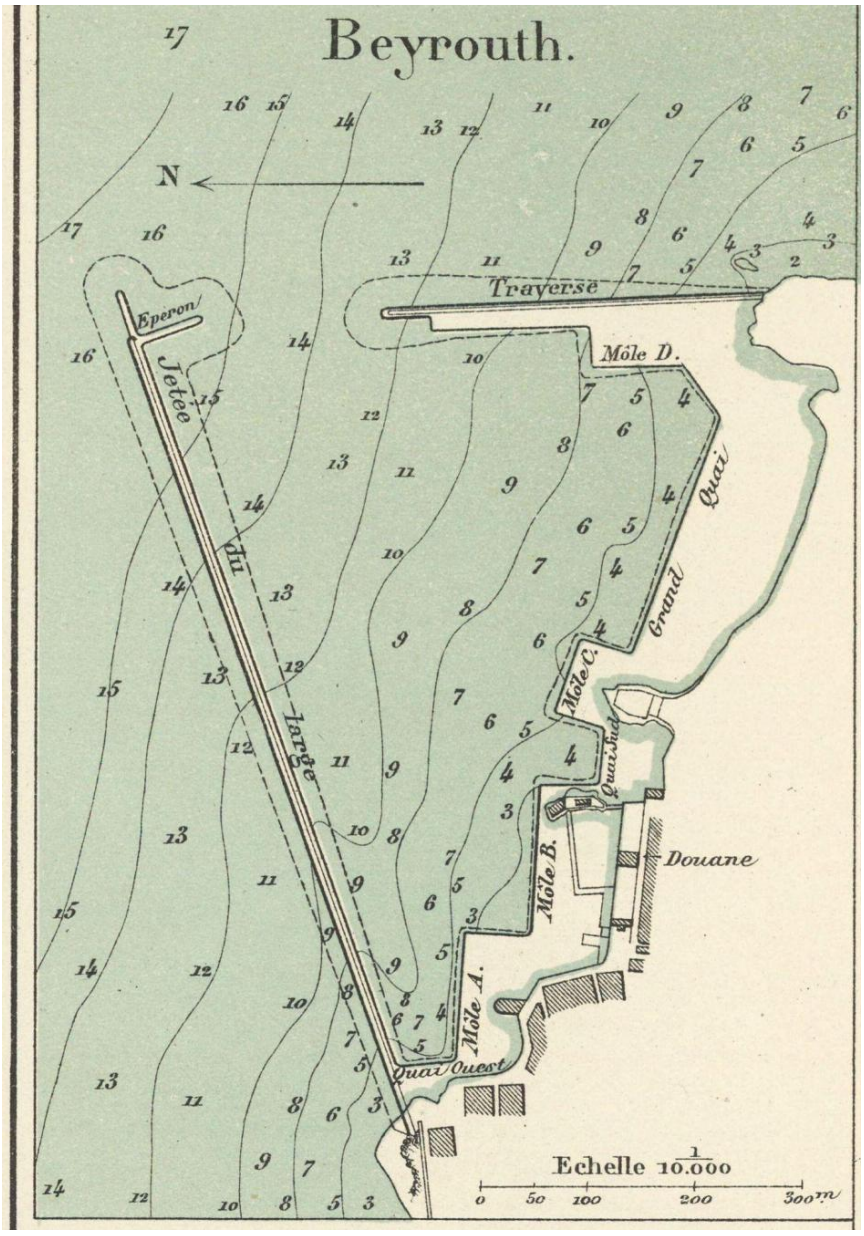

Fig. 3. Atlas Des Ports Étrangers / Beyrouth. 1888.

Lithography made major contributions not only to how visual imagery was created and shared in the 19th century but also to how it stirred feelings of nationalism in European countries such as France. Lithography brought innovation through poster making, printed sheet music, and map making. Posters drove nationalism through their political and social content that impacted the population and their opinions and created popular images for the public to view thus

[22] Issawi, "British Trade and the Rise of Beirut, 1830-1860," 92.

contributing to a widespread visual culture across the entire population of France. Lithographic sheet music took music outside of the aristocracy and spread it into the public sphere through bourgeois opera and choirs which could be enjoyed by larger parts of the population. Thanks to lithography, sheet music was made widely available in parts of the country far beyond Paris, where it had not been available previously. The increase in literacy also contributed to the increase of sheet music because more people were able to read it. Finally, lithography influenced nationalistic feelings in France through its ability to give citizens a greater understanding of France's geography. The innovation of colour lithography was also seen as an intrinsic variable in national perception of France’s terrain and trading partners.

Today, lithography is practiced worldwide, though it is not practiced in the same industrial nature as in the 19th century. In the 21st century, lithography is seen more as a specific craft outside of commercial printing, practiced by skilled printmakers striving to keep the medium alive. The fact lithography is no longer a widespread industrial practice makes it easy to underestimate the effect lithography had in the 19th century in countries such as France. When lithography first appeared, it meant that for the first time in history, complex colour imagery could be created in mass quantities relatively inexpensively, which meant that it could be seen by large sections of a population. Lithographic images were not singular, but rather were duplicated so that a message or idea could be repeated over and over again to the public. The power of the medium over different populations at that time was immense. Often, printmaking such as lithography gets overlooked because it is hard to conceptualize as a process when compared to other means of mark making, such as drawing and painting. Though lithography no longer drives nationalism in France through posters, maps, and music, lithography continues to impact visual culture as a fine art, creating artistic iconography for cultures around the world.

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Policing the Prostitute: The Impact of the Contagious Diseases Acts on Sex Worker's Agency

Katherine I. Sievenpiper

In 1864 an act passed quietly through parliament. This was the first iteration of the Contagious Diseases Act was in response to the high rates of "venereal disease"[1] amongst British soldiers and set our provisions to have "common prostitutes" in certain port towns made subject to examination for venereal disease.[2] In 1866 and 1869 subsequent revisions were made that extended the regional scope as well as the power over women who were alleged to be "common prostitutes" in the region by introducing a new provision allowing detention in hospital for up to five days until the surgeon could "properly" examine her (thereby allowing detention without evidence of infection) and more penalties on missed or refused examination.[3] By this time, the attention of the public was caught, so much so, that a Royal Commission was formed to investigate the "violence" of the act.[4] This essay asks the question: How did the Contagious Diseases Acts directly or indirectly impact the agency of sex workers in late-Victorian England? By illustrating elements of both Campaigns in favour of and against the Acts rose, it will be demonstrated that despite each side claiming to campaign for what seemed to be vastly different things they did share some commonalities. While the supporters of the Contagious Diseases Acts sought to control lower class women through an implementation of law and justified by public health, the religious and moral rhetoric used by those in favour of repeal also recommended an element of control over women. Neither response positively impacted the agency of poor women and sex workers, despite some claims to do so. This essay begins by explaining the controlling nature of the Acts themselves as well as the rhetoric used to defend them, before explaining how, despite depicting themselves as liberators, the campaigners for repeal also sought to exercise

[1] The term "venereal disease" refers to Sexually Transmitted Infections. The term will be used throughout the essay as that was the terminology of the time and the term used in the legislation. The term "common prostitute" is also a legal term used in English law and refers to a woman who is engaging in sex acts for money.
[2] The exact port towns that fell under the Act can be found in the Schedule attached to the bill. *Bill for Better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Naval and Military Stations*, 27 & 28 Victoria c. 85; *Bill for Better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Naval and Military Stations, 1866,* Volume II, 219.
[3] *Bill to Amend Contagious Diseases Act 1866*, House of Lords, 32 & 33 Victoria, Volume I, 495.
[4] Jim Jose, and Kcasey Mcloughlin, "John Stuart Mill and the Contagious Diseases Acts: Whose Law? Whose Liberty? Whose Greater Good?'," *Law and History Review* 34, no. 2 (2016): 249–79.

power over the women affected by the acts. Finally, the campaigns will be contrasted, and the strategies for agency carried out by the women themselves will be examined.

As the original Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 was repealed in the 1866 version, only the 1866 and 1869 versions will be discussed in this paper. The alleged goal of the Contagious Diseases Acts was to protect the British military from venereal disease, which was running rampant in the army in the late Victorian Era. The funding for the Acts came from the British Admiralty and the acts were only valid within the boundaries of various military towns.[5] It is the way in which this goal of disease prevention was enacted that was entirely problematic. Any woman accused of being a "common prostitute" could be summoned to a Justice and if there was deemed to be sufficient proof, she would be ordered by the Justice, in the absence of a jury, to submit to "periodical medical examination."[6] The Acts went further in surveilling women by giving the police or a physician the power to send any woman found to have a venereal disease to a hospital[7] for recovery, wherein she was required to stay for a minimum of 3 months.[8] When the Acts were amended and extended in 1869, they increased the number of districts that the legislation applied to, increased the hospital's capacity to extend a woman's stay (increased from six months to nine months), and included a provision that allowed a surgeon to detain a woman if he could "not properly examine her."[9] Clearly, the Acts were extended in a way that blatantly gave the state and the admiralty more control over women in England. As explained by the MP and philosopher John Stuart Mill, the Acts not only infringed on the general liberty of women deemed to be prostitutes, but they also infringed on the Magna Carta right of *habeus corpus* as the women could be detained without cause or warrant, and they had extremely limited means to challenge their imprisonment. As Mill put it, the Contagious Diseases Acts took away "the security of personal liberty ... almost entirely from a particular class of women intentionally."[10] Mill's emphasis on the *intentional* removal of women's liberty is particularly significant as he was a Member of Parliament at the time and therefore his read on the intentions of the legislation is valuable. Through reading the Contagious Diseases Acts themselves, and by noting the

[5] *Bill for Better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Naval and Military Stations*, 27 & 28 Victoria c. 85
[6] Ellen L. O'Brien, "The 'Medical Plot Thickens': Bad Medicine and Good Health in the Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal Campaign," *Literature and medicine* 39, no. 1 (2021): 69.
[7] Hospitals that imprisoned women who were found guilty are also known as "Lock Hospitals".
[8] *Bill for Better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Naval and Military Stations*, 27 & 28 Victoria c. 85.
[9] *Bill to Amend Contagious Diseases Act 1866*, House of Lords, 32 & 33 Victoria, Volume I, 495.
[10] Jose and Mcloughlin, "John Stuart Mill and the Contagious Diseases Acts," 251.

manner in which they were extended, it is clear that the stated goal of protecting soldiers from venereal disease was laid to the wayside in legislation that ultimately sought to tightly control women.

This rhetoric of using the Acts as a mode of control over women is also abundantly clear in the letters sent to Parliament that were in favour of the acts. Often these letters included a morally based argument, similar to the arguments used by those in favour of repeal which will be addressed later in this paper. One letter sent to the Secretary of State by a group of physicians claimed that the Acts were necessary to protect "innocent victims" (read: not prostitutes) and that the "seclusion of these diseased women [contributes] their restitution to the paths of virtue" and "they have been thereby raised in the scale of humanity"[11]. There are two clear ideas here that point to their conception of prostitutes as a group that needed to be controlled. The first is that they have presented these women as having a lower degree of "humanity" and distinguished them from "innocents". Therefore, by placing prostitutes in a binary opposite to "innocent," the authors imply that prostitutes are the opposite: sinful, immoral, and bad. It is through creating this dichotomy that keeping these women in "seclusion" from the rest of society is deemed to be appropriate and positive. Additionally, their praise of the hospitals as leading women to a more virtuous path clearly illustrates that their positive view of the Acts is not solely rooted in a concern for the public health of soldiers. Indeed, they make little mention of disease decreasing, but rather their reason for supporting the Acts is because they believed that they have reduced behaviour that they deem "immoral" through incarceration and state control. A separate letter sent to the Board of Admiralty by a group of people from Portsmouth echoed this position writing, "We feel [the Acts have been beneficial] in lessening the number of brothels and prostitutes, improving the behaviour and appearance of the women, and so freeing our town from the sad scenes of evil."[12] Their emphasis on how the Acts had controlled women's "behaviour" and "evil" once again demonstrate how the perceived benefit of these acts was the control and suppression of women. Even if one takes the charitable interpretation that the original intention

[11] "Memorial to Secretary of State for Home Dept. in favour of Contagious Diseases Acts, signed by Members of Medical Profession Resident in London." *House of Commons Papers*, 1872, Paper 80, Vol. 47, 489.
[12] "Memorials to Admiralty from Inhabitants of Portsmouth and Devonport respecting Working of Contagious Diseases Acts" *House of Commons Papers*, August 9 1882, Paper 356. Vol. 53, 455, https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1882-058558?accountid=10406.

was to improve public health, in the public perception the Contagious Diseases Acts benefitted society insofar as they controlled prostitutes, and evidently many saw that control as positive.

In contrast, the movement that advocated the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts was primarily founded on religiously and morally informed rhetoric, yet this change in ideology did not necessarily indicate a change in goals. One of the most prominent leaders in the repeal campaign was Josephine Butler, who was the founder of The Vigilance Association for the Defense of Personal Rights[13]. Butler's qualms with the Contagious Diseases Acts were many. She felt that the Acts were an excuse for the "state regulation of vice"[14] and critiqued the examinations conducted under the Acts as violent and a humiliating treatment of women.[15] Fundamental to Butlers lobby for repeal was her religiously informed identity.[16] In many of her repeal works as well as her autobiography Butler emphasised her religious affiliation. One clear example was that the title of her autobiography was *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* in a nod to her campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts being like the Crusades of the Middle Ages.[17] It is important to understand the significance of her religious views because they informed her motivations for repeal, as well as her vision for an alternative way to address venereal disease and prostitution. While Butler was firmly opposed to the CD Acts, she still wished to limit venereal disease and prostitution, and she even ran her own version of a hospital called the *House of Rest.* She claimed that she had healed women there through only faith care and prayer.[18] Evidently Butler still believed that these women needed help, she just understood that help as coming from religion. It is important to note that it was not wrong to want to help these women, many of whom were vulnerable and living in poverty, rather the concern is that she saw herself and her ideas as the way to solve those problems. She still saw prostitution as a problem to be solved and still advocated for a "remedy" to be forced upon women. The

[13] Lucy Bland, "'Purifying' the Public World: Feminist Vigilantes in Late Victorian England," *Women's history review* 1, no. 3 (1992): 400.
[14] Lucinda Matthews-Jones, "'Granny Thinking What She Is Going to Write in Her Book': Religion, Politics and the Pontefract by-Election of 1872 in Josephine Butler's Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade (1896)," *Women's history review,* 26, no. 6 (2017): 939.
[15] Ellen L. O'Brien, "The 'Medical Plot Thickens': Bad Medicine and Good Health in the Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal Campaign," *Literature and medicine* 39, no. 1 (2021): 83.
[16] Lucinda Matthews-Jones, "'Granny Thinking What She Is Going to Write in Her Book'" *Women's history review,* 26, no. 6 (2017): 939.
[17] Matthews-Jones, "'Granny Thinking What She Is Going to Write in Her Book,'" 947.
[18] Ellen L. O'Brien, "The 'Medical Plot Thickens'," *Literature and medicine* 39, no. 1 (2021): 83.

difference between her and the government was that the government saw the solution as forced examination and hospitalisation, and she saw it as forced religion and moral instruction. Her attitude towards prostitution could be described as paternalistic based on how she still wished to see herself as a benefactor for her "poor girls"[19]. Even in her description of prostitutes experiences she placed them in a rhetorically victimised role before pivoting to advocate for solutions based in faith.[20] While her intentions and the severity of her desired action are certainly less grave than that of the government, her "solution" still involved a form of Lock Hospital[21] and a degree of paternalism towards the women she wished to help. Her conception of what "help" looked like still centred around turning women away from prostitution through moral instruction which demonstrates a desire to control women's lives.

The other salient group in the repeal movement was the National Vigilance Association (NVA). The NVA was a well-known social purity organisation in late Victorian England that supported the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Leaders like Josephine Butler were actively concerned about the NVA's ambitions calling them "repressionists" who were "'mistaken …in their methods, [but still] honestly desirous of getting rid of prostitution'".[22] Therefore, Butler suggested that they should be accepted into the movement, suggesting that she also agreed with getting rid of prostitution, yet she wanted it to be on the condition that the NVA understood that complete imposition of "moral" behaviour was not the right path.[23] While the NVA was less vocal and prominent in the overall repeal campaign, their views were extreme and had significant, lasting impact after the Acts were repealed. Their involvement in repealing the Contagious Diseases Acts was to end the "immoral" and barbaric treatment of women, because they felt it aligned with their desire to eliminate prostitution and shut-down brothels. Ultimately, the legitimacy that their involvement repeal campaign gave them allowed them to pursue these extreme ambitions that had equally harmful outcomes as the Contagious Diseases Acts. This is particularly evident in the NVA's support of the Criminal Amendment Act of 1885 which further

[19] O'Brien, "The 'Medical Plot Thickens'," 83.
[20] O'Brien, 82-83.
[21] As stated in section 12 of The Contagious Diseases Act of 1866 (as amended by select committee) ""No Hospital shall be certified under this Act unless at the Time of the granting of a Certificate adequate Provision is made for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Woman detained therein." Therefore, both Butlers *House of Rest* and the Lock Hospitals included moral instruction.
[22] Bland, "'Purifying' the Public World," *Women's history review* 1, no. 3 (1992): 400.
[23] Bland, 400.

regulated brothels and prostitution following the repeal of the CDAs.[24] The NVA supported and enforced the complete shutdown of brothels that the Amendment Act made legal, which resulted in women "being thrown out into the streets with nowhere to go".[25] In their desire to control prostitution they supported legislation that forced already vulnerable women into even more precarious positions on the streets or under the "protection" of pimps.[26] A group that had once been collaborating with those in favour of personal liberty was now directly contributing to the danger sex workers were in. It has even been suggested that the Criminal Law Amendment Act led to the vulnerability of women such as Jack the Ripper's victims.[27] A very real consequence of the movement to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts was the fostering and legitimising of groups such as the NVA. The Acts had impact beyond their enactment as they set a precedent for a surveillance of women that continued well after their repeal. While the entire repeal movement was not in favour of this evolution of control, it was still a significant number of them and therefore it is important to the narrative of the Contagious Diseases Acts beyond the Acts themselves. This is an excellent example of a repeal group's alternative vision of control still being harmful to the women they claimed to serve.

As it has been clearly outlined, groups in favour of and against the Contagious Diseases Acts often shared a common goal of controlling the lives of prostitutes. Whether or not their intentions were honourable or not is not being discussed, rather it is evident that neither group wanted to leave these women to be. It is important to note that women engaging in sex work were and still are particularly vulnerable, but neither the Contagious Diseases Acts nor the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 (which was a follow up) yielded results that protected prostitutes despite proponents of the latter claiming that to be their aim. Another interesting similarity in how they justified their control is that both groups claimed to have sex workers on their side. In a Memorial sent to parliament by some physicians in favour of the Contagious Diseases Acts they claimed that they had "no difficulty in obtaining [the women's] voluntary

[24] Bland, 401.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Katherine Crooks, "Jack The Ripper's "Unfortunate" Victims: Prostitution as Vagrancy, 1888-1900" Master's Thesis., Dalhousie University, 2015.

attendance" and that the women "flock[ed] in crowds."[28] In almost complete parallel, advocates for repeal made similar claims that prostitutes were collaborating with *them* to resist the acts.[29] Yet, as was demonstrated through a closer look at the effects of the Contagious Diseases Acts in Kent, the reality of these women's experiences was varied.

The various repeal activist groups encouraged women to protest the acts by refusing to be examined, as they saw it as better to be in jail than to condone such a reprehensible policy. In Kent, this form of resistance through non-compliance was encouraged by many repeal activists such as a Reverend Heritage who "urged prostitutes to resist the Acts and 'go to prison rather than submit.'"[30] Yet, this method of protest did not gain traction in Kent where in the parish of Sheerness 11,521 examinations were conducted over a seventeen year period and there were only nine prosecutions for failure to attend examination.[31] This evidence is important in showing that while perhaps women were not eager to be examined, as the supporters of the Contagious Diseases Acts claimed, they did not seem to engage in any significant form of non-compliance despite urging from activists. These women's seeming lack of organised resistance must be understood contextually and through the lens of agency. Non-compliance was punishable by detainment (with no warrant required) and a prison sentence with or without hard labour.[32] Seeing as these women were an already vulnerable group, the risk of further hardship for a cause that may not have yielded any change was probably not one they were willing to take. As Lee outlined in her article, these women were already pursuing "individual survival strategies" and the endurance of policies such as the Contagious Diseases Acts was another way to survive.[33] Understood within the context of survival, these women's compliance or non-compliance does not cater to the contentions made by either the activists for Repeal or extension. Additional complexity is added by looking at how women moved within the legislation to attain a level of agency or for personal gain. There are reports of women advertising that they were "undiseased"

[28] "Memorial to Secretary of State for Home Dept. in favour of Contagious Diseases Acts, signed by Members of Medical Profession Resident in London." *House of Commons Papers*, 1872, Paper 80, Vol. 47, 489.
[29] Catherine Lee, "Prostitution and Victorian Society Revisited: The Contagious Diseases Acts in Kent," *Women's history review.* 21, no. 2 (2012): 308.
[30] Lee, "Prostitution and Victorian Society Revisited" *Women's history review.* 21, no. 2 (2012): 309.
[31] Lee, 310.
[32] *Bill for better Prevention of Contagious Diseases at Naval and Military Stations: (as amended by Select Committee.* 27 & 28 Victoria, Volume II., 239.
[33] Lee, 312.

and wearing their certificates pinned to their dress so that they could charge more or find more work.[34] This further supports Lee's analysis that they realized agency not through "non-cooperation but through practical calculations of best interest."[35]

It is important to discuss the scope of women's agency while under the Contagious Diseases Acts because it highlights that perhaps neither interest group, in favour of repeal or against, truly understood the situation of these women. Both sides promoted "solutions" that in different ways sought to control prostitutes' outcomes and lives. Despite each group claiming to align their interests with, or at least have the support of, sex workers themselves neither of their methods were particularly appealing to women who did sex work. As demonstrated above, these women were focused on finding ways to survive within a society that did not want them, and therefore did not seem to be interested in organized resistance to the Acts because they had more immediate concerns. The evidence that prostitutes sought out their own fragments of agency illuminates the reality of their situation and undermines the claims of repeal activists and extension activists.

In conclusion, the Contagious Diseases Acts mark an important point in British history and their social and political effects are significant. Through a close reading of favourable and unfavourable positions on the Acts it is clear that there is not as much of a distinction between the interest groups as might be assumed. The Contagious Diseases Acts and their champions were near transparent in their desire to control women who engaged in sex work, but the repeal campaign was less obvious in their goal of controlling women. The point of this paper is not to debate the merits of either position but rather to show that neither side was concerned with the agency of the women themselves, instead looking to different methods of social control. The majority of activists still saw sex work as an immoral evil, and instead of looking to the social conditions which made it some women's only form of survival they blamed vice and the women themselves. The eventual repeal of the Acts did not see a meaningful shift away from the policing of sex workers. As previously discussed, the Criminal Amendment Act of 1885 only furthered the criminalization of sex work and forced sex workers into more dangerous situations.

[34] Lee, 313.
[35] Ibid.

It is certainly an interesting parallel to the debate on sex work today. Is regulation overall positive or negative? The example of the Contagious Diseases Acts as well as its successor the Criminal Law Amendment Act, are important warnings of the danger of strict regulation as well as the ineffectiveness of building movements that do not take an intersectional and contextual approach to struggle. Perhaps, future activists would do well to learn from the political organization surrounding the Contagious Diseases Acts and ask themselves if the outcome they are striving for comes at the serious detriment of another.

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Snapshot of the Past: How A Cycling Suit Illustrates Early Women's Liberation Movement

Jet Lachman

Introduction

Objects and artifacts contain history within them. When we examine their context, how they were used and produced, signs of wear and personalization, we extract the story they tell: a snapshot of their time.

Figure 1. Star Bicycle Suit, 1896 -98

The Late Victorian period, 1870-1900, was an era of invention. Patent applications exploded in England and America, and people raced to copyright their ideas for a profit. The meticulous records kept by patent offices reveal the problems and inconveniences of everyday life which people sought to solve. The Victorian period also saw innovations in agriculture, transportation, medicine, and textile production. Many people were hungry for progress and, with growing wealth in the middle classes, eyes turned to new inventions, which were often advertised in periodicals or by travelling salesmen. The advent of cycling and women's cycling clothing mirrors the new social mobility of women and changing attitudes to their traditional role. This is reflected not only in clothing, but also in women's leisure activities and career choices. The Star Bicycle Suit illustrates the social and industrial changes that were taking place at the end of the 19th century. This paper discusses both England and America, because although a century into independence, much of American societal norms and morals still bore England's influence.

Patents as Historical Sources

Our object is an American cycling suit held in the Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see Figure 1). Manufactured in the late 1890s, it is made of brown wool and features a bifurcated (split) skirt with a removable buttoned front panel. The ensemble includes gaiters and a fitted jacket containing a tag that reads "The Star Bicycle Suit/Trademarked/Patented July 21st 1896."[1] Patented items in the Victorian period represented the height of innovation and are wonderful sources for historians because of the extensive records kept by patent offices and the rationalizations for inventions provided by their makers. These objects tell us precisely the problem or gap that was experienced and the inventor's proposed solution, from which we can gain insight into thought processes and daily life.

Patents allow ideas to become property, able to be legally protected and sold. The patent craze of the late 19th century was powered by a cultural hunger for economic growth, modernization and, on an individual level, the opportunity for financial independence and social mobility.[2] In 1884, England passed a reform law that aimed to simplify the process, making it more similar to American patent law.[3] The subsequent rise in patent applications was attributed to this streamlined and more affordable process, as well as to the cycling craze overtaking Europe and North America. Furthermore, representation of women in patent records became statistically significant for the first time – in 1894, women made up 2% of the total applicants in Britain.[4] Prior to the reform, female inventors struggled to obtain patents due to the fees and the education or status required to navigate a legal system where they had few rights. Patent records act as excellent primary sources, giving insight into identified problems and specific solutions, social concerns, material and manufacturing details. Advertisements, illustrations, and photographs of inventions in use give us additional information. The Star Bicycle Suit exists as a

[1] *Cycling Suit,* 1896–98, Access No. 2009.300.532a–d, Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/159074?when=A.D.+1800-1900&ao=on&ft=cycling&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=3.
[2] Kat Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers: Victorian Women Inventors and Their Extraordinary Cycle Wear* (London: Goldsmiths Press, 2018), 82.
[3] J.E. Crawford Munro, *The Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act* (London, 1884), xxxvii, https://archive.org/details/patentsdesignsa01britgoog/page/n40/mode/2up?view=theater.
[4] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers,* 83.

physical representation of this patent craze, and of the drive for innovation that was characteristic of the Late Victorian period.

Gender

The Late Victorian era saw the emergence of many social reform movements. The Women's Suffrage movement campaigned for white upper-class women to gain the right to vote, as part of an attempt to suppress the poor and any people of colour from getting political sway. The Temperance movement sought to ban alcohol, which it saw as the root of social ills like poverty and abuse. The Dress Reform movement was part of a push for more practical clothing for women and called to get rid of heavy skirts and overly constraining clothing. Many of these social movements supported each other, each seeking to gain credibility among the masses. Supporters of these campaigns were diverse, but many were young upper-class white women, who identified themselves with the concept of the New Woman. The New Woman defied conventional ideas of femininity; she was often averse to marriage (or chose to delay marrying), and was seen as overeducated, masculine, and a threat to the traditional order of things.[4] Cycling suits and athletic wear quickly became visual shorthand for the New Woman, representing allegiance with these social movements.[5]

To understand who may have worn a garment like the Star Bicycle Suit, and what meanings it would have conveyed to onlookers, we must first examine historical understandings of gender. In the Victorian period, gender was seen as a biological determinant of one's purpose. Men's was to work, to be independent, strong, and upstanding; women's was to bear healthy children and conduct life outside of the public eye. When women deviated from this hierarchy, they were seen as rejecting their assigned purpose or even endangering their future usefulness as child bearers and wives.[6] The idea of public and private spheres dominated Victorian doctrine and was seen as a way of echoing 'natural' differences in temperament, ability, and function between the sexes. Clothing for all genders, though particularly women, was seen as a reflection

[4] Beata Kiersnowska, "Female Cycling and the Discourse of Moral Panic in Late Victorian Britain" *Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies* 41 (December 2019), 88, https://doi.org/10.28914/Atlantis-2019https://doi.org/10.28914/Atlantis-2019-41.2.0441.2.04.
[5] Hilary Doda, "1890s," History 3402: Baroque/Bustle, Dress 1700-1900 (class lecture at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, December 1, 2022).
[6] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers*, 34.

of values. Outward appearance was thought to represent inner morality.[7] The cycling suit is an example of a challenge to these traditional concepts of gender. Women who wore it would generally be of the upper middle class. These women had some time for leisure sports and the means to purchase special-purpose clothing. Young, unmarried women typically formed the bulk of female cyclists, though not exclusively.

Figure 2. Advertisement for a cycling event in Paris, 1894

One excellent example of how clothing intertwines with social perception is this 1894 advertisement (Figure 2) for a cycling event.[8] The two riders are dressed quite similarly in cycling suits, but the woman on the left is wearing a man's soft crowned hat while the woman on the right is wearing a woman's bonnet or straw boater. By putting a woman in a male hat, the advertisement breaks traditional depictions of femininity. Similarly, we see male-coded hats and other garments normalized in other sporting activities, especially women's riding habits.[9] Contrasting gendered clothing showcases the social uncertainty around femininity of women in sport and women's entry into the public sphere. Cycling suits and their advertisements symbolize the divisive topic of gender roles and expressions of gender.

Cycling Craze: Effect on Women

The Star Bicycle Suit is also representative of changing social opportunities for women. Bicycle clubs created a female-led space outside of the home for women to gather and socialize. During a period when there were beginning to be more work opportunities outside of the home for women as shopgirls, secretaries, live-out maids, factory workers, or teachers, bicycles also provided a means of transportation to work. They expanded the radius of a woman's ability to travel from home, broadening her employment opportunities and income potential.

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[7] Kiersnowska, 90.
[8] "Deuxième Salon du Cycle," Poster, 1894, Access No. E.174-1921, Prints, Drawings, and Paintings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O705822/deuxieme-salon-du-cycle-poster-forain/.
[9] Doda, "1890s," (December 1, 2022).

However, along with this freedom came the risk of aggression from other members of society. Kat Jungnickel describes a letter written in 1897 by Kitty Buckman to a group of her cycling companions in which Kitty expresses her distaste for cycling in the city, saying, "The shouts and yells of children deafen one, the women shriek with laughter or groan and hiss and all sorts of remarks are shouted at one, occasionally some not fit for publication."[10] Women who cycled experienced harassment, ridicule, and assault, making Kitty's experience of verbal abuse a common one. Cycling was also thought to cause female hysteria and other health conditions, and there are records of female cyclists being institutionalized against their will by family members to keep them in line.[11]

Of course, the physical freedoms women gained from cycling, and the clothing innovations that accompanied them must not be overlooked. Opportunities for exercise and recreational sport outdoors were usually reserved for men and boys, and though cycling received pushback, it was nonetheless a way that women could reap the benefits of exercise on their health and well-being. The garment offers a look into the world of adaptable clothing for women. The split skirt is intended to provide mobility while cycling while the front panel buttons onto the split skirt so the wearer may transform into dress that is more respectable when they arrive at their destination. This design aims to find a middle ground between restrictive proper dress, which equated to one's respectability, and practicality. Another consideration for suitable cycling clothing was safety, as traditional full skirts could become tangled in exposed bicycle gears and cause injury. The Rational Dress movement endorsed cycling suits for the ease of movement they afforded to women.

[10] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers*, 11.
[11] Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady* (New York: Random House, 1985), 145.

Mechanization and the Mass-Market

The Star Bicycle Suit illustrates the changes happening during the Victorian period such as mechanization of the textile industry, increased transatlantic shipping and trade, and production of cheap advertisements and circulars. The shift from small scale clothing production to mass-manufacturing and sale of off-the-rack garments, as well as advancements in printing that resulted in cheaper and faster print-matter caused advertisements to explode. This sharp increase in volume of printed matter gives us some lovely and often amusing advertisements for all manner of items, including sportswear specially aimed at women. Figure 3 is an advertisement from *The Lady Cyclist*, a periodical aimed at female cyclists.[12] It featured stories, fashion plates, and opinion pieces, as well as ready-to-order clothing, accessories, and bicycles. Publications like this one provided a way for women to connect with one another, enabling them to share ideas, receive news, and learn about novel products such as newly patented cycling suits. As Mokyr and Strotz (1998) discuss, the late 1800s, dubbed the Second Industrial Revolution, was a period of fast technological growth, a notable rise in wages, and higher living standards. Transportation of people and goods exploded as diesel, steam, and electric train technology improved, as did automobile and shipping technology, all of which affected distribution of goods. Chemical advances included oil refinement, the vulcanization of rubber, and fabric dyes. Agriculture sciences and standardization of farming practices optimized crop yields and lowered the risk of famine, raising income opportunities. The textile industry saw improvement in block and roller printing, the invention of home and industrial sewing machines, the power loom, and the industrial press.[13] Cheap woolen fabric was also now

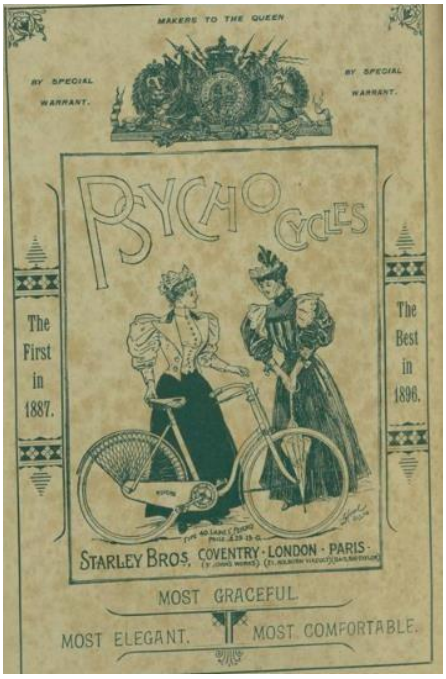

Figure 3. Advertisement in The Lady Cyclist, 1896

[12] Advertisement in The Lady Cyclist magazine, edited by Charles Sisley, March 1896, MSS.328/N10/K/L/1, Warwick University Archives, https://mrc-describe.epexio.com/records/NCA/1/43/12/8/1.
[13] Joel Mokyr and Robert H. Strotz. "The second industrial revolution, 1870-1914." Storia dell'economia Mondiale 21945, no. 1 (1998): 9.

within the grasp of the masses. The wool fabric of the Star Bicycle Suit offered durability and warmth, enabling the wearer to venture outside in cold weather. Traditional women's dress was usually linen, cotton, or flannel, with a more fragile and costly outer dress. The risks of staining or tearing skirts were high, and for some women, the cost of replacing a dress and the social repercussions of wearing visibly patched clothing were unaffordable.

These manufacturing changes caused a shift from homesewn to mass produced machine-sewn garments, such as the Star Bicycle Suit, while mass media spread advertisements and access to mail-order equipment for those with the means to purchase it.

A growing middle class was the main target of these ready-made clothing advertisements and the main consumers of factory-made, cheap clothing. The upper classes continued to visit tailors and dressmakers for custom-fitted garments, while the poorest continued to wear whatever clothing was available. The mechanization of labour made fabric and garments cheaper to manufacture and distribute. These advances placed garments like the Star Bicycle Suit within the reach of middle-class women. The popularization of mail-order catalogues and advertising reinforced the sale and production of these ready-made garments. The Star Bicycle Suit and advertisements in periodicals like *The Lady Cyclist* demonstrate the increase in mass-manufactured clothing designs and the link between consumers and industrialization.

Conclusion

Studying clothing as artifacts is important because they not only reflect social change but also plas a significant role in driving it. In the Late Victorian Era, rational dress and women in sports clothing became visual shorthand for the 'New Woman,' and symbols of social change. When we follow the production of a garment like the Star Bicycle suit through its invention, advertisements, production and sales to its owners and uses we can tease out the story it tells of rapid change in the Late Victorian era. It is a story of social and technological change, growing infrastructure, changing markets, and gender uncertainties. The change in patent laws, gender expression in advertisements, and shift from small scale production to factory manufacturing are all interwoven into the artifact, a women's bicycling suit.

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Victorian Racial Science: Manifestations in Judicial and Legislative Procedures in British India

Callie Jurmain

British Victorian ideas of racial inferiority were reproduced in British India's judicial and legislative institutions. Pseudoscientific racial hierarchies and criminal typologies shaped the colonial government's understanding of colonized people almost always in ways that enhanced British superiority. Respected thinkers such as Thomas Babington Macaulay and John Stuart Mill were similarly unable to see past the rhetoric of race. The bias of supposed superior peoples and inferior peoples permeates their work and filters into the judicial and legislative processes in the colonies, the home of presumed "barbaric" peoples, thus debasing and displacing the people native to India. This process is depicted in two different colonial contexts, the case of *Advocate-General of Bengal v Ranee Surnomoyee 1863* and the "Murderous Outrages in the Panjab, Act No. XXIII of 1867."

The increasing popularity of racial sciences and their use in justifying Victorian notions of racial inferiority significantly impacted nineteenth-century British India. In the 1820s, phrenology gained credibility, notably through the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh, founded by George Combe in 1820. The society believed that the characteristics of individuals (ie. their mental abilities and character traits) could be revealed through specific measurements of the skull. Combe described it as "an exact science."[1] The society received skulls from around the world which were studied to support racial differences, larger cranial measurements denoted higher intelligence peoples and smaller craniums lower intelligence peoples.[2] Anderson argues these studies served to reinforce pre-existing ideas of racial inferiority: "European crania were viewed as superior to all others, but socio-economic status, gender and in the Indian context, caste, also featured in their discussions."[3] The notion that racial difference could be discerned through analysis of crania continued; by 1860 the Asiatic Society of Bengal had over 300 "ethnographic heads" and in 1866 its legitimacy was endorsed as a science by the British

[1] Clare Anderson, *Legible Bodies: Race, Criminality and Colonialism in South Asia* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 183.
[2] Many of these skulls had dubious origins. It was questionable whether they had obtained consent from the dead or their family. Anderson, *Legible Bodies*, 183.
[3] Anderson, 183-84.

Government of India when they authorized the collection of skulls for further research.[4]

These theories shaped medical understanding of mental capacity and influenced British perceptions of inferiority towards colonized subjects. The theories justified racial self-righteous beliefs that it was their duty to enlighten those at the bottom. The unquestioned assumption of superiority of British civilized society echoes through the denigration of colonized and racialized peoples' culture and intelligence in prominent political writings from the era. Both Thomas Babington Macaulay and John Stuart Mill held considerable influence among British thinkers. Macaulay played a significant role in British-India, he was the first law member of the Governor-General Council and played a major role in the codification of Indian law.[5] On July 10th, 1833 Macaulay delivered a speech in the House of Commons on law and governance in British India, describing the difficulties in the establishment of a desirable government akin to "trying to make brick without straw, to bring a clean thing out of an unclean, to give a good government to a people to whom we cannot give a free government."[6] Macaulay credits the good governance seen in European countries as possible due to their population's general competence to share in their own governance.[7] India was not ready to do the same as he believes India's closest parallel to "be the state of Europe during the fifth century."[8] Macaulay skims over the abuse of power by the British, seemingly excusing it as an unfortunate combination of the British "superior energy and superior knowledge" combined with "the worst defects of the race over which they ruled."[9] While Macaulay viewed the ultimate goal as the establishment of a representative constitution, he argued that until India moved from its "current age of barbarism" the best government for the time being was to provide "enlightened and paternal despotism."[10] He cites the work of Mr. Mill, father of John Stuart Mill, as support in his statement before the "Committee of last year [that representable government in India] was, 'utterly out of the

[4] Anderson, 186.
[5] For more on this see Elizabeth Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference: Criminal Procedure in British India," *Law and History Review* 23, No. 3 (Fall, 2005): 631-683.
[6] Thomas Babington Macaulay, "A Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July 1833," in *The Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay* (London: Ballantyne Press, 1889), 556-57, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b162448&seq=580.
[7] Thomas Babington Macaulay, "A Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July 1833," 557.
[8] Macaulay, 561.
[9] Macaulay, 562.
[10] Macaulay, 570.

question.'"[11]

John Stuart Mill himself reinforces Macaulay's ideas around governance in India, namely the necessity of a paternal British government. His 1859 book, *On Liberty*, is one of the most prominent texts on liberalism, wherein he articulates his ideas on freedom and individuality under governmental systems. While liberty is essential it is only applicable to human beings in the maturity of their faculties; to Mill, some societies are unfit. He states that those "backwards states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage" are comparable to children, they need to be "protected against their own actions as well as against external injury."[12] For "barbarians" Mill believes that "despotism is a legitimate form of governance…provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end."[13] Macaulay and Mill both confidently assert that Indians are inferior to the British, therefore this difference meant they must be subject to a paternalistic despotism until they reached the accepted level of civility. The theories of these men gained legitimacy through racial science; the Phrenological Society "noted that those living in the areas of the Bengal Presidency populated by the British, and supposed to be positively influenced by their presence, had signs of cranial superiority."[14] The notion that the British could be such an enlightening presence, sufficient to increase cranial size, appears a stretch even for pseudoscientific claims and demonstrates the questionable quality of the research.

Biological determinist arguments were a consideration regarding criminality when it came to British law making: were accused mad, uncivilized, under-civilized and did any of these characteristics mean they could not be judged under that law or held responsible for their actions?[15] The courts needed to navigate the conflicts inherent in the racialized legal landscape they created: were Indians inherently and biologically inferior or were they capable of changing through British influence? The ideas posited in biological arguments were wide-ranging, as were the considerations used to justify both targeted cruelty as well as the moral obligation to uplift

[11] Macaulay states that Mr. Mill wrote one of the greatest historical works in English since that of Gibbon, a History of India. This can be understood as *The History of British India* by James Mill [1817]. James Mill was the father and educator of J.S Mill, whom I reference later in this paper.
[12] John Stuart Mill, "Chapter I: Introductory," in *On Liberty*, ed. Leonard Kahn (Toronto: Broadview, 2015), 53.
[13] Mill, "Chapter I: Introductory," 53.
[14] Anderson, 184.
[15] Catherine L. Evans, *Unsound Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021) 226.

and save some of the population.

How British views on Indian difference and presumed inferiority manifested in law was multifaceted, as evidenced in the 1863 case of the "Advocate-General of Bengal v. Ranee Surnomoyee."[16] This case rested upon both a cultural basis and bias, and despite its favourable result for Swarnamoyee, the decision reinforced the ideas of Indian difference and inferiority. The case began with the suicide of Swarnamoyee's husband Krishnanath,[17] who was a prominent figure, the steward of the Cossimbazar Raj Estate, and, in 1841, was awarded the title of Raja Bahadur by the Indian government. In 1844, he committed suicide following the death of a servant whose torture he sanctioned. A warrant for his arrest had already been issued due to inhumane treatment of the servant, who was accused of theft.[18] Upon Krishnanath's death, Swarnamoyee, widowed at the age of sixteen, assumed stewardship of the Cossimbazar Raj Estate.[19] Swarnamoyee faced a plethora of legal difficulties regarding the estate, including filing a challenge to changes in Krishnanath's will, made just before his suicide. Swarnamoyee argued that "the Testator was not in a fit state of mind to make a will at the time of its execution."[20] The court sided with her and the will was ruled invalid.

The legal challenge of greatest significance facing Swarnamoyee was launched by the Government of Bengal following Krishnanath's death. This conflict continued through the appeals process until reaching the highest authority, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council where a decision was made on 22 July 1863.[21] The challenge centered on the legality of suicide in India which, subsequently, raised questions about the extent of British colonial authority. The appellants claimed that the whole of English civil and criminal law was brought to the East

[16] Referred to in the legal documents as Ranee Surnomoyee, I am using the name used in both Catherine L Evans and Somendra Chandra Nandy's books, Maharani Swarnamoyee.
[17] Referred to in the legal documents as Rajah Christenauth Roy Bayadoor, but he is referred to by Krishnanath by the books above, that is the name I will use in subsequent references.
[18] Catherine L. Evans, *Unsound Empire.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), 185-86.
[19] She was an incredibly successful steward: "She almost doubled the income of the Cossimbazar Raj Estate and increased the potential and actual value of the properties by careful settlement. She had the will to succeed in every sphere of activity and her glorious career will show that she was forever victorious. Even the East India Company recognised her expertise in managing the suits in the Supreme Court when she was merely a girl of eighteen, and left them, in their joint involvement, to her absolute charge." See Somendra Chandra Nandy, *History of the Cossimbazar Raj, Vol. 1* (Kolkata: Dev-All, 1957), 286.
[20] Judicial Committee of the Privy Council Decisions (UKPC), Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William (Bengal), *Advocate-General of Bengal v Ranee Surnomoyee*, 22 July 1863, 1.
[21] The decision on the document says 1863 but is cited at 1864 in the title, I am not sure why.

Indies by the first English settlers and was "applicable to natives as well as Europeans, within Calcutta, at the time when the death of the Rajah took place [1844]." This would mean that "the law of *felo de se* [i.e. suicide]...therefore became part of the law of the country."[22] Further, they asserted that they (Englishmen) established themselves in a "barbarous country" and carried with them their laws, so Krishnanath's estate was government property.[23] Under this law, suicide was criminalized and would result in the forfeiture of the deceased's personal property to the Crown.[24] The appellants looked to Edward Coke's decision in *Calvin's Case* (1608) to justify their position. That Case emerged after the Union of the Crowns (English and Scottish) under King James VI & I to answer the question of whether a Scottish subject born after the union was entitled to the rights of an English subject.[25] The case had a clause which stated that in the defeat of infidels "...ipso facto the laws of the infidel are abrogated, for that they be not only against Christianity, but against the law of God and of nature."[26] This provided a central argument for the appellants' position that British practice should apply as India was one such infidel kingdom. Ultimately, it was Lord Kingsdown's interpretation of the case of the *Indian Chief* (1800) which resulted in the denial of the appeal. The *Indian Chief* case limited the reach of British law in India: "British law superseded Mughal or other strands of Indian law in British factories and ports but not beyond. Britons had not, and probably would not, integrate into wider Indian society; British and Indian life, and law, were incompatible."[27] The decision thus rested upon the lack of integration of British and Indian life. Kingsdown states that "[India] was a settlement made by a few foreigners for the purpose of trade in a very populous and highly civilized country, under the government of a powerful Mahomedan ruler."[28] The law would have only applied if the Crown expressly enacted changes, which Kingsdown maintained it had not at the time.[29]

Kingsdown outlined the specific conditions that accompanied the application of British

[22] UKPC, *Surnomoyee*, pg. 3.
[23] UKPC, 3.
[24] Evans, *Unsound*, 186.
[25] Krista, Kesselring, "Early Seventeenth-Century 'Rights,'" British Legal History, Dalhousie University, Halifax, January 22, 2024.
[26] Evans, 187.
[27] Evans, 188.
[28] UKPC, 3.
[29] UKPC, 4.

civil and criminal law in India, citing the Charter of 1726 created in Calcutta.[30] When applied to "natives, Mahomedans and Hindus" the application of criminal law was qualified, "without [such qualifications] the execution of the law would have been attended with intolerable injustice and cruelty."[31] Laws which punished suicide would be cruel, just as punishing polygamy in a place where it is seen as a "recognized institution would have been monstrous."[32] Kingsdown asserts that the grounds on which suicide is treated as an offence punishable in England are not applicable to the non-Christian Hindus and Mahometans. For "countries not influenced by the doctrines of Christianity [suicide] has been regarded as deriving its moral character altogether from the circumstances in which it is committed: sometimes as blamable, sometimes as justifiable, sometimes as meritorious or even an act of positive duty."[33]

Notions of racial inferiority were present throughout this case. The claim made by the Government of Bengal that India was a country of "infidels" or "barbarous" was the central justification for their appeal. The decision ultimately, although refuting the claims of barbarism and finding in favour of Swarnamoyee, still was deeply situated in narratives of racial hierarchy and Indian difference. As historian Catherine L Evans explains, while the judicial decision refuted the claim that India was barbarous it never questioned the legitimacy of British rule.[34] She argues that British law was upheld as superior, and Indian society was seen as having a "deficient moral sense" that required "a deviation from British legal principles."[35] Ultimately, this decision cast Indians as incapable of full participation in British civilization.[36] Swarnamoyee's legal victory, as Evans notes, was interpreted not as a challenge to imperial authority but as further proof of Indian difference and inferiority.[37]

This leads to a second encoding of racialized difference in India by Britain. The "Murderous Outrages in the Panjab, Act XXIII of 1867"[38] was created to root out a suspected

[30] UKPC, 5.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] UKPC, 6.
[34] Evans, *Unsound*, 188-89.
[35] Evans, 188-89.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Kingsdown actually cites Macaulay's codification in his decision. UKPC, 6.
[38] Referred to from here on as MOA (Murderous Outrages Act).

threat posed by "fanatic" elements on the frontier and resolve it with extreme state violence. The legislation emerged shortly after the creation of a code of laws in India as the Punjab authorities believed "special legislation is required to admit of such offences being more severely and promptly dealt with than is authorized by the IPC [Indian Penal Code] and CCP [Code of Criminal Procedure]."[39] The idea that the Northwestern frontier required special legislation was due to racial beliefs of the British. While phrenologists believed areas like Bengal were more civilized due to the British presence, "frontiers [were] geographically remote, physically inaccessible regions populated by supposedly 'backward', 'jungly', and 'tribal' peoples who historically resisted the encroachment of imperial polities [and] were especially conducive to the creation of regimes of legal exception."[40] These people were committing crimes that the colonial government viewed as a threat to political administration, and which targeted Christians. The deaths or near-deaths of sixteen Europeans in the northwest frontier from 1866-67 prompted India's viceroy John Lawrence to insist that strong action was required "to teach the people a 'lesson of obedience.'"[41] It was in this context that the MOA was passed. This act created a new identity: the "fanatic." The preamble states "Whereas in certain districts of the Panjab, fanatics have frequently murdered or attempted to murder servants of the Queen and other persons: And whereas the general law of the country is not adequate to suppress such offences."[42] The MOA was justified as the laws and procedures of the civilized world were incompatible to the "wants of a barbarous frontier."[43] Prior to the act's passage, the perpetrators of this violence were executed extra-judicially and local offcials sought retrospective immunity; with the MOA these killings had formal legal sanction.[44] The MOA granted offcials sweeping power in the trials of "fanatics." Under the articles, any fanatic convicted of murder or attempted murder was liable to "death or transportation for life, and forfeiture of property [to the state]."[45] The law removed many of the rights heralded under rule of law that were present in the Anglo-Indian codes, including the right

[39] Elizabeth Kolsky, "The Colonial Rule of Law and the Legal Regime of Exception: Frontier "Fanaticism" and State Violence in British India," *The American Historical Review*, 120, no. 4 (October, 2015): 1120.
[40] Mark Condos, "Licence to Kill: The Murderous Outrages Act and the rule of law in colonial India, 1867–1925," *Modern Asian Studies*, 50, no. 2 (March, 2016): 483.
[41] Kolsky, "The Colonial Rule of Law and the Legal Regime of Exception," 1120-21.
[42] William Theobald, "Murderous Outrages in the Panjab, Act XXIII of 1867," in *The Legislative Acts of the Governor General of India in Council of 1867, with Abstracts Prefixed, Table* of Contents and Index: In Continuation of Acts from 1834 to the Present Time (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink) 99
[43] Kolsky, 1121.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Theobald, "MOA," 100 (a. II).

to appeal or to legal counsel, or even to trial by jury, which was replaced with trial "by a tribunal consisting of a commissioner and two other executive officers with full magisterial powers."[46] These executive officers had no legal training.[47] Further, under Article V, an administrator could ignore formal rules of evidence "if he shall be of the opinion that any witness or evidence is offered for the purpose of vexation or delay or of defeating the ends of justice."[48] These trials resulted in prompt executions following which bodies were disposed of as the Commissioner saw fit,[49] resulting in violating burial rites as they burned the bodies.[50] The racial ideas that led to the creation of the code can be seen as firmly situated within the Victorian thought surrounding Indian difference, and ideas of "primitivism" or "savagery." The claims of social scientists that "primitive" people were mentally and physically deficient provided a justification for extraordinary laws of exception.[51] The people on the northwest frontier needed to be managed to protect the interests of the colonial state, even when it meant that the punishments given were ones that had long been abolished in Britain.[52]

Neither of the cases examined here existed in a vacuum; they were firmly situated within the context of Victorian racial sciences. The theories on mental and physical capacities resulted in administrative and legal institutions incorporating racial hierarchy, as it offered a solution for state control.[53] They also justified broader political claims to India, that their civilization is unfit to govern itself without the enlightening, paternal influence of Britons, manifested in laws of exception. Whether it was seen as cruel to judge Indians to the same standards as the British, or necessary to teach them a lesson to protect the colonizers, both reinforced *difference*.

[46] Condos, "Licence," 480; Theobald, "MOA," 101 (a. VII, X).
[47] Kolsky, 1121.
[48] Theobald, "MOA," 100 (a. V).
[49] Theobald, "MOA," 100 (a. IV).
[50] Kolsky, 122.
[51] Evans, 6.
[52] Kolsky, 1223.
[53] Evans, 170.

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Fascism on the World Stage: Visualizing the Power of Nazi Aesthetics at the Berlin *Olympiastadion*

Erin Inglis

Aesthetics influence the way we see the world, but their power extends far beyond the superficial. We tend to imagine works of art as existing somehow separately from the artists (and ideologies) that create them, but as James E. Young asserts in his article "The Terrible Beauty of Nazi Aesthetics," such thinking can have, and historically *has* had, dangerous consequences. Young considers the atrocities committed by the Nazis as having been driven by a "highly refined aesthetic sensibility" which was then "enacted … at every level of politics and policy."[1] The fascist ideology that gradually found a foothold among the German population in the 1930s was partially developed by the aesthetics employed by the Nazi Party to make these policies of racial segregation and imperial conquest appear desirable. Art and architecture became a way for the Nazis to repackage their ugly beliefs as something objectively beautiful, and a subtle yet effective way to communicate their vision of an ideal Germany to the masses—one which George Mosse writes "reflected the needs and hopes of contemporary society."[2] While a great deal of these Nazi aesthetics have since been destroyed, there are, perhaps surprisingly, several lasting remnants of their artistic and architectural ideals scattered throughout the country. The Berlin *Olympiastadion* is one of the most famous and controversial of these remnants, having played such an integral role in the Nazis' propaganda campaign for the 1936 Olympic Games. It was here that the grandeur of their regime was put on display for the world to see. This paper will analyse the aesthetics of the Berlin *Olympiastadion* within the framework of Young's article in order to illuminate the way in which the "terrible beauty" of Nazi aesthetics could have such a significant historical impact.

The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games presented the Nazi government with an opportunity for persuasive propaganda. The responsibility of hosting the Games was initially perceived as a burden when the Nazis came to power in 1933. The International Olympic Committee had

[1] James E. Young, "The Terrible Beauty of Nazi Aesthetics," in *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 127.
[2] George L. Mosse, "Fascist Aesthetics and Society: Some Considerations," in *The Journal of Contemporary History* vol. 31 no. 2 (1996): 246.

chosen Berlin as the host city for the Eleventh Olympiad in 1931, when Germany was still governed by the Weimar Republic. Considering their distaste for multinationalism, and the fact that the Olympics were regarded by the Nazi press as "Jewish international enterprises,"[3] there were naturally many in the Party that wanted to cancel the Games. Hitler himself was outspokenly opposed to the modern Olympic movement in the years leading up to his ascension as chancellor, but began to funnel a great deal of money and resources into preparations for the Games once he had gained power. What changed? Roger Abrams writes that Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, "convinced him that the Olympics offered the new regime a world stage on which to demonstrate the efficacy of the Nazi's political and racist vision. The huddled masses around the globe would learn how the Nazis had eliminated poverty in Germany and renewed Teutonic pride and patriotism."[4] The Games acted as an exhibition of Germany's economic success, and as such the Nazi government spared no expense in the construction of the *Olympiastadium:* the total cost is estimated to have been over 27 million Reichsmarks. This arena would be seen by the whole world, and it was important to Hitler that it reflected his aesthetic vision for the future of the Reich.

The size of the *Olympiastadion* was important for the intended aesthetic effect on those who attended the Games. The new *Reichssportfeld* (German: Reich sports field) was initially planned to be a renovation of the old *Deutsches Stadion*: an arena designed by Otto March for the 1916 Games which were cancelled due to the outbreak of the First World War. The early stadium had a maximum capacity of 30,000. Werner and Walter March, his sons, had been tasked with the refurbishment of the old stadium, but Hitler's aesthetic ambitions hinged on the stadium's capacity being far, far greater.[5] Under Hitler's instruction, the March brothers designed an entirely new stadium "to accommodate over 100,000 spectators with room for 250,000 in the staging area outside. The 325-acre Reich Sport Field would also include a swimming stadium, a riding field, an open-air theatre, an enlarged gymnasium, a large administration building, and a

[3] Barbara J. Keys, "Dictatorship and International Sport: Nazi Germany," in *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2006), 136.
[4] Roger Abrams, "The Nazi Olympic Triumph," in *Playing Tough: The World of Sports and Politics* (Boston, Northwestern University Press), 47.
[5] See Figure 1.

243-foot bell tower holding a specially designed Olympic Bell."[6] Young explains that Hitler's "monumental aesthetic," his appreciation for enormous buildings and cacophonous rallies, served an important function for the dissemination of his fascist ideology.[7] The "elaborately choreographed spectacles and pageants" staged by the Nazis, Young writes, "could reduce the individual to insignificance, thereby making all appear as one."[8] When standing among a roaring crowd of tens or even hundreds of thousands of people, "the individual seemed helpless to act"[9] outside of the collective mentality. The individual's own beliefs, ambitions, and point of view becomes momentarily meaningless, as the grandiose Nazi spectacle "denies the multiplicity of experience and forces all to adopt one vision of the world as their own."[10] The *Olympiastadion,* then, was designed to simulate this de-individualising effect on spectators, uniting the German people through a common ambition to see their countrymen succeed in athletic competition.

The Nazis' beliefs about racial supremacy were worked into the very fabric of the *Olympiastadion,* from the intention behind its façade to the policies which governed its construction. Werner March's original design for the stadium was "a modern structure of concrete and glass,"[11] but Hitler disapproved of the functionalist façade, "instead calling in his chief architect Albert Speer to redraw the plans and cover the concrete with natural rock for a more classical look."[12] The stadium's exterior was remodeled in a neoclassical style to inspire a comparison with the Colosseum in Rome: towering columns were erected to wrap the arena, and the true appearance of its foundations hidden under pale archaic bricks.[13] The stadium's carefully curated appearance was highly symbolic, right down to the limestone that encased it, as the Nazi regime reportedly "considered it the original German stone."[14] The assimilation of ancient aesthetics into the plans for the *Olympiastadion* was a crucial part of the Nazi political agenda, as Hitler wanted to establish a connection between the great empires of antiquity and the contemporary German empire. Abrams writes that aesthetic tactics were employed to tie "the

[6] Keys, "Dictatorship and International Sport," 142.
[7] Young, "The Terrible Beauty of Nazi Aesthetics," 134.
[8] Young, 135.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Keys, "Dictatorship and International Sport," 143.
[12] Keys, 142.
[13] See Figure 2.
[14] Mark Landler, "In Berlin, Every Cheer Casts an Eerie Echo" in *The New York Times,* 8.12. (2005): 1.

German *Volk* of the twentieth century to the ancient Greeks of legend, especially to the militaristic Spartans."[15] The narrative perpetrated by Nazi propaganda was that "the ultimate decay of the Greek nation … stemmed directly from its failure to maintain and protect racial purity, a fault the Nazis would not emulate."[16] The awe-inspiring size and façade of the *Olympiastadion* necessitated a great deal of labourers to complete its construction: by the summer of 1935, the stadium had become a large-scale public works project and there were over 2000 workers employed to work on it. Despite being consistently behind schedule and in need of more workers, "construction companies were forced to hire only 'complying, non-union workers of German citizenship and Aryan race'" to work on the stadium.[17] The cultivation of Nazi aesthetics was a difficult, time-consuming, and costly endeavour, but one which the Party prioritised because of the invaluable indoctrinating effect they knew it could have.

Beyond the stadium itself, the art created for and exhibited during the Olympic Games at the *Olympiastadion* was similarly aligned with the Nazi aesthetic. The statues that adorned the *Maifeld* (German: Mayfield) and the surrounding *Olympiagelände* (German: Olympic grounds) paired symbols of antiquity with symbols of German imperialism and the supremacy of the Aryan race. George Mosse notes that twentieth-century fascist regimes had a common tendency to incorporate neoclassicism into their aesthetics, because "the rediscovery of classical antiquity in the eighteenth century set a standard of beauty which never lost its attraction for the educated, who in Germany and Italy—but elsewhere as well—saw it as their own particular heritage. They valued classical beauty of form, whether of the human body or, to a lesser extent, of official architecture, as close to the sublime."[18] The stylised Olympic sculptures were created by contemporary artists Karl Albiker ("Discus Throwers" and "Relay Runners"), Joseph Wackerle ("Horse Tamer"), and Willy Meller ("German Nike"), who were commissioned by the government to create them for display at the Games. These artists had already made names for themselves in the years leading up to the Eleventh Olympiad, and the exhibition of their work on the *Reichssportfeld* showcased the artistic skill of these native German sculptors for all to see. The "Discus Throwers" and "Relay Runners" invoke characteristics of heroic realism through the

[15] Abrams, "The Nazi Olympic Triumph," 49.
[16] Abrams, 49.
[17] "History," from *Olympiastadion Berlin GmbH*, (2017).
[18] Mosse, "Fascist Aesthetics and Society," 247.

depiction of idealised human forms, each glorified in pairs rather than on their own individual pedestals.[19] These paired figures symbolize the importance of national cameraderie, emphasizing shared glory rather than individualistic accolaides. The "Horse Tamer," depicting a disproportionately large male figure whose hand firmly clutches the bridle bit to the mouth of the horse beside him, symbolises the strength of Nazi dictatorship and its ability to "tame" barbarism in the modern world.[20] Meller's "German Nike" depicts the classical figure holding an oak leaf in her hand: a traditional German symbol of victory. Beneath her foot lies a crushed serpent, referencing the biblical story of Adam and Eve and symbolizing the defeat of evil—or, more literally, enemies of the Third Reich.[21] The artwork of the *Olympiastadion* beautifully reconfigured the unseemly Nazi ambitions that inspired and informed their creation.

The aesthetics of the *Olympiastadion* not only served to glorify the fascist ideals of the Nazi regime, but also to prepare the German people for the prospect of war. The stadium was surrounded by six tall towers: two bordering the Olympic Gate at the front of the stadium, and two pairs bordering the *Maifeld* at the rear. These towers, designed specifically to resemble military watchtowers, gave the stadium an appearance of an archaic fortification.[22] Their actual function was merely to transmit radio signals during the Games, but their aesthetics evoke a feeling of perpetual surveillance which was intended to desensitize the German people to the prospect of militarisation.[23] The sculptures that decorate the stadium, which glorify athleticism through idealisations of the masculine form, were not only intended to celebrate physical fitness but to make it something every German man would strive to achieve for himself. George Mosse writes that "aesthetics played a determining role in stereotyping: every man must aspire to a classical standard of beauty, and as he built and sculptured his body (and we must remember the part played by physical exercise in the aesthetics of fascism), his mind would come to encompass all the manly virtues which the fascists prized so highly."[24] While some interpret the sculptures as idealisations of male beauty, others interpret them as, like the imposing "watch towers" around the stadium, an attempt to familiarise the German people with symbols of war,

[19] See Figures 3 and 4.
[20] See Figure 5.
[21] See Figure 6.
[22] See Figure 7.
[23] Sightseeing," from *Olympiastadion Berlin GmbH,* (2017).
[24] Mosse, 248.

military fellowship, and sacrifice. Nicola Kuhn writes that, when looking at Karl Albiker's statues "the viewer sees less athletes than immobile guards who demonstrate more soldierly defensiveness through the static, blocky nature."[25] The sculptures, she writes, "do not symbolise an Olympic discipline … the figures embody state leaders, army leaders."[26] The Nazis thus tried to indoctrinate the masses through an intermingled aestheticization of sports and of war.

Aesthetic symbols became an important part of Nazi pageantry, and the *Olympiastadion* was designed to not only facilitate the grandiose spectacles of the Games, but to incorporate memorable and symbolic rituals into those spectacles. The ornate Olympic bell was one of these important symbols, which was suspended in a 247-foot tower at the far end of the *Maifeld.* The bell, cast custom for the Games, was made of steel and weighed 9.6 tons. It was designed by Johannes Boehland and Walther Lemcke to reflect the glory of the Olympic Games and of the country that was to host them. The side of the bell was adorned with the German imperial eagle which holds the Olympic rings in its talons, and around the rim reads the phrase: "*Ich rufe die Jugend der Welt*" (I call the youth of the world), bookended by two swastikas.[27] Another central symbol of the *Olympiastadion*, the cauldron which held the Olympic flame, was integral to the staging of the opening ceremonies and the torch relay (which was notably the first of its kind). As Hitler inaugurated the Olympic Games, the giant bell rang out across the *Reichssportfeld,* and the torchbearer Fritz Schilgen made his way across the field, ascended the massive staircase, and lit the Olympic flame as the spectators roared with cheers and applause.[28] The cauldron acted as the end-point of a 3,075-man pilgrimage from Olympia to Berlin, and symbolized for the Nazis the legacy of the great empires of the past being reignited in their own budding empire. Materially, the bell and the torches were both made of steel and produced by the Krupp company, which David C. Young notes is now "better known for providing weapons for two world wars. The association of the Olympic torch with peace came later, as the flame arrived in more peaceful venues."[29] These symbols were not just static decorations like the sculptures of the *Olympiagelände,* but rather had active significance in the events that unfolded at the Olympiastadion. Aesthetics can have a powerful effect, and the Nazi aesthetics employed during

[25] Nicola Kuhn, "Aesthetic Nazi Heritage in Berlin: Good Bad Nazi Art," in *Tagesspiegel,* 6.10. (2016): 1.
[26] Kuhn, 1.
[27] See Figure 8.
[28] See Figure 9.
[29] David C. Young, "Myths about the Ancient Games," in *Archeology*, vol. 49 no. 4 (1996): 30.

the 1936 Olympic Games helped to give the pageantry the power to influence those who witnessed it.

The Berlin *Olympiastadion* was created as a stage on which the Nazis hoped to exhibit their cultural supremacy, but as this paper has elucidated, its aesthetics were not merely employed to ornament their elaborate production but played an important accompanying role. Through highly symbolic art and architecture the Nazis were able to show the German people the potential for aesthetic beauty, economic prosperity, and national unity within their ideology. James E. Young writes that the Nazi aesthetic offered the masses a glimpse of grandeur, of "life not as it was but as it should be according to Nazi precepts."[30] This resonated with the German populace, who had spent the years leading up to the Games financially weakened, disunified, and politically and militarily humiliated. George Mosse claims that, while the aesthetics of fascist regimes can offer a great deal of insight into their ideology, "fascist aesthetic invented nothing new or even experimental, and that was its great strength."[31] The Nazis' art and architecture was not nearly as revolutionary as their political policy, and instead "built upon a tradition of human beauty and ugliness which … drew its strength from an already present consensus."[32] It was their ability to reconfigure traditional ideals of beauty to fit their ideology, and to subsequently depict their politics as something with potential for beauty, that caught people's attention and garnered their support. Young recognizes the danger in "our reflex … to protect the aesthetic realm from the ugliness and barbarism often committed in its name" and warns that "without examining the potential for evil in aesthetics, as well as the potential for good, we dismiss aesthetics altogether as a historical irrelevancy, as something disconnected from life as we actually live and experience it."[33] By understanding the way in which the aesthetics of the *Olympiastadion* could influence the opinions of people in the past, we become increasingly aware of the manipulating "potential"[34] inherent in the aesthetics of the present.

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[30] Young, "The Terrible Beauty of Nazi Aesthetics," 136.
[31] Mosse, 249.
[32] Mosse, 248.
[33] Young, 138.
[34] Ibid.

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Appendix

Nazi Aesthetics at the *Olympiastadion*

Figure 1: Crowds within the Olympic Stadium during the 1936 Berlin Olympics.
(Source: "Olympic Games: Persecuted Athletes," *Arolsen Archives*, 2021, https://arolsen-archives.org/en/news/olympic-games-persecuted athletes/)

Figure 2: The archaic limestone façade of the *Olympiastadion.*
(Source: "GMP Architekten - von Gerkan, Marg, und Partner Berlin Olympic Stadium," Marcus Bredt, *Divisare*, https://divisare.com/projects/gmp-architekten)

Figure 3: Karl Abiker's "Discus Throwers" on the southern east side of the Olympic Stadium.
(Source: "Sightseeing," *Olympiastadion Berlin*, 2017, https://olympiastadion.berlin/en/sightseeing/)

Figure 4: Karl Abiker's "Relay Runners" on the northern east side of the Olympic Stadium.
(Source: "Sightseeing," *Olympiastadion Berlin*, 2017, https://olympiastadion.berlin/en/sightseeing/

Figure 5: Josef Wackerles' "Horse Tamer" on the edge of the *Maifeld*.
(Source: "Sculpture, Olympiastadion, Berlin, Germany," *Manuel Cohen Photography*, 2014, https://www.manuelcohen.com/image/I0000h8nSyKf_u2I)

Figure 6: Willy Mellers' "*Deutsche Nike*" at the north end of the Olympic Stadium, next to Saxon's Gate.
(Source: "Sightseeing," *Olympiastadion Berlin*, 2017, https://olympiastadion.berlin/en/sightseeing/)

Figure 7: The Bell Tower stands at the far end of the *Maifeld*, and served police, medical personnel, and organizers as an observation platform at the 1936 Olympic Games.
(Source: "Sightseeing," *Olympiastadion Berlin*, 2017, https://olympiastadion.berlin/en/sightseeing/)

Figure 8: The Olympic bell as it stands today at the south gate of the Olympic Stadium. The bell, having been severely damaged when the tower was demolished by the British occupying forces in 1947, was made into a memorial to athletes that died in the war.
(Source: "Sightseeing," *Olympiastadion Berlin*, 2017, https://olympiastadion.berlin/en/sightseeing/)

Figure 9: German runner Erik Schilgen enters the Olympic Stadium with the Olympic Torch.
(Source: "Berlin Summer Olympics," *Archiwa Państwowe*, 1936,
https://audiovis.nac.gov.pl/obraz/191537/1f7669d428cfdd1e31bfdd2001ce6e16/)